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TRAVELS,

DURING

The Years 1787, 1788, and 1789.

Undertaken more particularly with a View of aſcertaining the

CULTIVATION, WEALTH, RESOURCES, AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY,

OF THE

KINGDOM OF FRANCE.

K

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PREFACE.

IT is a queſtion whether modern hiſtory has any thing more curious to offer to the attention of the politician, than the progreſs and rivalſhip of the French and Engliſh empires, from the miniſtry of Colbert to the revolution in France. In the courſe of thoſe 130 years, both have figured with a degree of ſplendour that has attracted the admiration of mankind.

In proportion to the power, the wealth, and the reſources of theſe nations, is the intereſt which the world in general takes in the maxims of political œconomy by which they have been governed. To examine how far the ſyſtem of that œconomy has influenced agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and public felicity, is certainly an inquiry of no ſlight importance; and ſo many books have been compoſed on the *theory* of theſe, that the public can hardly think that time miſemployed which attempts to give THE PRACTICE.

The ſurvey which I made, ſome years paſt, of the agriculture of England and Ireland (the minutes of which I publiſhed under the title of *Tours*), was ſuch a ſtep towards underſtanding the ſtate of our huſbandry as I ſhall not preſume to characteriſe; there are but few of the European nations that do not read theſe Tours in their own language; and, notwithſtanding all their faults and deficiencies, it has been often regretted, that no ſimilar deſcription of France could be reſorted to, either by the farmer or the politician. Indeed it could not but be lamented, that this vaſt kingdom, which has ſo much figured in hiſtory, were likely to remain another century unknown, with reſpect to thoſe circumſtances that are the objects of my inquiries. An hundred and thirty years have paſſed, including one of the moſt active and conſpicuous reigns upon record, in which the French power and reſources, though much overſtrained, were formidable to Europe. How far were that power and thoſe reſources founded on the permanent baſis of an enlightened agriculture? How far on the more inſecure ſupport of manufactures and commerce? How far have wealth and power and exterior ſplendour, from whatever cauſe they may have ariſen, reflected back upon the people the proſperity they implied? Very curious inquiries; yet reſolved inſufficiently by thoſe whoſe political reveries are ſpun by their fireſides, or caught flying as they are whirled through Europe in poſt-chaiſes. A man who is not practically acquainted with agriculture, knows not how to make thoſe inquiries; he ſcarcely knows how to diſcriminate the circumſtances productive of miſery, from thoſe which generate the felicity of a people; an aſſertion that will not appear paradoxical, to thoſe who have attended cloſely to theſe ſubjects. At the ſame time, the mere agriculturiſt, who makes ſuch journies, ſees little or nothing of the connection between the practice in the fields, and the reſources of the empire; of combinations that take place between operations apparently unimportant, and the general intereſt of the ſtate; combinations ſo curious, as to convert, in ſome caſes, well cultivated fields into ſcenes of miſery, and accuracy of huſbandry into the parent of national weakneſs. Theſe are ſubjects that never will be underſtood from the ſpeculations of the mere farmer, or the mere politician; they demand a mixture of both; and the inveſtigation of a mind free from prejudice, particularly national prejudice; from the love of ſyſtem, and of the vain theories that are to be found in the cloſets of ſpeculators alone. God forbid that I ſhould be guilty of the vanity of ſuppoſing myſelf thus endowed! I know too well the contrary; and have no other pretenſion to undertake ſo arduous a work, than that of having reported the agriculture of England with ſome little ſucceſs. Twenty years experience, ſince that attempt, may make me hope to be not leſs qualified for ſimilar exertions at preſent.

The clouds that, for four or five years paſt, have indicated a change in the political ſky of the French hemiſphere, and which have ſince gathered to ſo ſingular a ſtorm, have rendered it yet more intereſting, to know what France was previouſly to any change. It would indeed have been matter of aſtoniſhment, if monarchy had riſen, and had ſet in that region, without the kingdom having had any examination profeſſedly agricultural.

The candid reader will not expect, from the regiſters of a traveller, that minute analyſis of common practice, which a man is enabled to give, who reſides ſome months, or years, confined to one ſpot; twenty men, employed during twenty years, would not effect it; and ſuppoſing it done, not one thouſandth part of their labours would be worth a peruſal. Some ſingularly enlightened diſtricts merit ſuch attention; but the number of them, in any country, is inconſiderable; and the practices that deſerve ſuch a ſtudy, perhaps, ſtill fewer: to know that unenlightened practices exiſt, and want improvement, is the chief knowledge that is of uſe to convey; and this rather for the ſtateſman than the farmer. No reader, if he knows any thing of my ſituation, will expect, in this work, what the advantages of rank and fortune are neceſſary to produce—of ſuch I had none to exert, and could combat difficulties with no other arms than unremitted attention, and unabating induſtry. Had my aims been ſeconded by that ſucceſs in life, which gives energy to effort, and vigour to purſuit, the work would have been more worthy of the public eye; but ſuch ſucceſs muſt, in this kingdom, be ſooner looked for in any other path than in that of the plough; the *non ullus aratro dignus honos*, was not more applicable to a period of confuſion and bloodſhed at Rome, than to one of peace and luxury in England.

One circumſtance I may be allowed to mention, becauſe it will ſhew, that whatever faults the enſuing pages contain, they do not flow from any preſumptive expectation of ſucceſs: a feeling that belongs to writers only, much more popular than myſelf: when the publiſher agreed to run the hazard of printing theſe papers, and ſome progreſs being made in the journal, the whole MS. was put into the compoſitor's hand to be examined, if there were a ſufficiency for a volume of ſixty ſheets; he found enough prepared for the preſs to fill 140: and I aſſure the reader, that the ſucceſſive employment of ſtriking out and mutilating more than the half of what I had written, was executed with more indifference than regret, even though it obliged me to exclude ſeveral chapters, upon which I had taken conſiderable pains. The publiſher would have printed the whole; but whatever faults may be found with the author, he ought at leaſt to be exempted from the imputation of an undue confidence in the public favour; ſince, to expunge was undertaken as readily as to compoſe.—So much depended in the ſecond part of the work on accurate figures, that I did not care to truſt to myſelf, but employed a ſchoolmaſter, who has the reputation of being a good arithmetician, for examining the calculations, and I hope he has not let any material errors eſcape him.

The revolution in France was a hazardous and critical ſubject, but too important to be neglected; the details I have given, and the reflections I have ventured, will, I truſt, be received with candour, by thoſe who conſider how many authors, of no inconſiderable ability and reputation, have failed on that difficult theme: the courſe I have ſteered is ſo removed from extremes, that I can hardly hope for the approbation of more than a few; and I may apply to myſelf, in this inſtance, the words of Swift:—"I have the ambition, common with other reaſoners, to wiſh at leaſt that both parties may think me *in the right*; but if that is not to be hoped for, my next wiſh ſhould be, that both might think me *in the wrong*; which I would underſtand as an ample juſtification of myſelf, and a ſure ground to believe that I have proceeded at leaſt with impartiality, and perhaps with truth."

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No.	£.	s.	d.	No.	£.	s.	d.	No.	£.	s.	d.	No.	£.	s.	d.	No.	£.	s.	d.
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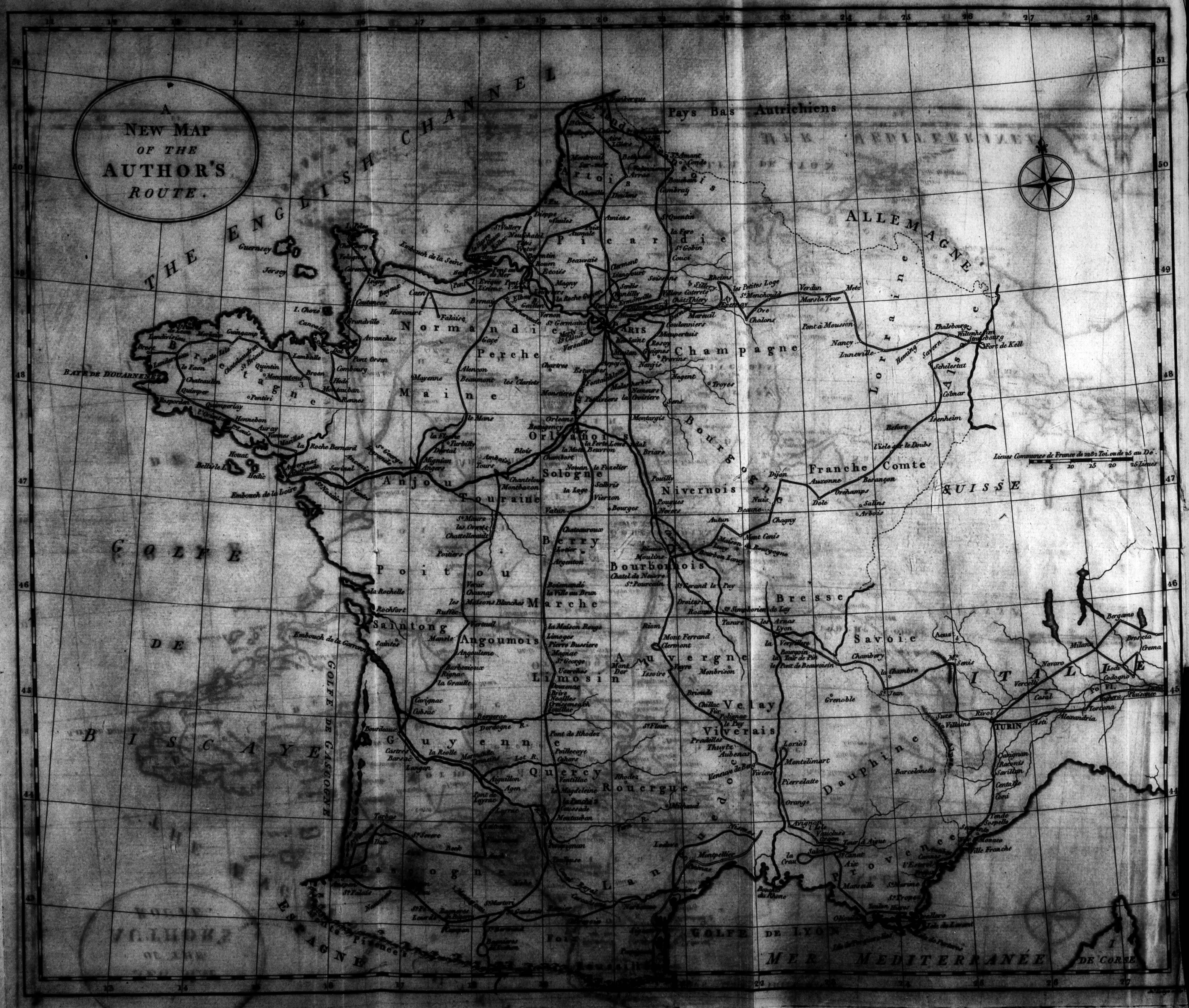
2	0	1	9	43	1	17	7½	84	3	13	6	350	15	6	3	760	33	5	0
3	0	2	7½	44	1	18	6	85	3	14	4½	360	15	15	0	770	33	13	9
4	0	3	6	45	1	19	4½	86	3	15	3	370	16	3	9	780	34	2	6
5	0	4	4½	46	2	0	3	87	3	16	1½	380	16	12	6	790	34	11	3
6	0	5	3	47	2	1	1½	88	3	17	0	390	17	1	3	800	35	0	0
7	0	6	1½	48	2	2	0	89	3	17	10½	400	17	10	0	810	35	8	9
8	0	7	0	49	2	2	10½	90	3	18	9	410	17	18	9	820	35	17	6
9	0	7	10½	50	2	3	9	91	3	19	7½	420	18	7	6	830	36	6	3
10	0	8	9	51	2	4	7½	92	4	0	6	430	18	16	3	840	36	15	0
11	0	9	7½	52	2	5	6	93	4	1	4½	440	19	5	0	850	37	3	9
12	0	10	6	53	2	6	4½	94	4	2	3	450	19	13	9	860	37	12	6
13	0	11	4½	54	2	7	3	95	4	3	1½	460	20	2	6	870	38	1	3
14	0	12	3	55	2	8	1½	96	4	4	0	470	20	11	3	880	38	10	0
15	0	13	1½	56	2	9	0	97	4	4	10½	480	21	0	0	890	38	18	9
16	0	14	0	57	2	9	10½	98	4	5	9	490	21	8	9	900	39	7	6
17	0	14	10½	58	2	10	9	99	4	6	7½	500	21	17	6	910	39	16	3
18	0	15	9	59	2	11	7½	100	4	7	6	510	22	6	3	920	40	5	0
19	0	16	7½	60	2	12	6	110	4	16	3	520	22	15	0	930	40	13	9
20	0	17	6	61	2	13	4½	120	5	5	0	530	23	3	9	940	41	2	6
21	0	18	4½	62	2	14	3	130	5	13	9	540	23	12	6	950	41	11	3
22	0	19	3	63	2	15	1½	140	6	2	6	550	24	1	3	960	42	0	0
23	1	0	1½	64	2	16	0	150	6	11	3	560	24	10	0	970	42	8	9
24	1	1	0	65	2	16	10½	160	7	0	0	570	24	18	9	980	42	17	6
25	1	1	10½	66	2	17	9	170	7	8	9	580	25	7	6	990	43	6	3
26	1	2	9	67	2	18	7½	180	7	17	6	590	25	16	3	1000	43	15	0
27	1	3	7½	68	2	19	6	190	8	6	3	600	26	5	0	1100	48	2	6
28	1	4	6	69	3	0	4½	200	8	15	0	610	26	13	9	1200	52	10	0
29	1	5	4½	70	3	1	3	210	9	3	9	620	27	2	6	1300	56	17	6
30	1	6	3	71	3	2	1½	220	9	12	6	630	27	11	3	1400	61	5	0
31	1	7	1½	72	3	3	0	230	10	1	3	640	28	0	0	1500	65	12	6
32	1	8	0	73	3	3	10½	240	10	10	0	650	28	8	9	1600	70	0	0
33	1	8	10½	74	3	4	9	250	10	18	9	660	28	17	6	1700	74	7	6
34	1	9	9	75	3	5	7½	260	11	7	6	670	29	6	3	1800	78	15	0
35	1	10	7½	76	3	6	6	270	11	16	3	680	29	15	0	1900	83	2	6
36	1	11	6	77	3	7	4½	280	12	5	0	690	30	3	9	2000	87	10	0
37	1	12	4½	78	3	8	3	290	12	13	9	700	30	12	6	2100	91	17	6
38	1	13	3	79	3	9	1½	300	13	2	6	710	31	1	3	2200	96	5	0
39	1	14	1½	80	3	10	0	310	13	11	3	720	31	10	0	2300	100	12	6
40	1	15	0	81	3	10	10½	320	14	0	0	730	31	18	9	2400	105	0	0
41	1	15	10½	82	3	11	9	330	14	8	9	740	32	7	6	2500	109	7	6

No.	£.	s.	d.	No.	£.	s.	d.	No.	£.
2600	113	15	0	20,000	875	0	0	14,000,000	612,500
2700	118	2	6	30,000	1312	10	0	15,000,000	656,250
2800	122	10	0	40,000	1750	0	0	16,000,000	700,000
2900	126	17	6	50,000	2187	0	0	17,000,000	743,750
3000	131	5	0	60,000	2625	0	0	18,000,000	787,500
3100	135	12	6	70,000	3062	10	0	19,000,000	831,250
3200	140	0	0	80,000	3500	0	0	20,000,000	875,000
3300	144	7	6	90,000	3937	0	0	30,000,000	1,312,500
3400	148	15	0	100,000	4375	0	0	40,000,000	1,750,000
3500	153	2	6	200,000	8750	0	0	50,000,000	2,187,500
3600	157	10	0	300,000	13,125	0	0	60,000,000	2,625,000
3700	161	17	6	400,000	17,500	0	0	70,000,000	3,062,500
3800	166	5	0	500,000	21,875	0	0	80,000,000	3,500,000
3900	170	12	6	600,000	26,250	0	0	90,000,000	3,937,500
4000	175	0	0	700,000	30,625	0	0	100,000,000	4,375,000
4100	179	7	6	800,000	35,000	0	0	200,000,000	8,750,000
4200	183	15	0	900,000	39,375	0	0	300,000,000	13,125,000
4300	188	2	6	1,000,000	43,750	0	0	400,000,000	17,500,000
4400	192	10	0	2,000,000	87,500	0	0	500,000,000	21,875,000
4500	196	17	6	3,000,000	131,250	0	0	600,000,000	26,250,000
4600	201	5	0	4,000,000	175,000	0	0	700,000,000	30,625,000
4700	205	12	6	5,000,000	218,750	0	0	800,000,000	35,000,000
4800	210	0	0	6,000,000	262,500	0	0	900,000,000	39,375,000
4900	214	7	6	7,000,000	306,250	0	0	1000,000,000	43,750,000
5000	218	15	0	8,000,000	350,000	0	0	2000,000,000	87,500,000
6000	262	10	0	9,000,000	393,750	0	0	3000,000,000	131,250,000
7000	306	5	0	10,000,000	437,500	0	0	4000,000,000	175,000,000
8000	350	0	0	11,000,000	481,250	0	0	5000,000,000	218,750,000
9000	393	15	0	12,000,000	525,000	0	0	6000,000,000	262,500,000
10,000	437	10	0	13,000,000	568,750	0	0		



A NEW MAP OF THE AUTHOR'S ROUTE.

THE ENGLISH CHANNEL
Pays Bas Autrichiens
ALLEMAGNE
Guernesey
Jersey
Bretagne
Normandie
Picardie
Artois
Perche
Maine
Champagne
Lorraine
Alsace
Orleanois
Sologne
Anjou
Touraine
Bourgogne
Nivernois
Franche Comte
SUISSE
Berry
Poitou
Bourbonois
Bresse
Marche
Saintong
Angoumois
Limosin
Auvergne
Savoie
ITALIE
Velay
Viverais
Dauphine
Guyenne
Querci
Rouergue
Languedoc
Provence
Gascogne
Foix
GOLFE DE BISCAYE
GOLFE DE GASCOGNE
ESPAGNE
GOLFE DE LYON
MER MEDITERRANÉE
DE CORSE
PARIS
TURIN
Lieues Communes de France de 2282 Toi. ou de 25 au Dé
5
10
15
20
25 Lieues

TRAVELS, &c.

THERE are two methods of writing travels; to regiſter the journey itſelf, or the reſult of it. In the former caſe, it is a diary, under which head are to be claſſed all thoſe books of travels written in the form of letters. The latter uſually falls into the ſhape of eſſays on diſtinct ſubjects. Of the former method of compoſing, almoſt every book of modern travels is an example. Of the latter, the admirable eſſays of my valuable friend Mr. Profeſſor Symonds, upon Italian agriculture, are the moſt perfect ſpecimens.

It is of very little importance what form is adopted by a man of real genius; he will make any form uſeful, and any information intereſting. But for perſons of more moderate talents, it is of conſequence to conſider the circumſtances for and againſt both theſe modes.

The journal form hath the advantage of carrying with it a greater degree of credibility; and, of courſe, more weight. A traveller who thus regiſters his obſervations is detected the moment he writes of things he has not ſeen. He is precluded from giving ſtudied or elaborate remarks upon inſufficient foundations: If he ſees little, he muſt regiſter little: if he has few good opportunities of being well informed, the reader is enabled to obſerve it, and will be induced to give no more credit to his relations than the ſources of them appear to deſerve: if he paſſes ſo rapidly through a country as neceſſarily to be no judge of what he ſees, the reader knows it: if he dwells long in places of little or no moment with private views or for private buſineſs, the circumſtance is ſeen; and thus the reader has the ſatisfaction of being as ſafe from impoſition either deſigned or involuntary, as the nature of the caſe will admit: all which advantages are wanted in the other method.

But to balance them, there are on the other hand ſome weighty inconveniences; among theſe the principal is, the prolixity to which a diary generally leads; the very mode of writing almoſt making it inevitable. It neceſſarily cauſes repetitions of the ſame ſubjects and the ſame ideas; and that ſurely muſt be deemed no inconſiderable fault, when one employs many words to ſay what might be better ſaid in a few. Another capital objection is, that ſubjects of importance, inſtead of being treated *de ſuite* for illuſtration or compariſon, are given by ſcraps as received, without order, and without connection; a mode which leſſens the effect of writing, and deſtroys much of its utility.

In favour of compoſing eſſays on the principal objects that have been obſerved, that is, giving the reſult of travels and not the travels themſelves, there is this obvious and great advantage, that the ſubjects thus treated are in as complete a ſtate of combination and illuſtration as the abilities of the author can make them; the matter comes with full force and effect. Another admirable circumſtance is brevity; for by the rejection of all uſeleſs details, the reader has nothing before him but what tends to the full explanation of the ſubject: of the diſadvantages, I need not ſpeak; they are ſufficiently noted by ſhewing the benefits of the diary form; for proportionably to the benefits of the one, will clearly be the diſadvantages of the other.

After weighing the *pour* and the *contre*, I think that it is not impracticable in my peculiar caſe to retain the benefits of both theſe plans.

With one leading and predominant object in view, namely agriculture, I have conceived that I might throw each ſubject of it into diſtinct chapters, retaining all the advantages which ariſe from compoſing the reſult only of my travels.

At the ſame time, that the reader may have whatever ſatisfaction flows from the diary form, the obſervations which I made upon the face of the countries through which I paſſed; and upon the manners, cuſtoms, amuſements, towns, roads, ſeats, &c. may, without injury, be given in a journal, and thus ſatisfy the reader in all thoſe points, with which he ought in candour to be made acquainted, for the reaſons above intimated.

It is upon this idea that I have reviewed my notes, and executed the work I now offer to the public.

But travelling upon paper, as well as moving amongſt rocks and rivers, hath its difficulties. When I had traced my plan, and begun to work upon it, I rejected, without mercy, a variety of little circumſtances relating to myſelf only, and of converſations with various perſons which I had thrown upon paper for the amuſement of my family and intimate friends. For this I was remonſtrated with by a perſon, of whoſe judgment I think highly, as having abſolutely ſpoiled my diary, by expunging the very paſſages that would beſt pleaſe the maſs of common readers; in a word, that I muſt give up the journal plan entirely, or let it go as it was written.—To treat the public like a friend, let them ſee all, and truſt to their candour for forgiving trifles. He reaſoned thus: *Depend on it, Young, that thoſe notes you wrote at the moment, are more likely to pleaſe than what you will now produce coolly, with the idea of reputation in your head: whatever you ſtrike out will be what is moſt intereſting, for you will be guided by the importance of the ſubject; and believe me, it is not this conſideration that pleaſes ſo much as a careleſs and eaſy mode of thinking and writing, which every man exerciſes moſt when he does not compoſe for the preſs. That I am right in this opinion you yourſelf afford a proof. Your tour of Ireland* (he was pleaſed to ſay) *is one of the beſt accounts of a country I have read, yet it had no great ſucceſs. Why? Becauſe the chief part of it is a farming diary, which, however valuable it may be to conſult, nobody will read. If, therefore, you print your journal at all, print it ſo as to be read; or reject the method entirely, and confine yourſelf to ſet diſſertations. Remember the travels of Dr. —— and Mrs. ——, from which it would be difficult to gather one ſingle important idea, yet they were received with applauſe; nay, the bagatelles of Baretti, amongſt the Spaniſh muleteers, were read with avidity.*

The high opinion I have of the judgment of my friend, induced me to follow his advice; in conſequence of which, I venture to offer my itinerary to the public, juſt as it was written on the ſpot: requeſting my reader, if much ſhould be found of a trifling nature, to pardon it, from a reflection, that the chief object of my travels is to be found in another part of the work, to which he may at once have recourſe, if he wiſh to attend only to ſubjects of a more important character.

JOURNAL.

MAY 15, 1787.

THE ſtreight that ſeparates England, ſo fortunately for her, from all the reſt of the world, muſt be croſſed many times before a traveller ceaſes to be ſurpriſed at the ſudden and univerſal change that ſurrounds him on landing at Calais. The ſcene, the people, the language, every object is new; and in thoſe circumſtances in which there is moſt reſemblance, a diſcriminating eye finds little difficulty in diſcovering marks of diſtinction.

The noble improvement of a ſalt marſh, worked by Monſ. Mouron of this town, occaſioned my acquaintance ſome time ago with that gentleman; and I

had

had found him too well informed, upon various important objects, not to renew it with pleaſure. I ſpent an agreeable and inſtructive evening at his houſe.——165 miles.

The 17th. Nine hours rolling at anchor had ſo fatigued my mare, that I thought it neceſſary for her to reſt one day; but this morning I left Calais. For a few miles the country reſembles parts of Norfolk and Suffolk; gentle hills, with ſome incloſures around the houſes in the vales, and a diſtant range of wood. The country is the ſame to Boulogne. Towards that town, I was pleaſed to find many ſeats belonging to people who reſide there. How often are falſe ideas conceived from reading and report! I imagined that nobody but farmers and labourers in France lived in the country; and the firſt ride I take in that kingdom ſhews me a ſcore of country ſeats. The road excellent.

Boulogne is not an ugly town; and from the ramparts of the upper part the view is beautiful, though low water in the river would not let me ſee it to advantage. It is well known that this place has long been the reſort of great numbers of perſons from England, whoſe misfortunes in trade, or extravagance in life, have made a reſidence abroad more agreeable than at home. It is eaſy to ſuppoſe that they here find a *level* of ſociety that tempts them to herd in the ſame place. Certainly it is not cheapneſs, for it is rather dear. The mixture of French and Engliſh women makes an odd appearance in the ſtreets; the latter are dreſſed in their own faſhion; but the French heads are all without hats, with cloſe caps, and the body covered with a long cloak that reaches to the feet. The town has the appearance of being flouriſhing: the buildings good, and in repair, with ſome modern ones; perhaps as ſure a teſt of proſperity as any other. They are raiſing alſo a new church, on a large and expenſive ſcale. The place on the whole is chearful, and the environs pleaſing; and the ſea-ſhore is a flat ſtrand of firm ſand as far as the tide reaches. The high land adjoining is worth viewing by thoſe who have not already ſeen the petrification of clay; it is found in the ſtoney and argilaceous ſtate, juſt as what I deſcribed at Harwich. (*Annals of Agriculture*, vol. vi. p. 218.)—24 miles.

The 18th. The view of Boulogne from the other ſide, at the diſtance of a mile is a pleaſing landſcape; the river meanders in the vale, and ſpreads in a fine reach under the town, juſt before it falls into the ſea, which opens between two high lands, one of which backs the town.—The view wants only wood; for if the hills had more, fancy could ſcarcely paint a more agreeable ſcene. The country improves, more incloſed, and ſome parts ſtrongly reſembling England. Some fine meadows about Bonbrie, and ſeveral chateaus. I am not profeſſedly in this diary on huſbandry, but muſt juſt obſerve, that it is to the full as bad as the country is good; corn miſerable and yellow with weeds, yet all ſummer fallowed with loſt attention. On the hills, which are at no great diſtance from the ſea, the trees turn their heads from it, ſhorn of their foliage: it is not therefore to the S. W. alone that we ſhould attribute this effect.—If the French have not huſbandry to ſhew us, they have roads; nothing can be more beautiful, or kept in more garden order, if I may uſe the expreſſion, than that which paſſes through a fine wood of Monſ. Neuvillier's; and indeed for the whole way from Samer it is wonderfully formed: a vaſt cauſeway, with hills cut to level vales; which would fill me with admiration, if I had known nothing of the abominable *corveès*, that make me commiſerate the oppreſſed farmers, from whoſe extorted labour, this magnificence has been wrung. Women gathering graſs and weeds by hand in the woods for their cows is a trait of poverty.

Paſs *turberries*, near Montreuil, like thoſe at Newbury. The walk round the ramparts of that town is pretty: the little gardens in the baſtions below are ſingular. The place has many Engliſh; for what purpoſe not eaſy to conceive, for it is unenlivened by thoſe circumſtances that render towns pleaſant. In a ſhort converſation with an Engliſh family returning home, the lady, who is young, and I conjecture agreeable, aſſured me I ſhould find the court of Verſailles amazingly ſplendid. Oh! how ſhe loved France!—and ſhould regret going to England if ſhe did not expect ſoon to return. As ſhe had croſſed the kingdom of France, I aſked her what part of it pleaſed her beſt; the anſwer was, ſuch as a pair of pretty lips would be ſure to utter, "Oh! Paris and Verſailles." Her huſband, who is not ſo young, ſaid "Touraine." It is probable, that a farmer is much more likely to agree with the ſentiments of the huſband than of the lady, notwithſtanding her charms.——24 miles.

The 19th. Dined, or rather ſtarved, at Bernay, where for the firſt time I met with that wine of whoſe ill fame I had heard ſo much in England, that of being worſe than ſmall beer. No ſcattered farm-houſes in this part of Picardy, all being collected in villages which is as unfortunate for the beauty of a country, as it is inconvenient to its cultivation. To Abbeville, unpleaſant, nearly flat; and though there are many and great woods, yet they are unintereſting. Paſs the new chalk chateau of Monſ. St. Maritan, who, had he been in England, would not have built a good houſe in that ſituation, nor have projected his walls like thoſe of an alms-houſe.

Abbeville is ſaid to contain 22,000 ſouls; it is old, and diſagreeably built; many of the houſes of wood, with a greater air of antiquity than I remember to have ſeen; their brethren in England have been long ago demoliſhed. Viewed the manufacture of Van Robais, which was eſtabliſhed by Lewis XIV. and of which Voltaire and others have ſpoken ſo much. I had many enquiries concerning wool and woollens to make here; and, in converſation with the manufacturers, found them great politicians, condemning with violence the new commercial treaty with England.——30 miles.

The 21ſt. It is the ſame flat and unpleaſing country to Flixcourt.—15 miles.

The 22d. Poverty and poor crops to Amiens; women are now ploughing with a pair of horſes to ſow barley. The difference of the cuſtoms of the two nations is in nothing more ſtriking than in the labours of the ſex; in England, it is very little that they will do in the fields except to glean and make hay; the firſt is a party of pilfering, and the ſecond of pleaſure: in France, they plough and fill the dung-cart. Lombardy poplars ſeem to have been introduced here about the ſame time as in England.

Picquigny has been the ſcene of a remarkable tranſaction, that does great honour to the tolerating ſpirit of the French nation. Monſ. Colmar, a Jew, bought the ſeignory and eſtate, including the viſcounty of Amiens, of the Duke of Chaulnes, by virtue of which he appoints the canons of the cathedral of Amiens. The biſhop reſiſted his nomination, and it was carried by appeal to the parliament of Paris, whoſe decree was in favour of Monſ. Colmar. The immediate ſeignory of Picquigny, but without its dependences, is reſold to the Count d'Artois.

At Amiens, view the cathedral, ſaid to be built by the Engliſh; it is very large, and beautifully light and decorated. They are fitting it up in black drapery, and a great canopy, with illuminations for the burial of the Prince de Tingry, colonel of the regiment of cavalry, whoſe ſtation is here. To view this was an object among the people, and crouds were at each door. I was refuſed entrance, but ſome officers being admitted, gave orders that an Engliſh gentleman without ſhould be let in, and I was called back from ſome diſtance and deſired very politely to enter, as they did not know at firſt that I was an Engliſhman. Theſe are but trifles, but they ſhew liberality; and it is fair to report them. If an Engliſhman receives attentions in France, *becauſe he is an Engliſhman*, what return ought to be made to a Frenchman in England, is ſufficiently obvious. The chateau d'eau, or machine for ſupplying Amiens with water, is worth viewing; but plates only could give an idea of it. The town abounds with woollen manufactures. I converſed with ſeveral maſters, who united entirely with thoſe of Abbeville in condemning the treaty of commerce.—15 miles.

The 23d. To Breteuil the country is diverſified, woods every where in ſight the whole journey.——21 miles.

The 24th. A flat and unintereſting chalky country continues almoſt to Clermont; where it improves; is hilly and has wood. The view of the town, as ſoon as the dale is ſeen, with the Duke of Fitzjames's plantations, is pretty.——24 miles.

The 25th. The environs of Clermont are pictureſque. The hills about Liancourt are pretty; and ſpread with a ſort of cultivation I had never ſeen before, ſore, a mixture of vineyard (for here the vines firſt appear); garden, and corn. A piece of wheat; a ſcrap of lucerne; a patch of clover or vetches; a bit of vines; with cherry, and other fruit-trees ſcattered among all, and the whole cultivated with the ſpade: it makes a pretty appearance, but muſt form a poor ſyſtem of trifling.

Chantilly!—magnificence is its reigning character; it is never loſt. There is not taſte or beauty enough to ſoften it into milder features: all but the chateau is great; and there is ſomething impoſing in that, except the gallery of the Great Conde's battle, and the cabinet of natural hiſtory which is rich in very fine ſpecimens, moſt advantageouſly arranged, it contains nothing that demands particular notice; nor is there one room which in England would be called large. The ſtable is truly great, and exceeds very much indeed any thing of the kind I had ever ſeen. It is 580 feet long, and 40 broad, and is ſometimes filled with 240 Engliſh horſes. I had been ſo accuſtomed to the imitation in water, of the waving and irregular lines of nature, that I came to Chantilly prepoſſeſſed againſt the idea of a canal; but the view of one here is ſtriking, and had the effect which magnificent ſcenes impreſs. It ariſes from extent, and from the right lines of the water uniting with the regularity of the objects in view. It is Lord Kaimes, I think, who ſays, the part of the garden contiguous to the houſe ſhould partake of the regularity of the building; with much magnificence about a place, this is almoſt unavoidable. The effect here, however, is leſſened by the parterre before the caſtle, in which the diviſions and the diminutive jets-d'eau are not of a ſize to correſpond with the magnificence of the canal. The menagerie is very pretty, and exhibits a prodigious variety of domeſtic poultry, from all parts of the world; one of the beſt objects to which a menagerie can be applied; theſe, and the Corſican ſtag, had all my attention. The *hameau* contains an imitation of an Engliſh garden; the taſte is but juſt introduced into France, ſo that it will not ſtand a critical examination. The moſt Engliſh idea I ſaw is the lawn in front of the ſtables; it is large, of a good verdure, and well kept; proving clearly that they may have as fine lawns in the north of France as in England. The labyrinth is the only complete one I have ſeen, and I have no inclination to ſee another: it is in gardening what a rebus is in poetry. In the Sylvae are many very fine and ſcarce plants. I wiſh thoſe perſons who view Chantilly, and are fond of fine trees would not forget to aſk for the great beech; this is the fineſt I ever ſaw; ſtrait as an arrow, and, as I gueſs, not leſs than 80 or 90 feet high; 40 feet to the firſt branch, and 12 feet diameter at five from the ground. It is in all reſpects one of the fineſt trees that can any where be met with. Two others are near it, but not equal to this ſuperb one. The foreſt around Chantilly, belonging to the Prince of Condé is immenſe, ſpreading far and wide; the Paris road croſſes it for ten miles, which is its leaſt extent. They ſay the capitainerie, or paramountſhip, is above 100 miles in circumference. That is to ſay, all the inhabitants for that extent are peſtered with game, without permiſſion to deſtroy it, in order to give one man diverſion. Ought not theſe capitaineries to be extirpated?

At Luzarch, I found that my mare, from illneſs, would travel no further; French ſtables, which are covered dung-hills, and the careleſſneſs of *garçons d'ecuries*, an execrable ſet of vermin, had given her cold. I therefore left her to ſend for from Paris, and went thither poſt; by which experiment I found that poſting in France is much worſe, and even, upon the whole, dearer than in England. Being in a poſt-chaiſe I travelled to Paris, as other travellers in poſt-chaiſes do, that is to ſay, knowing little or nothing. The laſt ten miles I was eagerly on the watch for that throng of carriages which near London impede the traveller. I watched in vain; for the road, quite to the gates, is, on compariſon, a perfect deſert. So many great roads join here, that I ſuppoſe this muſt be accidental. The entrance has nothing magnificent; ill built and dirty. To get to the Rue de Varenne Fauxbourg St. Germain, I had the whole city to croſs, and paſſed it by narrow, ugly, and crouded ſtreets.

At the hotel de la Rochefoucauld I found the Duke of Liancourt and his ſons, the Count de la Rochefoucauld, and the Count Alexander, with my excellent friend Monſieur de Lazowſki, all of whom I had the pleaſure of knowing in Suffolk. They introduced me to the Ducheſs D'Eſtiſſac, mother of the Duke of Liancourt, and to the Ducheſs of Liancourt. The agreeable reception and friendly attentions I met with from all this liberal family were well calculated to give me the moſt favourable impreſſion * * * * *.——42 miles.

The 26th. So ſhort a time had I paſſed before in France, that the ſcene is totally new to me. Till we have been accuſtomed to travelling, we have a propenſity to ſtare at and admire every thing—and to be on the ſearch for novelty, even in circumſtances in which it is ridiculous to look for it. I have been upon the full ſilly gape to find out things that I had not found before, as if a ſtreet in Paris could be compoſed of any thing but houſes, or houſes formed of any thing but brick or ſtone—or that the people in them, not being Engliſh, would be walking on their heads. I ſhall ſhake of this folly as faſt as I can, and bend my attention to mark the character and diſpoſition of the nation. Such views naturally lead us to catch the little circumſtances which ſometimes expreſs them; not an eaſy taſk, but ſubject to many errors.

I have only one day to paſs at Paris, and that is taken up with buying neceſſaries. At Calais, my abundant care produced the inconvenience it was meant to avoid; I was afraid of loſing my trunk, by leaving it at Deſſein's for the diligence; ſo I ſent it to M. Mouron's.—The conſequence is, that it is not to be found at Paris, and its contents are to be bought again before I can leave this city on our journey to the Pyrenees. I believe it may be received as a maxim, that a traveller ſhould always truſt his baggage to the common voitures of the country, without any extraordinary precautions.

After a rapid excurſion, with my friend Lazowſki, to ſee many things, but too haſtily to form any correct idea, ſpend the evening at his brother's, where I had the pleaſure of meeting Monſ. de Brouſſonet, ſecretary of the Royal Society of Agriculture, and Monſ. Deſmarets, both of the Academy of Sciences. As Monſ. Lazowſki is well informed in the manufactures of France, in the police of which he enjoys a poſt of conſideration, and as the other gentlemen have paid much attention to agriculture, the converſation was in no ſlight degree inſtructive, and I regretted that a very early departure from Paris would not let me promiſe myſelf a further enjoyment ſo congenial with my feelings, as the company of men, whoſe converſation ſhewed a marked attention to objects of national importance. On the breaking up of the party, went with count Alexander de la Rochefoucauld poſt to Verſailles, to be preſent at the fête of the day following; (whitſunday) ſlept at the duke de Liancourt's hotel.

The 27th. Breakfaſted with him at his apartments in the palace, which are annexed to his office of grand maſter of the wardrobe, one of the principal in the court of France.—Here I found the duke ſurrounded by a circle of noblemen, among whom was the duke de la Rochefoucauld, well known for his attention to natural hiſtory; I was introduced to him, as he is going to Bagnere de Luchon in the Pyrenees, where I am to have the honour of being in his party.

The ceremony of the day was, the King's inveſting the Duke of Berri, ſon of the count D'Artois, with the cordon blue. The Queen's band was in the chapel where the ceremony was performed, but the muſical effect was thin and weak. During the ſervice the King was ſeated between his two brothers, and ſeemed by his carriage and inattention to wiſh himſelf a hunting. He would certainly have been as well employed, as in hearing afterwards from his throne a feudal oath of chivalry, I ſuppoſe, or ſome ſuch nonſenſe, adminiſtered to a boy of ten years old. Seeing ſo much pompous folly I imagined it was the dauphin, and aſked a lady of faſhion near me; at which ſhe laughed in my face, as if I had been guilty of the moſt egregious idiotiſm: nothing could be done in a worſe manner; for the ſtifling of her expreſſion only marked it the more. I applied to Monſ. de la Rochefoucauld to learn what groſs abſurdity I had been guilty of ſo unwittingly; when, forſooth, it was becauſe the dauphin, *as all the world knows in* France, has the cordon blue put around him as ſoon as he is born. So unpardonable was it for a foreigner to be ignorant of ſuch an important part of French hiſtory, as that of giving a babe a blue ſlobbering bib inſtead of a white one!

After this ceremony was finiſhed, the King and the knights walked in a ſort of proceſſion to a ſmall apartment in which he dined, ſaluting the Queen as they paſſed. There appeared to be more eaſe and familiarity than form in this part of the ceremony; her majeſty, who, by the way, is the moſt beautiful woman I ſaw to-day, received them with a variety of expreſſion. On ſome ſhe ſmiled; to others ſhe talked; a few ſeemed to have the honour of being more in her intimacy. Her return to ſome was formal, and to others diſtant. To the gallant Suffrein it was reſpectful and benign. The ceremony of the King's dining in public is more odd than ſplendid. The Queen ſat by him with a cover before her, but ate nothing; converſing with the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Liancourt, who ſtood behind her chair. To me it would have been a moſt uncomfortable meal, and were I a ſovereign, I would ſweep away three-fourths of theſe ſtupid forms; if Kings do not dine like other people, they loſe much of the pleaſure of life; their ſtation is very well calculated to deprive them of much, and they ſubmit to nonſenſical cuſtoms, the ſole tendency of which is to leſſen the remainder. The only comfortable or amuſing dinner is a table of ten or twelve covers for the people whom they like; travellers tell us that this was the mode of the late King of Pruſſia, who knew the value of life too well to ſacrifice it to empty forms on the one hand, or to a monaſtic reſerve on the other.

The palace of Verſailles, one of the objects of which report had given me the greateſt expectation, is not in the leaſt ſtriking: I view it without emotion: the impreſſion it makes is nothing. What can compenſate the want of unity? From whatever point viewed, it appears an aſſemblage of buildings; a ſplendid quarter of a town, but not a fine edifice; an objection from which the garden front is not free, though by far the moſt beautiful.—The great gallery is the fineſt room I have ſeen; the other apartments are nothing; but the pictures and ſtatues are well known to be a capital collection. The whole palace, except the chapel, ſeems to be open to all the world; we puſhed through an amazing croud of all ſorts of people to ſee the proceſſion, many of them not very well dreſſed, whence it appears, that no queſtions are aſked. But the officers at the door of the apartment in which the King dined, made a diſtinction, and would not permit all to enter promiſcuouſly.

Travellers ſpeak much, even very late ones, of the remarkable intereſt the French take in all that perſonally concerns their King, ſhewing by the eagerneſs of their attention not curioſity only, but love. Where, how, and in whom thoſe gentlemen diſcovered this I know not.—It is either miſrepreſentation, or the people are changed in a few years more than is credible. Dine at Paris, and in the evening the dutcheſs of Liancourt, who ſeems to be one of the beſt of women, carried me to the opera at St. Cloud, where alſo we viewed the palace which the Queen is building; it is large, but there is much in the front that does not pleaſe me.——20 miles.

The 28th. Finding my mare ſufficiently recovered for a journey, a point of importance to a traveller ſo weak in cavalry as myſelf, I left Paris, accompanying the count de la Rochefoucauld and my friend Lazowſki, and commencing a journey that is to croſs the whole kingdom to the Pyrenees. The road to Orleans is one of the greateſt that leads from Paris, I expected, therefore, to have my former impreſſion of the little traffic near that city removed; but on the contrary it was confirmed; it is a deſert compared with thoſe around London. In ten miles we met not one ſtage or diligence; only two meſſageries, and very few chaiſes; not a tenth of what would have been met had we been leaving London at the ſame hour. Knowing how great, rich, and important a city Paris is, this circumſtance perplexes me much. Should it afterwards be confirmed, concluſions in abundance are to be drawn.

For a few miles, the ſcene is every where ſcattered with the ſhafts of quarries, the ſtone drawn up by lanthorn wheels of a great diameter. The country diverſified; and its greateſt want to pleaſe the eye is a river; woods generally in view; the proportion of the French territory covered by this production for want of coals, muſt be prodigious, for it has been the ſame all the way from Calais. At Arpajon, the maréchal duke de Mouchy has a ſmall houſe, which has nothing to recommend it.——20 miles.

The 29th. To Eſtamps is partly through a flat country, the beginning of the famous Pays de Beauce. To Toury, flat and diſagreeable, only two or three gentlemen's ſeats in ſight.——31 miles.

The 30th. One univerſal flat, uninclosed, unintereſting, and even tedious, though ſmall towns and villages are every where in ſight; the features that might compound a landſcape are not brought together. This Pays de Beauce contains, by reputation, the cream of French huſbandry; the ſoil excellent; but the management all fallow. Paſs through part of the foreſt of Orleans belonging to the duke of that name: it is one of the largeſt in France.

From the ſteeple of the cathedral at Orleans, the proſpect is very fine. The town large, and its ſuburbs, of ſingle ſtreets, extend near a league. The vaſt range of country, that ſpreads on every ſide, is an unbounded plain, through which the magnificent Loire bends his ſtately way, in ſight for 14 leagues; the whole ſcattered with rich meadows, vineyards, gardens, and foreſts. The population muſt be very great; for, beſide the city, which contains near 40,000 people, the number of ſmaller towns and villages ſtrewed thickly over the plain is ſuch as to render the whole ſcene animated. The cathedral, from which we had this noble proſpect is a fine building, the choir raiſed by Henry IV. The new church is a pleaſing edifice; the bridge a noble ſtructure of ſtone, and the firſt experiment of the flat arch made in France, where it is now ſo faſhionable. It contains nine, and is 410 yards long, and 45 feet wide. To hear ſome Engliſhmen talk, one would ſuppoſe there was not a fine bridge in all France; not the firſt, nor the laſt error I hope that travelling will remove. There are many barges and boats at the quay, built upon the river in the Bourbonnois, &c. loaded with wood, brandy, wine, and other goods; on arriving at Nantes, the veſſels are broken up and ſold with the cargo. Great numbers built with ſpruce fir. A boat goes from hence to that city, when demanded by ſix paſſengers, each paying a louis-d'or: they lie on ſhore every night, and reach Nantes in four days and an half. The principal ſtreet leading to the bridge is a fine one all buſy and alive, for trade is briſk here. Admire the fine acacias ſcattered about the town.——20 miles.

The 31ſt. On leaving it, enter ſoon the miſerable province of Sologne, which the French writers call the *triſte* Sologne. Through all this country they have had ſevere ſpring froſts, for the leaves of the walnuts are black and cut off. I ſhould not have expected this unequivocal mark of a bad climate after paſſing the Loire. To La Ferté Lowendahl, a dead flat of hungry ſandy gravel, with much heath. The poor people, who cultivate the ſoil here, are *metayers*, that is, men who hire the land without ability to ſtock it; the proprietor is forced to provide cattle and ſeed, and he and his tenant divide the produce; a miſerable ſyſtem, that perpetuates poverty and excludes inſtruction. Meet a man employed on the roads who was priſoner at Falmouth four years; he does not ſeem to have any rancour againſt the Engliſh; nor yet was he very well pleaſed with his treatment. At La Ferté is a handſome chateau of the marquis de Coix, with ſeveral canals, and a great command of water. To Nonant-le-Fuzelier, a ſtrange mixture of ſand and water. Much incloſed, and the houſes and cottages of wood filled between the ſtuds with clay or bricks, and covered not with ſlate but tile, with ſome barns boarded like thoſe in Suffolk—rows of pollards in ſome of the hedges; an excellent road of ſand; the general features of a woodland country; all combined to give a ſtrong reſemblance to many parts of England; but the huſbandry is ſo little like that of England, that the leaſt attention to it deſtroyed every notion of ſimilarity. ——27 miles.

JUNE 1. The ſame wretched country continues to La Loge; the fields are ſcenes of pitiable management, as the houſes are of miſery. Yet all this country highly improveable, if they knew what to do with it: the property, perhaps, of ſome of thoſe glittering beings, who figured in the proceſſion the other day at Verſailles. Heaven grant me patience while I ſee a country thus neglected—and forgive me the oaths I ſwear at the abſence and ignorance of the poſſeſſors.—Enter the generality of Bourges, and ſoon after a foreſt of oak belonging to the count d'Artois; the trees are dying at top, before they attain any ſize. There the miſerable Sologne ends; the firſt view of Verſon and its vicinity is fine. A noble vale ſpreads at your feet, through which the river Cheere leads, ſeen in ſeveral places to the diſtance of ſome leagues, a bright ſun burniſhed the water, like a ſtring of lakes amidſt the ſhade of a vaſt woodland. See Bourges to the left.—— 18 miles.

The 2d. Paſs the rivers Cheere and Lave; the bridges well built; the ſtream fine, and with the wood, buildings, boats, and adjoining hills, form an animated ſcene. Several new houſes, and buildings of good ſtone in Verſon; the place appears thriving, and doubtleſs owes much to the navigation. We are now in Berri, a province governed by a provincial aſſembly, conſequently the roads good, and made without *corvées*. Vatan is a little town that ſubſiſts chiefly by ſpinning. We drank there excellent Sancere wine, of a deep colour, rich flavour, and good body, 20 *ſ.* the bottle; but in the country 10. An extenſive proſpect before we arrived at Chateauroux where we viewed the manufactures.——40 miles.

The 3d. Within about three miles of Argenton come upon a fine ſcene, beautiful, yet with bold features; a narrow vale bounded on every ſide with hills covered with wood, all of which are immediately under the eye, without a level acre, except the bottom of the vale, through which a river flows, by an old caſtle picturesquely ſituated to the right; and to the left, a tower riſing out of a wood.

At Argenton, walk up a rock that hangs almoſt over the town. It is a delicious ſcene. A natural ledge of perpendicular rock puſhes forward abruptly over the vale, which is half a mile broad, and two or three long: at one end cloſed by hills, and at the other filled by the town with vineyards riſing above it; the ſurrounding ſcene that hems in the vale is high enough for relief; vineyards, rocks or hills covered with wood. The vale cut into incloſures of a lovely verdure, and a fine river winds through it, with an outline that leaves nothing to wiſh. The venerable fragments of a caſtle's ruins, near the point of view, are well adapted to awaken reflections on the triumph of the arts of peace over the barbarous ravages of the feudal ages, when every claſs of ſociety was involved in commotion, and the lower ranks were worſe ſlaves than at preſent.

The general face of the country, from Verſon to Argenton, is an unintereſting flat with many heaths of ling. No appearance of population, and even towns are thin. The huſbandry poor and the people miſerable. By the circumſtances to which I could give attention I conceive them to be honeſt and induſtrious; they ſeem clean; are civil, and have good countenances. They appear to me as if they would improve their country, if they formed the part of a ſyſtem, the principles of which tended to national proſperity.——18 miles.

The 4th. Paſs an incloſed country, which would have a better appearance if the oaks had not loſt their foliage by inſects, whoſe webs hang over the buds. They are but now coming into leaf again. Croſs a ſtream which ſeparates Berri from La Marche; cheſnuts appear at the ſame time; they are ſpread over all the fields, and yield the food of the poor. A variety of hill and dale, with fine woods, but little ſigns of population. Lizards for the firſt time alſo. There ſeems a connection relative to climate between the cheſnuts and theſe harmleſs animals. They are very numerous, and ſome of them near a foot long. Sleep at La Ville au Brun.——24 miles.

The 5th. The country improves in beauty greatly; paſs a vale, where a cauſeway ſtops the water of a ſmall rivulet and ſwells it into a lake, that forms one feature of a delicious ſcene. The indented outlines and the ſwells margined with wood are beautiful; the hills on every ſide in uniſon; one now covered with ling the prophetic eye of taſte may imagine lawn. Nothing is wanted to render the ſcene a garden, but to clear away rubbiſh.

The general face of the country, for 16 miles, by far the moſt beautiful I have ſeen in France; it is thickly incloſed, and full of wood; the umbrageous foliage of the cheſnuts gives the ſame beautiful verdure to the hills, as watered meadows (ſeen for the firſt time to day) to the vales. Diſtant mountainous ridges form the back ground, and make the whole intereſting. The declivity of country, as we go down to Baſſies, offers a beautiful view; and the approach to the town, preſents a landſcape fancifully grouped of rock, and wood, and water. To Limoge, paſs another artificial lake between cultivated hills; beyond are wilder heights, but mixed with pleaſant vales; ſtill another lake more beautiful than the former, with a fine accompanyment of wood; acroſs a mountain of cheſnut copſe, which commands a ſcene of a character different from any I have viewed either in France or England, a great range of hill and dale all covered with foreſt, and bounded by diſtant mountains. Not a veſtige of any human reſidence; no village: no houſe or hut, no ſmoke to raiſe the idea of a peopled country; an American ſcene; wild enough for the tomohawk of the ſavage. Stop at an execrable auberge, called Maiſon Rouge, where we intended to ſleep; but, on examination, found every appearance ſo forbidding, and ſo beggarly an account of a larder, that we paſſed on to Limoge. The roads through all this country, are truly noble, far beyond any thing I have ſeen in France or elſewhere.——44 miles.

The 6th. View Limoge, and examine its manufactures. It was certainly a Roman ſtation, and ſome traces of its antiquity are ſtill remaining. It is ill built, with narrow and crooked ſtreets, the houſes high and diſagreeable. They are raiſed of granite, or wood with lath and plaiſter, which ſaves lime, an expenſive article here, being brought from a diſtance of twelve leagues; the roofs are of pantiles, with projecting eaves, and almoſt flat; a ſure proof we have quitted the region of heavy ſnows. The beſt of their public works is a noble fountain, the water conducted three quarters of a league by an arched aqueduct, brought under the bed of a rock 60 feet deep to the higheſt ſpot in the town, where it falls into a baſon 15 feet diameter, cut out of one piece of granite; thence the water is let into reſervoirs, cloſed by ſluices, which are opened for watering the ſtreets, or in caſe of fires.

The cathedral is ancient, and the roof of ſtone; there are ſome arabeſque ornaments cut in ſtone, as light, airy, and elegant as any modern houſe can boaſt, whoſe decorations are in the ſame taſte.

The preſent biſhop has erected a large and handſome palace, and his garden is the fineſt object to be ſeen at Limoge, for it commands a landſcape hardly to be equalled for beauty: it would be idle to give any other deſcription than juſt enough to induce travellers to view it. A river winds through a vale, ſurrounded by hills that preſent the gayeſt and moſt animated aſſemblage of villas, farms, vines, hanging meadows, and cheſnuts blended ſo fortunately as to compoſe a ſcene truly ſmiling. This biſhop is a friend of the count de la Rochefoucauld's family; he invited us to dine, and gave us a very handſome entertainment. Lord Macartney, when a priſoner in France, after the Grenades were taken, ſpent ſome time with him; there was an inſtance of French politeneſs ſhewn to his lordſhip, that marks the urbanity of this people. The order came from court to ſing Te Deum on the very day that Lord Macartney was to arrive. Conceiving that the public demonſtrations of joy for a victory that brought his noble gueſt a priſoner, might be perſonally unpleaſant to him, the biſhop propoſed to the intendant to poſtpone the ceremony for a few days, in order that he might not meet it ſo abruptly; this was inſtantly acceded to, and conducted in ſuch a manner afterwards as to mark as much attention to Lord Macartney's feelings as to their own. The biſhop told me, that Lord Macartney ſpoke French better than he could have conceived poſſible for a foreigner, had he not heard him; better than many well educated Frenchmen.

The poſt of intendant here was rendered celebrated by being filled by that friend of mankind, Turgot, whoſe well earned reputation in this province placed him at the head of the French finances, as may be very agreeably learned, in that production of equal truth and elegance, his life by the marquis of Condorcet. The character which Turgot left here is conſiderable. The noble roads we have paſſed, ſo much exceeding any other I have ſeen in France, were amongſt his *good* works; an epithet due to them becauſe not made by *corvées*. There is here a ſociety of agriculture, which owes its origin to the ſame diſtinguiſhed patriot: but in that moſt unlucky path of French exertion he was able to do nothing: evils too radically fixed were in the way of the attempt. This ſociety does like other ſocieties,—they meet, converſe, offer premiums, and publiſh nonſenſe. This is not of much conſequence, for the people, inſtead of reading their memoirs, are not able to read at all. They can however *ſee*; and if a farm was eſtabliſhed in that good cultivation which they ought to copy, ſomething would be preſented from which they *might* learn. I aſked particularly if the members of this ſociety had land in their own hands, from which it might be judged if they knew any thing of the matter themſelves: I was aſſured that they had; but the converſation preſently explained it: they had *metayers* around their country-ſeats, and this was conſidered as farming their own lands, ſo that they aſſume ſomething of a merit from the identical circumſtance, which is the curſe and ruin of the whole country. In the agricultural converſations we have had on the journey from Orleans, I have not found one perſon who ſeemed ſenſible of the miſchief of this ſyſtem.

The 7th. No cheſnuts for a league before we reach Piere Buffiere, they ſay becauſe the baſis of the country is a hard granite; and they aſſert alſo at Limoge, that in this granite there grow neither vines, wheat, nor cheſnuts, but that on the ſofter granites theſe plants thrive well: it is true, that cheſnuts and this granite appeared together when we entered Limoſin. The road has been incomparably fine, and much more like the well kept alleys of a garden than a common high way. See for the firſt time old towers, that appear numerous in this country.——33 miles.

The 8th. Paſs an extraordinary ſpectacle for Engliſh eyes, of many houſes too good to be called cottages, without any glaſs windows. Some miles to the right is Pompadour, where the King has a ſtud; there are all kinds of horſes, but chiefly Arabian, Turkiſh, and Engliſh. Three years ago four Arabians were imported, which had been procured at the expence of 72,000 livres (3149l.) the price of covering a mare is only three livres to the groom; the owners are permitted to ſell their colts as they pleaſe, but if theſe come up to the ſtandard height, the King's officers have the preference, provided they give the price offered by others. Theſe horſes are not ſaddled till ſix years old. They paſture all day, but at night are confined on account of wolves, which are ſo common as to be a great plague to the people. A horſe of ſix years old, a little more than four feet ſix inches high, is ſold for 70l.; and 15l. has been offered for a colt of one year old. Paſs Uzarch; dine at Douzenac; between which place and Brive meet the firſt maize, or Indian corn.

The beauty of the country, through the 34 miles from St. George to Brive, is ſo various, and in every reſpect ſo ſtriking and intereſting, that I ſhall attempt no particular deſcription, but obſerve in general, that I am much in doubt, whether there be any thing comparable to it either in England or Ireland. It is not that a fine view breaks now and then upon the eye to compenſate the traveller for the dulneſs of a much longer diſtrict; but a quick ſucceſſion of landſcapes, many of which would be rendered famous in England, by the reſort of travellers to view them. The country is all hill or valley; the hills are very high, and would be called with us mountains, if waſte and covered with heath; but being cultivated to the very tops, their magnitude is leſſened to the eye. Their forms are various: they ſwell in beautiful ſemi-globes; they project in abrupt maſſes, which incloſe deep glens: they expand into amphitheatres of cultivation that riſe in gradation to the eye: in ſome places toſſed into a thouſand inequalities of ſurface; in others the eye repoſes on ſcenes of the ſofteſt verdure. Add to this, the rich robe with which nature's bounteous hand has dreſſed the ſlopes, with hanging woods of cheſnut. And whether the vales open their verdant boſoms, and admit the ſun to illumine the rivers in their comparative repoſe; or whether they be cloſed in deep glens, that afford a paſſage with difficulty to the water rolling over their rocky beds, and dazzling the eye with the luſtre of caſcades; in every caſe the features are intereſting and characteriſtic of the ſcenery. Some views of ſingular beauty rivetted us to the ſpots; that of the town of Uzarch, covering a conical hill, riſing in the hollow of an amphitheatre of wood, and ſurrounded at its feet by a noble river, is unique. Derry in Ireland has ſomething of its form, but wants ſome of its richeſt features. The water-ſcenes from the town itſelf, and immediately after paſſing it, are delicious. The immenſe view from the deſcent to Douzenach is equally magnificent. To all this is added the fineſt road in the world, every where formed in the perfect manner, and kept in the higheſt preſervation, like the well ordered alley of a garden, without duſt, ſand, ſtones, or inequality, firm and level, of pounded granite, and traced with ſuch a perpetual command of proſpect, that had the engineer no other object in view, he could not have executed it with a more finiſhed taſte.

The view of Brive, from the hill is ſo fine, that it gives the expectation of a beautiful little town, and the gaiety of the environs encourages the idea; but on entering, ſuch a contraſt is found as diſguſts completely. Cloſe, ill built, crooked, dirty, ſtinking ſtreets, exclude the ſun, and almoſt the air from every habitation, except a few tolerable ones on the promenade.—34 miles.

The 9th. Enter a different country, with the new province of Quercy, which is a part of Guienne; not near ſo beautiful as Limoſin, but, to make amends, it is far better cultivated. Thanks to maize, which does wonders! Paſs Noailles, on the ſummit of a high hill, the chateau of the Marſhal Duke of that name.—Enter a calcareous country, and loſe cheſnuts at the ſame time.

In going down to Souillac, there is a proſpect that muſt univerſally pleaſe: it is a bird's-eye view of a delicious little valley, ſunk deep amongſt ſome very bold hills that incloſe it; a margin of wild mountain contraſts the extreme beauty of the level ſurface below, a ſcene of cultivation ſcattered with fine walnut trees; nothing can apparently exceed the exuberant fertility of this ſpot.

Souillac is a little town in a thriving ſtate, having ſome rich merchants. They receive ſtaves from the mountains of Auvergne by their river Dordonne, which is navigable eight months in the year; theſe they export to Bourdeaux and Libourn; alſo wine, corn, and cattle, and import ſalt in great quantities. It is not in the power of an Engliſh imagination to figure the animals that waited upon us here, at the Chapeau Rouge. Some things that called themſelves by the courteſy of Souillac women, but in reality walking dung-hills.—But a neatly dreſſed clean waiting girl at an inn, will be looked for in vain in France.——34 miles.

The 10th. Croſs the Dordonne by a ferry; the boat well contrived for driving in at one end, and out at the other, without the abominable operation, common in England, of beating horſes till they leap into them; the price is as great a contraſt as the excellence; we paid for an Engliſh whiſky, a French cabriolet, one ſaddle-horſe, and ſix perſons, no more than 50*ſ.* (2s. 1d.) I have paid half-a-crown a wheel in England for execrable ferries, paſſed over at the hazard of the horſes limbs.—This river runs in a very deep valley between two ridges of high hills: extenſive views, all ſcattered with villages and ſingle houſes; an appearance of great population. Cheſnuts on a calcareous ſoil, contrary to the Limoſin maxim.

Paſs Payrac, and meet many beggars, which we had not done before. All the country, girls and women, are without ſhoes or ſtockings; and the ploughmen at their work have neither ſabots nor feet to their ſtockings. This is a poverty, that ſtrikes at the root of national proſperity; a large conſumption among the poor being of more conſequence than among the rich: the wealth of a nation lies in its circulation and conſumption; and the caſe of poor people abſtaining from the uſe of manufactures of leather and wool ought to be conſiſidered as an evil of the firſt magnitude. It reminded me of the miſery of Ireland. Paſs Pont-de-Rodez, and come to high land, whence we enjoyed an immenſe and ſingular proſpect of ridges, hills, vales, and gentle ſlopes, riſing one beyond another in every direction, with few maſſes of wood, but many ſcattered trees. At leaſt forty miles are tolerably diſtinct to the eye, and without a level acre; the ſun, on the point of being ſet, illumined part of it, and diſplayed a vaſt number of villages and ſcattered farms. The mountains of Auvergne, at the diſtance of 100 miles, added to the view. Paſs by ſeveral cottages, exceedingly well built, of ſtone and ſlate or tiles, yet without any glaſs to the windows; can a country be likely to thrive where the great object is to ſpare manufactures? Women picking weeds into their aprons for their cows, another ſign of poverty I obſerved, during the whole way from Calais.——30 miles.

The 11th. See for the firſt time the Pyrenees, at the diſtance of 150 miles.—To me, who had never ſeen an object farther than 60 or 70, I mean the Wicklow

low mountains, as I was going out of Holyhead, this was intereſting. Whereever the eye wandered in ſearch of new objects it was ſure to reſt there. Their magnitude, their ſnowy height, the line of ſeparation between two great kingdoms, and the end of our travels altogether account for this effect. Towards Cahors the country changes, and has ſomething of a ſavage aſpect; yet houſes are ſeen every where, and one-third of it under vines.

That town is bad; the ſtreets neither wide nor ſtrait, but the new road is an improvement. The chief object of its trade and reſource are vines and brandies. The true Vin de Cahors, which has a great reputation, is the produce of a range of vineyards, very rocky, on a ridge of hills full to the ſouth, and is called Vin de Grave, becauſe growing on a gravelly ſoil. In plentiful years, the price of good wine here does not exceed that of the caſk; laſt year it was ſold at 10s. 6d. a barique, or 8d. a dozen. We drank it at the Trois Rois from three to ten years old, the latter at 30*ſ.* (1s. 3d.) the bottle; both excellent, full bodied, great ſpirit, without being fiery, and to my palate much better than our ports. I liked it ſo well, that I eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with Monſ. Andoury, the innkeeper *. The heat of this country is equal to the production of ſtrong wine. This was the moſt burning day we had experienced.

On leaving Cahors, the mountain of rock riſes ſo immediately, that it ſeems as if it would tumble into the town. The leaves of walnuts are now black with froſts that happened within a fortnight. On enquiry, I found they are ſubject to theſe froſts all through the ſpring months; and though rye is ſometimes killed by them, the mildew in wheat is hardly known;—a fact ſufficiently deſtructive of the theory of froſts being the cauſe of that diſtemper. It is very rare that any ſnow falls here. Sleep at Ventillac.——22 miles.

The 12th. The ſhape and colour of the peaſants houſes here add a beauty to the country; they are ſquare, white, and with rather flat roofs, but few windows. The peaſants are for the moſt part land-proprietors. Immenſe view of the Pyrenees before us, of an extent and height truly ſublime: near Perges, the view of a rich vale, that ſeems to reach uninterruptedly to thoſe mountains is a glorious ſcenery; one vaſt ſheet of cultivation; every where chequered with theſe well built white houſes;—the eye loſing itſelf in the vapour, which ends only with that ſtupendous ridge, whoſe ſnow-capped heads are broken into the boldeſt outline. The road to Cauſſade leads through a very fine avenue of ſix rows of trees, two of them mulberries, which are the firſt we have ſeen. Thus we have travelled almoſt to the Pyrenees before we met with an article of culture which ſome want to introduce into England. The vale here is all on a dead level; the road finely made, and mended with gravel. Montauban is old, but not ill built. There are many good houſes, without forming handſome ſtreets. It is ſaid to be very populous, and the eye confirms the intelligence. The cathedral is modern, and pretty well built, but too heavy. The public college, the ſeminary, the biſhop's palace, and the houſe of the firſt preſident of the court of aids are good buildings: the laſt large, with a moſt ſhewy entrance. The promenade is finely ſituated; built on the higheſt part of the rampart, and commanding that noble vale, or rather plain, one of the richeſt in Europe, which extends on one ſide to the ſea, and in front to the Pyrenees; whoſe towering maſſes, heaped one upon another, in a ſtupendous manner, and covered with ſnow, offer a variety of lights and ſhades from indented forms, and the immenſity of their projections. This proſpect, which contains a ſemi-circle of an hundred miles diameter, has an oceanic vaſtneſs, in which the eye loſes itſelf; an almoſt boundleſs ſcene of cultivation; an animated, but confuſed maſs of infinitely varied parts—melting gradually into the diſtant obſcure, from which emerges the amazing frame of the Pyrenees, rearing their ſilvered heads far above the clouds. At Montauban, I met Capt. Plampin, of the royal navy; he was with Major Crew, who has a houſe and family here, to which he politely carried us; it is ſweetly ſituated on the ſkirts of the town, commanding a fine view; they were ſo obliging as to reſolve my enquiries upon ſome points, of which a reſidence made them complete judges. Living is reckoned cheap here; a family was named to us, whoſe income was ſuppoſed to be about 1500 louis a-year, and who lived as handſomely as in England on 5000l. The comparative dearneſs and cheapneſs of different countries, is a ſubject of conſiderable importance, but difficult to analize. As I conceive the Engliſh to have made far greater advances in the uſeful arts, and in manufactures, than the French have done, England ought to be the cheaper country. What we meet with in France, is a cheap *mode of living*, which is quite another conſideration.—30 miles.

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* I ſince had a barique of him; but whether he ſent bad wine, which I am not willing to believe, or that it came through bad hands, I know not. It is however ſo bad, as to be item for folly.

The 13th. Paſs Griſolles, where are well built cottages without glaſs, and ſome with no other light than the door. Dine at Pompinion, at the Grand Soleil, an uncommonly good inn, where Capt. Plampin, who accompanied us thus far, took his leave. Here we had a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, with rain much heavier I thought than I had known in England; but, when we ſet out for Toulouze, I was immediately convinced that ſuch a violent ſhower had never fallen in that kingdom; for the deſtruction it had poured on the noble ſcene of cultivation, which but a moment before was ſmiling with exuberance, was terrible to behold. All now one ſcene of diſtreſs: the fineſt crops of wheat beaten ſo flat to the ground, that I queſtion whether they can ever riſe again; other fields ſo inundated, that we were actually in doubt whether we were looking on what was lately land, or always water. The ditches had been filled rapidly with mud, had overflowed the road, and ſwept dirt and gravel over the crops.

Croſs one of the fineſt plains of wheat that is any where to be ſeen; the ſtorm, therefore, was fortunately partial. Paſs St. Jorry; a noble road, but not better than in Limoſin. It is a deſert to the very gates; meet not more perſons than if it were 100 miles from any town.——31 miles.

The 14th. View the city, which is very ancient and very large, but not peopled in proportion to its ſize: the buildings are a mixture of brick and wood, and have conſequently a melancholy appearance. This place has always prided itſelf on its taſte for literature and the fine arts. It has had a univerſity ſince 1215; and it pretends that its famous academy of Jeux Floraux is as old as 1323. It has alſo a royal academy of ſciences, another of painting, ſculpture, and architecture. The church of the Cordelliers has vaults, into which we deſcended, that have the property of preſerving dead bodies from corruption; we ſaw many that they aſſert to be 500 years old. If I had a vault well lighted, that would preſerve the countenance and phyſiognomy as well as the fleſh and bones, I ſhould like to have it peopled with all my anceſtors; and this deſire would, I ſuppoſe, be proportioned to their merit and celebrity; but to one like this, that preſerves cadaverous deformity, and gives perpetuity to death, the voracity of a common grave is preferable. But Toulouze is not without objects more intereſting than churches and academies; theſe are the new quay, the corn mills, and the canal de Brien. The quay is of a great length, and in all reſpects a noble work: the houſes intended to be built will be regular like thoſe already erected, in a ſtile aukward and inelegant. The canal de Brien, ſo called from the archbiſhop of Toulouze, afterwards prime miniſter and cardinal, was planned and executed in order to join the Garonne at Toulouze with the canal of Languedoc, which is united at two miles from the town with the ſame river. The neceſſity of ſuch a junction ariſes from the navigation of the river in the town being abſolutely impeded by the wear which is made acroſs it in favour of the corn mills. It paſſes arched under the quay to the river, and one ſluice levels the water with that of the Languedoc canal. It is broad enough for ſeveral barges to paſs abreaſt. Theſe undertakings have been well planned, and their execution is truly magnificent: there is however more magnificence than trade; for while the Languedoc canal is alive with commerce, that of Brien is a deſert.

Among other things we viewed at Toulouze, was the houſe of Monſ. du Barrè, brother of the huſband of the celebrated counteſs. By ſome tranſactions, favourable to anecdote, which enabled him to draw her from obſcurity, and afterwards to marry her to his brother, he contrived to make a pretty conſiderable fortune. On the firſt floor is one principal and complete apartment, containing ſeven or eight rooms, fitted up and furniſhed with ſuch profuſion of expence, that if a fond lover, at the head of a kingdom's finances, were decorating for his miſtreſs, he could hardly give in large any thing that is not here to be ſeen on a moderate ſcale. To thoſe who are fond of gilding here is enough to ſatiate; ſo much that to an Engliſh eye it has too gaudy an appearance. But the glaſſes are large and numerous. The drawing-room very elegant (gilding always excepted).—Here I remarked a contrivance which has a pleaſing effect; that of a looking-glaſs before the chimnies, inſtead of thoſe various ſcreens uſed in England: it ſlides backwards and forwards into the wall of the room. There is a portrait of Madame du Barrè, which is ſaid to be very like; if it really is, one would pardon a King ſome follies committed at the ſhrine of ſo much beauty.—As to the garden, it is beneath all contempt, except as an object to make a man ſtare at the efforts to which folly can arrive: in the ſpace of an acre, there are hills of genuine earth, mountains of paſteboard, rocks of canvaſs: abbeés, cows, ſheep, and ſhepherdeſſes in lead; monkeys and peaſants, aſſes and altars, in ſtone. Fine ladies and blackſmiths, parrots and lovers, in wood. Windmills and cottages, ſhops and villages, nothing excluded except nature.

The 15th. Meet Highlanders, who put me in mind of thoſe of Scotland; ſaw them firſt at Montauban; they have round flat caps, and looſe breeches: "Pipers, blue bonnets, and oat-meal, are found," ſays Sir James Stuart, "in Catalonia, Auvergne and Swabia, as well as in Lochabar." Many of the women here are without ſtockings. Meet them coming from the market, with their ſhoes in their baſkets. The Pyrenees, at ſixty miles diſtance, appear now ſo diſtinct, that one would gueſs it not more than fifteen; the lights and ſhades of the ſnow are ſeen clearly.——30 miles.

The 16th. A ridge of hills on the other ſide of the Garonne, which began at Toulouze, became more and more regular yeſterday; and is undoubtedly the moſt diſtant ramification of the Pyrenees, reaching into this vaſt vale quite to Toulouze, but no farther. Approach the mountains; the lower ones are all cultivated, but the higher ſeem covered with wood: the road now is bad all the way. Meet many waggons, each loaded with two caſks of wine, quite backward in the carriage and as the hind wheels are much higher than the fore ones, it ſhews that theſe mountaineers have more ſenſe than John Bull. The wheels of theſe waggons are all ſhod with wood inſtead of iron. Here, for the firſt time, ſee rows of maples, with vines, trained in feſtoons, from tree to tree; they are conducted by a rope of bramble, vine cutting, or willow. They give many grapes, but bad wine. Paſs St. Martino, and then a large village of well built houſes, without a ſingle glaſs window.——30 miles.

The 17th. St. Gaudens is an improving town, with many new houſes, ſomething more than comfortable. An uncommon view of St. Bertrand; you break at once upon a vale ſunk deep enough beneath the point of view to command every hedge and tree, with that town cluſtered round its large cathedral, on a riſing ground; if it had been built purpoſely to add a feature to a ſingular proſpect,

ſpect, it could not have been better placed. The mountains riſe proudly around, and give their rough frame to this exquiſite little picture.

Croſs the Garonne, by a new bridge of one fine arch, built of hard blue limeſtone. Medlars, plumbs, cherries, maples in every hedge, with vines trained.—Stop at Laureſſe; after which the mountains almoſt cloſe, and leave only a narrow vale, the Garonne and the road occupying ſome portion of it. Immenſe quantities of poultry in all this country; moſt of it the people ſalt and keep in greaſe. We taſted a ſoup made of the leg of a gooſe thus kept, and it was not nearly ſo bad as I expected.

Every crop here is backward, and betrays a want of ſun; no wonder, for we have been long travelling on the banks of a rapid river, and muſt now be very high, though ſtill apparently in vales. The mountains, in paſſing on, grow more intereſting. Their beauty, to northern eyes, is very ſingular; the black and dreary proſpects which our mountains offer are known to every one; but here the climate cloaths them with verdure, and the higheſt ſummits in ſight are covered with wood; there is ſnow on ſtill higher ridges.

Quit the Garonne ſome leagues before Sirpe, where the river Neſte falls into it. The road to Bagnere is along this river, in a very narrow valley, at one end of which is built the town of Luchon, the termination of our journey; which to me has been one of the moſt agreeable I ever undertook; the good humour and good ſenſe of my companions are well calculated for travelling; one renders a journey pleaſing, and the other inſtructive.—Having now croſſed the kingdom, and been in many French inns, I ſhall in general obſerve, that they are on an average better in two reſpects, and worſe in all the reſt, than thoſe in England. We have lived better in point of eating and drinking beyond a queſtion, than we ſhould have done in going from London to the Highlands of Scotland, at double the expence. But if in England the beſt of every thing is ordered, without any attention to the expence, we ſhould for double the money have lived better than we have done in France; the common cookery of the French gives great advantage. It is true, they roaſt every thing to a chip, if they are not cautioned: but they give ſuch a number and variety of diſhes, that if you do not like ſome, there are others to pleaſe your palate. The deſert at a French inn has no rival at an Engliſh one; nor are the liqueurs to be deſpiſed.—We ſometimes have met with bad wine, but upon the whole, far better than ſuch port as Engliſh inns give. Beds are better in France; in England they are good only at good inns; and we have none of that torment, which is ſo perplexing in England, to have the ſheets aired; for we never trouble our heads about them, doubtleſs on account of the climate. After theſe two points, all is a blank. You have no parlour to eat in; only a room with two, three, or four beds. Apartments badly fitted up; the walls white-waſhed; or paper of different ſorts in the ſame room; or tapeſtry ſo old, as to be a fit nidus for moths and ſpiders; and the furniture ſuch, that an Engliſh innkeeper would light his fire with it. For a table, you have every where a board laid on croſs bars, which are ſo conveniently contrived, as to leave room for your legs only at the end.—Oak chairs with ruſh bottoms, and the back univerſally a direct perpendicular, that defies all idea of reſt after fatigue. Doors give muſic as well as entrance; the wind whiſtles through their chinks; and hinges grate diſcord. Windows admit rain as well as light; when ſhut they are not eaſy to open; and when open not eaſy to ſhut. Mops, brooms, and ſcrubbing-bruſhes are not in the catalogue of the neceſſaries of a French inn. Bells there are none; the *fille* muſt always be bawled for; and when ſhe appears, is neither neat, well dreſſed, nor handſome. The kitchen is black with ſmoke; the maſter commonly the cook, and the leſs you ſee of the cooking, the more likely you are to have a ſtomach to your dinner; but this is not peculiar to France. Copper utenſils always in great plenty, but not always well tinned. The miſtreſs rarely claſſes civility or attention to her gueſts among the requiſites of her trade.——30 miles.

The 28th. Having been now ten days fixed in our lodgings, which the Count de la Rochefoucauld's friends had provided for us; it is time to minute a few particulars of our life here. Monſ. Lazowſki and myſelf have two good rooms on a ground floor, with beds in them, and a ſervant's room, for 4liv. (3s. 6d.) a-day. We are ſo unaccuſtomed in England to live in our bed-chambers, that it is at firſt aukward in France to find that people live no where elſe: At all the inns I have been in, it has been always in bed-rooms; and here I find, that every body, let his rank be what it may, lives in his bed-chamber. This is novel; our Engliſh cuſtom is far more convenient, as well as more pleaſing. But this habit I claſs with the œconomy of the French. The day after we came, I was introduced to the La Rochefoucauld party, with whom we have lived; it conſiſts of the duke and dutcheſs de la Rochefoucauld, daughter of the duke de Chabot; her brother, the prince de Laon and his princeſs, the daughter of the duke de Montmorenci; the count de Chabot, another brother of the dutcheſs de la Rochefoucauld; the marquis D'Aubourval, who, with my two fellow-travellers and myſelf, make a party of nine at dinner and ſupper. A traiteur ſerves our table at 4liv. a head for the two meals, two courſes and a good thing that is in ſupper one and a deſert: the whole very well ſerved, with every deſert, and at ſeaſon: the wine ſeparate, at 6*ſ.* (3d.) a bottle. With difficulty the Count's groom found a ſtable. Hay is little ſhort of 5l. Engliſh per ton; oats much the ſame price as in England, but not ſo good: ſtraw dear, and ſo ſcarce, that very often there is no litter at all.

The States of Languedoc are building a large and handſome bathing houſe, to contain various ſeparate cells, with baths, and a large common room, with two arcades to walk in, free from ſun and rain. The preſent baths are horrible holes; the patients lie up to their chins in hot ſulphureous water, which, with the beaſtly dens they are placed in, one would think ſufficient to cauſe as many diſtempers as they cure. They are reſorted to for cutaneous eruptions. The life led here has very little variety. Thoſe who bathe or drink the waters, do it at half after five or ſix in the morning; but my friend and myſelf are early in the mountains, which are here ſtupendous; we wander among them to admire the wild and beautiful ſcenes which are to be met with in almoſt every direction. The whole region of the Pyrenees is of a nature and aſpect ſo totally different from every thing that I had been accuſtomed to, that theſe excurſions were productive of much amuſement. Cultivation is here carried to a conſiderable perfection in ſeveral articles, eſpecially in the irrigation of meadows: we ſeek out the moſt intelligent peaſants, and have many and long converſations with thoſe who underſtand French, which however is not the caſe with all, for the language of the country is a mixture of Catalan, Provençal, and French.—This, with examining the minerals (an article for which the duke de la Rochefoucauld likes to accompany us, as he poſſeſſes a conſiderable knowledge in that branch of natural hiſtory), and with noting the plants with which we are acquainted, ſerves well to keep our time employed ſufficiently to our taſte. The ramble of the morning finiſhed, we return in time to dreſs for dinner, at half after twelve or one: then adjourn to the drawing-room of madam de la Rochefoucauld, or the counteſs of Grandval alternately, the only ladies who have apartments large enough to contain the whole company. None are excluded; as the firſt thing done, by every perſon who arrives, is to pay a morning viſit to each party already in the place; the viſit is returned, and then every body is of courſe acquainted at theſe aſſemblies, which laſt till the evening is cool enough for walking. There is nothing in them but cards, trick-track, cheſs, and ſometimes muſic; but the great feature is cards: I need not add, that I abſented myſelf often from theſe parties, which are ever mortally inſipid to me in England, and not leſs ſo in France. In the evening, the company ſplits into different parties, for their promenade, which laſts till half an hour after eight; ſupper is ſerved at nine: there is, after it, an hour's converſation in the chamber of one of our ladies; and this is the beſt part of the day,—for the chat is free, lively, and unaffected; and uninterrupted, unleſs on a poſt-day, when the duke has ſuch packets of papers and pamphlets, that they turn us all into politicians. All the world are in bed by eleven. In this arrangement of the day, no circumſtance is ſo objectionable as that of dining at noon, the conſequence of eating no breakfaſt; for as the ceremony of dreſſing is kept up, you muſt be at home from any morning's excurſion by twelve o'clock. This ſingle circumſtance, if adhered to, would be ſufficient to deſtroy any purſuits, except the moſt frivolous. Dividing the day exactly in halves, deſtroys it for any expedition, enquiry, or buſineſs that demands ſeven or eight hours attention, uninterrupted by any calls to the table or the toilette: calls which, after fatigue or exertion, are obeyed with refreſhment and with pleaſure. We dreſs for dinner in England with propriety, as the reſt of the day is dedicated to eaſe, to converſe, and relaxation: but by doing it at noon, too much time is loſt. What is a man good for after his ſilk breeches and ſtockings are on, his hat under his arm, and his head *bien poudré?*—Can he botanize in a watered meadow?—Can he clamber the rocks to mineralize?—Can he farm with the peaſant and the ploughman?—He is in order for the converſation of the ladies, which to be ſure is in every country, but particularly in France, where the women are highly cultivated, an excellent employment; but it is an employment that never reliſhes better than after a day ſpent in active toil or animated purſuit; in ſomething that has enlarged the ſphere of our conceptions, or added to the ſtores of our knowledge.—I am induced to make this obſervation, becauſe the noon dinners are cuſtomary all over France, except by perſons of conſiderable faſhion at Paris. They cannot be treated with too much ridicule or ſeverity, for they are abſolutely hoſtile to every view of ſcience, to every ſpirited exertion, and to every uſeful purſuit in life.

Living in this way, however, with ſeveral perſons of the firſt faſhion in the kingdom, is an object to a foreigner ſolicitous to remark the manners and character of the nation. I have every reaſon to be pleaſed with the experiment, as it affords me a conſtant opportunity to enjoy the advantages of an unaffected and poliſhed ſociety, in which an invariable ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, mildneſs of character, and what in Engliſh we emphatically call *good temper*, eminently prevails:—ſeeming to ariſe——at leaſt I conjecture it, from a thouſand little nameleſs and peculiar circumſtances; not reſulting entirely from the perſonal character of the individuals, but apparently holding of the national one.—Beſide the perſons I have named, there are among others at our aſſemblies, the marquis and marchioneſs de Hautfort; the duke and dutcheſs de Ville (this dutcheſs is among the good order of beings); the chevalier de Peyrac; Monſ. l'Abbé Baſtard; baron de Serres; viſcounteſs Duhamel; the biſhops of Croire and Montauban; Monſ. de la Marche; the baron de Montagu, a cheſs player; the chevalier de Cheyron; and Monſ. de Bellecomb, who commanded in Pondicherry, and was taken by the Engliſh. There are alſo about half a dozen young officers, and three or four abbées.

If I may hazard a remark on the converſation of French aſſemblies, from what I have known here, I ſhould praiſe them for equanimity but condemn them for inſipidity. All vigour of thought ſeems ſo excluded from expreſſion, that characters of ability and of inanity meet nearly on a par: tame and elegant, unintereſting and polite, the mingled maſs of communicated ideas has powers neither to offend nor inſtruct; where there is much poliſh of character there is little argument; and if you neither argue nor diſcuſs, what is converſation?—Good temper, and habitual eaſe, are the firſt ingredients in private ſociety; but wit, knowledge, or originality, muſt break their even ſurface into ſome inequality of feeling, or converſation is like a journey on an endleſs flat.

Of the rural beauties we have to comtemplate, the valley of Larbouſſe, in a nook of which the town of Luchon is ſituated, is the principal, with its ſurrounding accompanyment of mountain. The range that bounds it to the north, is bare of wood but covered with cultivation; and a large village, about three parts of its height, is perched on a ſteep, that almoſt makes the unaccuſtomed eye tremble with apprehenſion, that the village, church, and people will come tumbling into the valley. Villages thus perched, like eagles neſts on rocks, are a general circumſtance in the Pyrenees, which appear to be wonderfully peopled. The mountain, that forms the weſtern wall of the valley, is of a prodigious magnitude. Watered meadow and cultivation riſe more than one-third the height. A foreſt of oak and beech forms a noble belt above it; higher ſtill is a region of ling; and above all ſnow. From whatever point viewed, this mountain is commanding from its magnitude, and beautiful from its luxuriant foliage. The range which cloſes in the valley to the eaſt is of a character different from the others; it has more variety, more cultivation, villages, foreſts, glens, and caſcades. That of Gouzat, which turns a mill as ſoon as it falls from the mountain, is romantic, with every accompanyment neceſſary to give a high degree of pictureſque beauty. There are features in that of Montauban, which Claude Loraine would not have failed transfuſing on his canvaſs; and the view of the vale from the cheſnut rock is gay and animated. The termination of our valley to the ſouth is ſtriking; the river Neſte pours in inceſſant caſcades over rocks that ſeem an eternal reſiſtance. The eminence in the centre of a ſmall vale, on which is an old tower, is a wild and romantic ſpot; the roar of the waters beneath unites in effect with the mountains, whoſe towering foreſts, finiſhing in ſnow, give an awful grandeur, a gloomy greatneſs to the ſcene; and ſeem to raiſe a barrier of ſeparation between the kingdoms, too formidable even for armies to paſs. But what are rocks, and mountains, and ſnow, when oppoſed to human ambition?—In the receſſes of the pendent woods, the bears find their habitation, and on the rocks above, the eagles have their neſts. All around is great; the ſublime of nature, with impoſing majeſty, impreſſes awe upon the mind; attention is rivetted to the ſpot; and imagination, with all its excurſive powers, ſeeks not to wander beyond the ſcene.

Deepens the murmurs of the falling floods,
And breathes a browner horror o'er the woods.

To view theſe ſcenes tolerably, is a buſineſs of ſome days; and ſuch is the climate here, or at leaſt has been ſince I was at Bagnere de Luchon, that not more than one day in three is to be depended on for fine weather. The heights of the mountains is ſuch, that the clouds, perpetually broken, pour down quantities of rain. From June 26th to July 2d, we had one heavy ſhower, which laſted without intermiſſion for ſixty hours. The mountains, though ſo near, were hidden to their baſes in the clouds. They do not only arreſt the fleeting ones, which are paſſing in the atmoſphere, but ſeem to have a generative power; for you ſee ſmall ones at firſt, like thin vapour riſing out of glens, forming on the ſides of the hills, and increaſing by degrees, till they become clouds heavy enough to reſt on the tops, or elſe riſe into the aſmoſphere, and paſs away with others.

Among the original tenants of this immenſe range of mountains, the firſt in point of dignity, from the importance of the miſchief they do, are the bears. There are both ſorts, carnivorous and vegetable-eaters; the latter are more miſchievous than their more terrible brethren, coming down in the night and eating the corn, particularly buck-wheat and maize; and they are ſo nice in chooſing the ſweeteſt ears of the latter, that they trample and ſpoil infinitely more than they eat. The carnivorous bears wage war againſt the cattle and ſheep, ſo that no ſtock can be left in the fields at night. Flocks muſt be watched by ſhepherds, who have fire-arms, and the aſſiſtance of many ſtout and fierce dogs; and cattle are ſhut up in ſtables every night in the year. Sometimes, by accident, they wander from their keepers, and if left abroad, they run a conſiderable riſque of being devoured.—The bears attack theſe animals by leaping on their back, force the head to the ground, and thruſt their paws into the body in the violence of a dreadful hug. There are many hunting days every year for deſtroying them; ſeveral pariſhes joining for that purpoſe. Great numbers of men and boys form a cordon, and drive the wood where the bears are known or ſuſpected to be. They are the fatteſt in winter, when a good one is worth three louis. A bear never ventures to attack a wolf; but ſeveral wolves together, when hungry, will attack a bear, and kill and eat him. Wolves are here only in winter. In ſummer, they are in the very remoteſt parts of the Pyrenees—the moſt diſtant from human habitations: they are here, as every where elſe in France, dreadful to ſheep.

A part of our original plan of travelling to the Pyrenees, was an excurſion into Spain. Our landlord at Luchon had before procured mules and guides for perſons travelling on buſineſs to Saragoſſa and Barcelona, and at our requeſt wrote to Vielle, the firſt Spaniſh town acroſs the mountains, for three mules and a conductor, who ſpeaks French; and being arrived according to appointment, we ſet out on our expedition. *For the regiſter of this Tour into Spain, I muſt refer the reader to the Annals of Agriculture,* vol. viii. p. 193.

JULY 21. Return.—Leave Jonquieres, where the countenances and manners of the people would make one believe all the inhabitants were ſmugglers. Come to a moſt noble road, which the King of Spain is making; it begins at the pillars that mark the boundaries of the two monarchies, joining with the French road: it is admirably executed. Here take leave of Spain and re-enter France: the contraſt is ſtriking. When one croſſes the ſea from Dover to Calais, the preparation and circumſtance of a naval paſſage, lead the mind by ſome gradation to a change: but here, without going through a town, a barrier, or even a wall, you enter a new world. From the natural and miſerable roads of Catalonia, you tread at once on a noble cauſeway, made with all the ſolidity and magnificence that diſtinguiſhes the highways of France. Inſtead of beds of torrents you have well built bridges; and from a country wild, deſert, and poor, we found ourſelves in the midſt of cultivation and improvement. Every other circumſtance ſpoke the ſame language, and told us by ſigns not to be miſtaken, and ſome great and operating cauſe worked an effect too clear to be miſunderſtood. The more one ſees, the more I believe we ſhall be led to think, that there is but one all-powerful cauſe that inſtigates mankind, and that is GOVERNMENT!—Others form exceptions, and give ſhades of difference and diſtinction, but this acts with permanent and univerſal force. The preſent inſtance is remarkable; for Rouſſillon is in fact a part of Spain; the inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in cuſtoms; but they are under a French government.

Great range of the Pyrenees at a diſtance. Meet ſhepherds that ſpeak the Catalan. The cabriolets we meet are Spaniſh. The farmers threſh their corn like the Spaniards. The inns and the houſes are the ſame. Reach Perpignan; there I parted with Monſ. Lazowſki. He returned to Bagnere de Luchon, but I had planned a tour in Languedoc, to fill up the time to ſpare.——15 miles.

The 22d. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld had given me a letter to Monſ. Barri de Laſſeuſes, major of a regiment at Perpignan, and who, he ſaid, underſtood agriculture, and would be glad to converſe with me on the ſubject. I ſallied out in the morning to find him, but being Sunday, he was at his country-ſeat at Pia, about a league from the town. I had a roaſting walk thither, over a dry ſtoney country under vines. Monſ. Madame, and Mademoiſelle de Laſſeuſes, received me with great politeneſs. I explained the motives of my coming to France, which were not to run idly through the kingdom with the common herd of travellers, but to make myſelf a maſter of their agriculture; that if I found any thing good and applicable to England, I might copy it. He commended the deſign greatly; ſaid it was travelling with a truly laudable motive; but expreſſed much aſtoniſhment, as it was ſo uncommon; and was very ſure there was not a ſingle Frenchman in all England on ſuch an errand. He deſired I would ſpend the day with him. I found the vineyard the chief part of his huſbandry, but he had ſome arable land, managed in the ſingular manner of that province. He pointed to a village which he ſaid was Riveſalta, which produced ſome of the moſt famous wine in France; at dinner I found that it merited its reputation. In the evening returned to Perpignan, after a day fertile in uſeful information.——8 miles.

The 23d. Take the road to Narbonne. Paſs Riveſalta. Under the mountain there is the largeſt ſpring I ever ſaw. Otters-Pool and Holywell are bubbles to it. It riſes at the foot of the rock, and is able to turn immediately many mills; being at once rather a river than a ſpring. Paſs an uninterrupted flat waſte, without a ſingle tree, houſe, or village for a conſiderable diſtance: by much the uglieſt country I have ſeen in France. Great quantities of corn every where treading out with mules, as in Spain. Dine at Sejean, at the Soleil, a good new inn, where I accidentally met with the marquis de Treſſan. He told me, that I muſt be a ſingular perſon to travel ſo far with no other object than agriculture: he never knew nor heard of the like; but approved much of the plan, and wiſhed he could do the ſame.

The roads here are ſtupendous works. I paſſed a hill, cut through to eaſe a deſcent, that was all in the ſolid rock, and coſt 90,000 liv. (3,937l.) yet it extends but a few hundred yards. Three leagues and an half from Sejean to Narbonne coſt 1,800,000 liv. (78,750l.) Theſe ways are ſuperb even to a folly. Enormous ſums have been ſpent to level even gentle ſlopes. The cauſeways are raiſed and walled on each ſide, forming one ſolid maſs of artificial road, carried acroſs the vallies to the height of ſix, ſeven, or eight feet, and never leſs than 50 wide. There is a bridge of a ſingle arch, and a cauſeway to it, truly magnificent; we have not an idea of what ſuch a road is in England. The traffic of the way, however, demands no ſuch exertions; one-third of the breadth is beaten, one-third rough, and one-third covered with weeds. In 36 miles, I have met one cabriolet, half a dozen carts, and ſome old women with aſſes. For what all this waſte of treaſure?——In Languedoc, it is true, theſe works are not done by corvées; but there is an injuſtice in levying the amount not far ſhort of them. The money is raiſed by tailles, and, in making the aſſeſſment, lands held by a noble tenure are ſo much eaſed, and others by a baſe one ſo burthened, that 120 arpents in this neighbourhood, held by the former, pay 90 liv. and 400 poſſeſſed by a plebeian right, which ought proportionally to pay 300 liv. is, inſtead of that, aſſeſſed at 1400 liv. At Narbonne, the canal which joins that of Languedoc, deſerves attention; it is a very fine work, and will, they ſay, be finiſhed next month.—— 36 miles.

The 24th. Women without ſtockings, and many without ſhoes; but if their feet are poorly clad they have a *ſuperb* conſolation in walking upon magnificent cauſeways: the new road is 50 feet wide, and 50 more digged away or deſtroyed to make it.

The vintage itſelf can hardly be ſuch a ſcene of activity and animation as this univerſal one of treading out the corn, with which all the towns and villages in Languedoc are now alive. The corn is all roughly ſtacked around a dry firm ſpot, where great numbers of mules and horſes are driven on a trot round a centre, a woman holding the reins, and another, or a girl or two, with whips drive; the men ſupply and clear the floor; other parties are dreſſing, by throwing the corn into the air for the wind to blow away the chaff. Every ſoul is employed, and with ſuch an air of cheerfulneſs, that the people ſeem as well pleaſed with their labour, as the farmer himſelf with his great heaps of wheat. The ſcene is uncommonly animated and joyous. I ſtopped and alighted often to ſee their method; I was always very civilly treated, and my wiſhes for a good price for the farmer, and not too good a one for the poor, well received. This method, which entirely ſaves barns, depends abſolutely on climate: from my leaving Bagnere de Luchon to this moment, all through Catalonia, Rouſſillon, and this part of Languedoc, there has been nothing like rain; but one unvarying clear bright ſky and burning ſun, yet not at all ſuffocating, or to me even unpleaſant. I aſked whether they were not ſometimes caught in the rain? they ſaid, very rarely indeed; but if rain did come, it is ſeldom more than a heavy ſhower, which a hot ſun quickly ſucceeds and dries every thing ſpeedily.

The canal of Languedoc is the capital feature of all this country. The mountain through which it pierces is inſulated, in the midſt of an extended valley, and only half a mile from the road. It is a noble and ſtupendous work, goes through the hill about the breadth of three toiſes, and was digged without ſhafts.

Leave the road, and croſſing the canal, follow it to Beziers; nine ſluicegates let the water down the hill to join the river at the town.—A noble work! The port is broad enough for four large veſſels to lie abreaſt; the greateſt of them carries from 90 to 100 tons. Many of them were at the quay, ſome in motion, and every ſign of an animated buſineſs. This is the beſt ſight I have ſeen in France. Here Lewis XIV. thou art truely great!—Here, with a generous and benignant hand, thou diſpenſeſt eaſe and wealth to thy people!—*Si ſic omnia*, thy name would indeed have been revered. To effect this noble work, of uniting the two ſeas, leſs money was expended than to beſiege Turin, or to ſeize Straſbourg like a robber. Such an employment of the revenues of a great kingdom is the only laudable way of a monarch's acquiring immortality; all other means make their names ſurvive with thoſe only of the incendiaries, robbers, and violators of mankind. The canal paſſes through the river for about half a league, ſeparated from it by walls which are covered in floods; and then turns off for Cette. Dine at Beziers. Knowing that Monſ. l'Abbé Rozier, the celebrated editor of the Journal Phyſique, and who is now publiſhing a dictionary of huſbandry, which in France has much reputation, lived and farmed near Beziers, I enquired at the inn the way to his houſe. They told me that he had left Beziers two years, but that the houſe was to be ſeen from the ſtreet, and accordingly ſhewed it me from ſomething of a ſquare open on one ſide to the country; adding, that it belonged now to a Monſ. de Rieuſe, who had purchaſed the eſtate of the Abbé. To view the farm of a man celebrated for his writings, was an object as it would, at leaſt, enable me, in reading his book, to underſtand better the alluſions he might make to the ſoil, ſituation, and other circumſtances. I was ſorry to hear, at the table d'hôte, much ridicule thrown on the Abbé Rozier's huſbandry, that it had *beaucoup de fantaſie mais rien ſolide*; in particular, they treated his paving his vineyards as a ridiculous circumſtance. Such an experiment ſeemed remarkable, and I was glad to hear it, that I might deſire to ſee theſe paved vineyards. The Abbé here, as a farmer, has juſt that character which every man will be ſure to have who departs from the methods of his neighbours; for it is not in the nature of countrymen, that any body ſhould come among them who can preſume with impunity to think for themſelves. I aſked why he left the country? and they gave me a curious anecdote of the biſhop of Beziers cutting a road through the Abbé's farm, at the expence of the province, to lead to the houſe of his (the biſhop's) miſtreſs, which occaſioned ſuch a quarrel that Monſ. Rozier could ſtay no longer in the country. This is a pretty feature of a government: that a man is to be forced to ſell his eſtate, and driven out of a country, becauſe biſhops make love.—I ſuppoſe to their neighbours wives, as no other love is faſhionable in France. Which of my neighbours wives will tempt the biſhop of Norwich to make a road through my farm, and drive me to ſell Bradfield?—I give my authority for this anecdote, the chat of a table d'hôte; it is as likely to be falſe as true; but Languedocian biſhops are certainly not Engliſh ones.—Monſ. de Rieuſe received me politely, and ſatisfied as many of my enquiries as he could; for he knew little more of the Abbé's huſbandry than common report, and what the farm itſelf told him. As to paved vineyards, there was no ſuch thing: the report muſt have taken riſe from a vineyard of Burgundy grapes, which the Abbé planted in a new manner; he ſet them in a curved form, in a foſs, covering them only with flints inſtead of earth; this ſucceeded well. I walked over the farm, which is beautifully ſituated, on the ſlope and top of a hill, which commands Beziers, its rich vale, its navigation, and a fine accompanyment of mountains.

Beziers has a fine promenade; and is becoming, they ſay, a favourite reſidence for the Engliſh, preferring the air to that of Montpellier. Take the road to Pezenas. It leads up a hill, which commands, for ſome time, a view of the Mediterranean. Through all this country, but particularly in the olive grounds, the cricket (*cicala*) makes a conſtant, ſharp, monotonous noiſe; a more odious companion on the road can hardly be imagined. Pezenas opens on a very fine country, a vale of ſix or eight leagues extent all cultivated; a beautiful mixture of vines, mulberries, olives, towns, and ſcattered houſes, with a great deal of fine lucerne; the whole bounded by gentle hills, cultivated to their tops.—At ſupper, at the table d'hôte, we were waited on by a female without ſhoes or ſtockings, exquiſitely ugly, and diffuſing odours not of roſes: there were, however, a croix de St. Louis, and two or three mercantile-looking people that prated with her very familiarly: at an ordinary of farmers, at the pooreſt and remoteſt market village in England, ſuch an animal would not be allowed by the landlord to enter his houſe; or by the gueſts their room.—32 miles.

The 25th. The road, in croſſing a valley to and from a bridge, is a magnificent walled cauſeway, more than a mile long, ten yards wide, and from eight to twelve feet high; with ſtone poſts on each ſide at every ſix yards—a prodigious work.—I know nothing more ſtriking to a traveller than the roads of Languedoc: we have not in England a conception of ſuch exertions; they are ſplendid and ſuperb; and if I could free my mind of the recollection of the unjuſt taxation which pays them, I ſhould travel with admiration at the magnificence diſplayed by the ſtates of this province. The police of theſe roads is however execrable—for I ſcarcely meet a cart but the driver is aſleep in it.

Taking the road to Montpellier, paſs through a pleaſing country; and by another immenſe walled cauſeway, twelve yards broad and three high, leading cloſe to the ſea. To Pijan, and near Frontignan and Montbaſin, famous for their muſcat wines.—Approach Montpellier; the environs, for near a league, are delicious, and more highly ornamented than any thing I have ſeen in France.—Villas well built, clean, and comfortable, with every appearance of wealthy owners, are ſpread thickly through the country. They are, in general, pretty ſquare buildings; ſome very large. Montpellier, with the air rather of a great capital than of a provincial town, covers a hill that ſwells proudly to the view.—But on entering it, you experience a diſappointment from narrow, ill-built, crooked ſtreets, but full of people, and apparently alive with buſineſs; yet there is no conſiderable manufacture in the place; the principal are verdigreaſe, ſilk handkerchiefs, blankets, perfumes and *liqueurs*. The great object for a ſtranger to view is the promenade or ſquare, for it partakes of both, called the Perou.—There is a magnificent aqueduct on three tires of arches for ſupplying the city with water, from a hill at a conſiderable diſtance; a very noble work; a *chateau d'eau* receives the water in a circular baſon, from which it falls into an external reſervoir, to ſupply the city, and the *jets d'eau* that cool the air of a garden below, the whole in a fine ſquare conſiderably elevated above the ſurrounding ground, walled in with a balluſtrade, and other mural decorations, and in the centre a good equeſtrian ſtatue of Louis XIV. There is an air of real grandeur and magnificence in this uſeful work, that ſtruck me more than any thing at Verſailles. The view is alſo ſingularly beautiful. To the ſouth, the eye wanders with delight over a rich vale, ſpread with villas, and terminated by the ſea. To the north, a ſeries of cultivated hills. On one ſide, the vaſt range of the Pyrenees trend away till loſt in remoteneſs. On the other, the eternal ſnows of the Alps pierce the clouds. The whole view one of the moſt ſtupendous to be ſeen, when a clear ſky approximates theſe diſtant objects.——32 miles.

The 26th. The fair of Beaucaire fills the whole country with buſineſs and motion; meet many carts loaded; and nine diligences going or coming. Yeſterday and to day the hoteſt I ever experienced; we had none like them in Spain—the flies much worſe than the heat.——30 miles.

The 27th. The amphitheatre of Niſmes is a prodigious work, which ſhews how well the Romans had adapted theſe edifices to the abominable uſes to which they were erected. The convenience of a theatre that could hold 17000 ſpectators without confuſion; the magnitude; the maſſive and ſubſtantial manner in which it is built without mortar, that has withſtood the attacks of the weather, and the worſe depredations of the barbarians in the various revolutions of ſixteen centuries, all ſtrike the attention forcibly.

I viewed the Maiſon Quarré laſt night; again this morning, and twice more in the day; it is beyond all compariſon the moſt light, elegant, and pleaſing building I ever beheld. Without any magnitude to render it impoſing; without any extraordinary magnificence to ſurprize, it rivets attention. There is a magic harmony in the proportions that charms the eye. One can fix on no particular part of pre-eminent beauty; it is one perfect whole of ſymmetry and grace. What an infatuation in modern architects, that can overlook the chaſte and elegant ſimplicity of taſte, manifeſt in ſuch a work; and yet rear ſuch piles of laboured foppery and heavineſs as are to be met with in France. The temple of Diana, as it is called, and the ancient baths, with their modern reſtoration, and the promenade, form parts of the ſame ſcene, and are magnificent decorations of the city. I was, in relation to the baths, in ill luck, for the water was all drawn off, in order to clean them and the canals.—The Roman pavements are ſingularly beautiful, and in high preſervation. My quarters at Niſmes were at the Louvre, a large, commodious, and excellent inn, the houſe was almoſt as much a fair from morning to night as Beaucaire itſelf could be. I dined and ſupped at the table d'hôte; the cheapneſs of theſe tables ſuits my finances, and one ſees ſomething of the manners of the people; we ſat down from twenty to forty at every meal, moſt motley companies of French, Italians, Spaniards, and Germans, with a Greek and Armenian; and I was informed, that there is hardly a nation in Europe or Aſia, that have not merchants at this great fair, chiefly for raw ſilk, of which many millions in value are ſold in four days: all the other commodities of the world are to be found there.

One circumſtance I muſt remark on this numerous table d'hôte, becauſe it has ſtruck me repeatedly, which is the taciturnity of the French. I came to the kingdom expecting to have my ears conſtantly fatigued with the infinite volubility and ſpirits of the people, of which ſo many perſons have written, ſitting, I ſuppoſe, by their Engliſh fire-ſides. At Montpellier, though 15 perſons and ſome of them ladies were preſent, I found it impoſſible to make them break their inflexible ſilence with more than a monoſyllable, and the whole company ſat more like an aſſembly of tongue-tied quakers, than the mixed company of a people famous for loquacity. Here alſo, at Niſmes, with a different party at every meal it is the ſame; not a Frenchman will open his lips. To-day at dinner, hopeleſs of that nation, and fearing to loſe the uſe of an organ they had ſo little inclination to employ, I fixed myſelf by a Spaniard, and having been ſo lately in his country, I found him ready to converſe, and tolerably communicative; but we had more converſation than thirty other perſons maintained among themſelves.

The 28th. Early in the morning to the Pont du Gard, through a plain covered with vaſt plantations of olives to the left, but much waſte rocky land. At the firſt view of that celebrated aqueduct, I was rather diſappointed, having expected ſomething of greater magnitude; but ſoon found the error: I was, on examining it more nearly, convinced that it poſſeſſed every quality that ought to make a ſtrong impreſſion. It is a ſtupendous work; the magnitude, and the maſſive ſolidity of the architecture, which may probably endure two or three thouſand years more, united with the undoubted utility of the undertaking, to give us a high idea of the ſpirit of exertion which executed it for the ſupply of a provincial town: the ſurprize, however, may ceaſe, when we conſider the nations enſlaved that were the workmen.—Returning to Niſmes, meet many merchants returning from the fair; each with a child's drum tied to their cloakbag: my own little girl was too much in my head not to love them for this mark of attention to their children;—but why a drum?—Have they not had enough of the military in a kingdom, where they are excluded from all the honours, reſpect, and emolument, that can flow from the ſword?—I like Niſmes much; and if the inhabitants are at all on a par with the appearance of their city, I ſhould prefer it for a reſidence to moſt, if not all the towns I have ſeen in France.

The theatre, however, is a capital point, in that Montpellier is ſaid to exceed it.—24 miles.

The 29th. Paſs ſix leagues of diſagreeable country to Sauve. Vines and olives. The chateau of Monſ. Sabbatier ſtrikes in this wild country; he has incloſed much with dry walls, planted many mulberries and olives, which are young, thriving, and well incloſed, yet the ſoil is ſo ſtoney, that no earth is viſible; ſome of his walls are four feet thick, and one of them twelve thick and five high, whence it ſeems, he thinks moving the ſtones a neceſſary improvement, which I much queſtion. He has built three or four new farm-houſes; I ſuppoſe he reſides on this eſtate for improving it. I hope he does not *ſerve*; that no moon-ſhine purſuit may divert him from a conduct honourable to himſelf, and beneficial to his country.—Leaving Sauve, I was much ſtruck with a large tract of land, ſeemingly nothing but huge rocks; yet moſt of it incloſed and planted with the moſt induſtrious attention. Every man has an olive, a mulberry, an almond, or a peach-tree, and vines ſcattered among them; ſo that the whole ground is covered with the oddeſt mixture of theſe plants, and bulging rocks that can be conceived. The inhabitants of this village deſerve encouragment for their induſtry; and if I was a French miniſter, they ſhould have it. They would ſoon turn all the deſerts around them into gardens. Such a knot of active huſbandmen, who turn their rocks into ſcenes of fertility, becauſe I ſuppoſe THEIR OWN, would do the ſame by the waſtes, if animated by the ſame omnipotent principle. Dine at St. Hyppolite, with eight proteſtant merchants returning home to Rouverge, from the fair of Beaucaire; as we parted at the ſame time, we travelled together; and from their converſation, I learned ſome circumſtances of which I wanted to be informed; they told me alſo, that mulberries extend beyond Vigan, but then, and eſpecially about Milhaud, almonds take their place, and are in very great quantities.

My Rouverge friends preſſed me to paſs with them to Milhaud and Rodez, aſſured me, that the cheapneſs of their province was ſo great, that it would tempt me to live ſome time amongſt them. That I might have a houſe at Milhaud, of four tolerable rooms on a floor furniſhed, for 12 louis a-year; and live in the utmoſt plenty with all my family, if I would bring them over, for 100 louis a-year: that there were many families of nobleſſe, who ſubſiſted on 50, and even on 25 a-year. Such anecdotes of cheapneſs are only curious when conſidered in a political light, as contributing on one hand to the welfare of individuals; and on the other, as contributing to the proſperity, wealth, and power of the kingdom; if I ſhould meet with many ſuch inſtances, and alſo with others directly contrary, it will be neceſſary to conſider them more at large.—30 miles.

The 30th. Going out of Gange, I was ſurpriſed to find by far the greateſt exertion in irrigation which I had yet ſeen in France; and then paſs by ſome ſteep mountains, highly cultivated in terraces. Much watering at St. Laurence. The ſcenery very intereſting to a farmer. From Gange, to the mountain of rough ground which I croſſed, the ride has been the moſt intereſting which I have taken in France; the efforts of induſtry the moſt vigorous; the animation the moſt lively. An activity has been here, that has ſwept away all difficulties before it, and has cloathed the very rocks with verdure. It would be a diſgrace to common ſenſe to aſk the cauſe: the enjoyment of property *muſt* have done it. Give a man the ſecure poſſeſſion of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years leaſe of a garden, and he will convert it into a deſert. To Montadier, over a rough mountain covered with box and lavender; it is a beggarly village, with an auberge that made me almoſt ſhrink. Some cut-throat figures were eating black bread, whoſe viſages had ſo much of the gallies that I thought I heard their chains rattle. I looked at their legs, and could not but imagine they had no buſineſs to be free. There is a ſpecies of countenance here ſo horridly bad, that it is impoſſible to be miſtaken in one's reading. I was quite alone, and abſolutely without arms. Till this moment, I had not dreamt of carrying piſtols: I ſhould now have been better ſatisfied, if I had had them. The maſter of the auberge, who ſeemed firſt couſin to his gueſts, procured for me ſome wretched bread with difficulty, but it was not black.—No meat, no eggs, no legumes, and execrable wine: no corn for my mule; no hay; no ſtraw; no graſs: the loaf fortunately was large; I took a piece, and ſliced the reſt for my four-footed Spaniſh friend, who ate it thankfully, but the aubergiſte growled.—Deſcend by a winding and excellent road to Maudieres, where a vaſt arch is thrown acroſs the torrent. Paſs St. Maurice, and croſs a ruined foreſt amongſt fragments of trees. Deſcend three hours, by a moſt noble road hewn out of the mountain ſide to Lodeve, a dirty, ugly, ill built town, with crooked cloſe ſtreets, but populous, and very induſtrious.—Here I drank excellent light and pleaſing white wine, at 5*ſ.* a bottle.——36 miles.

The 31ſt. Croſs a mountain by a miſerable road, and reach Beg de Rieux, which ſhares with Carcaſſonne, the fabric of fondrins, for the Levant trade.—Croſs much waſte to Beziers.—I met to-day with an inſtance of ignorance in a well dreſſed French merchant, that ſurpriſed me. He had plagued me with abundance of tireſome fooliſh queſtions, and then aſked for the third or fourth time what country I was of. I told him I was a Chineſe. How far off is that country?—I replied, 200 leagues. *Deux cents lieus! Diable! c'eſt un grand chemin!* The other day a Frenchman aſked me, after telling him I was an Engliſhman, If we had trees in England?—I replied, that we had a few. Had we any rivers?—Oh, none at all. *Ah ma foi c'eſt bien triſte!* This incredible ignorance, when compared with the knowledge ſo univerſally diſſeminated in England, is to be attributed, like every thing elſe, to government.——40 miles.

AUGUST 1. Leave Beziers, in order to go to Capeſtan by the pierced mountain. Croſs the canal of Languedoc ſeveral times; and over many waſtes to Pleraville. The Pyrenees now full to the left, and their roots but a few leagues off. At Carcaſſonne they carried me to a fountain of muddy water, and to a gate of the barracks; but I was better pleaſed to ſee ſeveral large good houſes of manufacturers, that ſhew wealth.——40 miles.

The 2d. Paſs a conſiderable convent, with a long line of front, and riſe to Fanjour.——16 miles.

The 3d. At Mirepoix they are building a moſt magnificent bridge of ſeven flat arches, each of 64 feet ſpan, which will coſt 1,800,000 liv. (78,750l.); it has been 12 years erecting, and will be finiſhed in two more. The weather for ſeveral days has been as fine as poſſible, but very hot; to-day the heat was ſo diſagreeable, that I reſted from twelve to three at Mirepoix; and found it ſo burning, that it was an effort to go half a quarter of a mile to view the bridge. The myriads of flies were ready to devour me, and I could hardly ſupport any light in the room. Riding fatigued me, and I enquired for a carriage of ſome ſort to carry me, while theſe great heats ſhould continue; I had done the ſame at Carcaſſonne; but nothing like a cabriolet of any ſort was to be had. When it is recollected that that place is one of the moſt conſiderable manufacturing towns in France, containing 15,000 people, and that Mirepoix is far from being a mean place, and yet not a voiture of any kind to be had, how will an Engliſhman bleſs himſelf for the univerſal conveniences that are ſpread through his own country, in which I believe there is not a town of 1500 people in the kingdom where poſt chaiſes and able horſes are not to be had at a moment's warning? What a contraſt! This confirms the fact deducible from the little traffic on the roads even around Paris itſelf. Circulation is ſtagnant in France.—The heat was ſo great that I left Mirepoix diſordered with it: This was by far the hotteſt day that I ever felt. The hemiſphere ſeemed almoſt in a flame with burning rays that rendered it impoſſible to turn ones eyes within many degrees of the radiant orb that now blazed in the heavens.—Croſs another fine new bridge of three arches; and come to a woodland, the firſt I have ſeen for a great diſtance. Many vines about Pamiers, which is ſituated in a beautiful vale, upon a fine river. The place itſelf is ugly ſtriking, and ill built; with an inn! Adieu, Monſ. Gaſcit; if fate ſends me to ſuch another houſe as thine—be it an expiation for my ſins!——28 miles.

The 4th. Leaving Amous, there is the extraordinary ſpectacle of a river iſſuing out of a cavern in a mountain of rock; on croſſing the hill you ſee where it enters by another cavern.—It pierces the mountain. Moſt countries, however, have inſtances of rivers paſſing under ground. At St. Geronds go to the Croix Blanche, the moſt execrable receptacle of filth, vermin, impudence, and impoſition that ever exerciſed the patience, or wounded the feelings of a traveller. A withered hag, the dæmon of beaſtlineſs, preſides there. I laid, not reſted, in a chamber over a ſtable, whoſe effluviæ through the broken floor were the leaſt offenſive of the perfumes afforded by this hideous place.—It could give me nothing but two ſtale eggs, for which I paid, excluſive of all other charges, 20*ſ.* Spain brought nothing to my eyes that equalled this ſink, from which an Engliſh hog would turn with diſguſt. But the inns all the way from Niſmes are wretched, except at Lodeve, Gange, Carcaſſonne, and Mirepoix. St. Geronds muſt have, from its appearance, four or five thouſand people. Pamiers near twice that number. What can be the circulating connection between ſuch maſſes of people and other towns and countries, that can be held together and ſupported by ſuch inns? There have been writers who look upon ſuch obſervations as ariſing merely from the petulance of travellers, but it ſhews their extreme ignorance. Such circumſtances are political data. We cannot demand all the books of France to be opened in order to explain the amount of circulation in that kingdom; a politician muſt therefore collect it from ſuch circumſtances as he can aſcertain; and among theſe, traffic on the great roads, and the convenience of the houſes prepared for the reception of travellers, tell us both the number and the condition of thoſe travellers; by which term I chiefly allude to the natives, who move on buſineſs or pleaſure from place to place; for if they are not conſiderable enough to cauſe good inns, thoſe who come from a diſtance will not, which is evident from the bad accommodations even in the high road from London to Rome. On the contrary, go in England to towns that contain 1500, 2000, or 3000 people, in ſituations abſolutely cut off from all dependence, or almoſt the expectation of what are properly called travellers, yet you will meet with neat inns, well dreſſed and clean people keeping them, good furniture, and a refreſhing civility; your ſenſes may not be gratified, but they will not be offended; and if you demand a poſt chaiſe and a pair of horſes, the coſt of which is not leſs than 80l. in ſpite of a heavy tax, it will be ready to carry you whither you pleaſe. Are no political concluſions to be drawn from this amazing contraſt? It proves that ſuch a population in England have connections with other places to the amount of ſupporting ſuch houſes. The friendly clubs of the inhabitants, the viſits of friends and relations, the parties of pleaſure, the reſort of farmers, the intercourſe with the capital and with other towns, form the ſupport of good inns; and in a country where they are not to be found, it is a proof that there is not the ſame quantity of motion; or that it moves by means of leſs wealth, leſs conſumption, and leſs enjoyment. In this journey through Languedoc, I have paſſed an incredible number of ſplendid bridges, and many ſuperb cauſeways. But this only proves the abſurdity and oppreſſion of government. Bridges that coſt 70 or 80,000l. and immenſe cauſeways to connect towns, that have no better inns than ſuch as I have deſcribed, appear to be groſs abſurdities. They cannot be made for the mere uſe of the inhabitants, becauſe one-fourth of the expenſe would anſwer the purpoſe of real utility. They are therefore objects of public magnificence, and conſequently for the eye of travellers. But what traveller, with his perſon ſurrounded by the beggarly filth of an inn, and with all his ſenſes offended, will not condemn ſuch inconſiſtencies as folly, and will not wiſh for more comfort and leſs appearance of ſplendour.——30 miles.

The 5th. To St. Martory is an almoſt uninterrupted range of well incloſed and well cultivated country.—For an hundred miles paſt, the women generally without ſhoes, even in the towns; and in the country many men alſo.—The heat yeſterday and to-day as intenſe as it was before: there is no bearing any light in the rooms; all muſt be ſhut cloſe, or none are tolerably cool: in going out of a light room into a dark one, though both to the north, there is a very ſenſible coolneſs; and out of a dark one into a roofed balcony, is like going into an oven. I have been adviſed every day not to ſtir till four o'clock. From ten in the morning till five in the afternoon, the heat makes all exerciſe moſt uncomfortable; and the flies are a curſe of Egypt. Give me the cold and fogs of England, rather than ſuch a heat, ſhould it be laſting. The natives, however, aſſert, that this intenſity has now continued as long as it commonly does, namely, four or five days; and that the greateſt part even of the hotteſt months is much cooler than the weather is at preſent.—In 250 miles diſtant, I have met on the road two cabriolets only, and three miſerable things like old Engliſh one-horſe chaiſes; not one gentleman; though many merchants, as they call themſelves, each with two or three cloak-bags behind him:—a paucity of travellers that is amazing.——28 miles.

The 6th. To Bagnere de Luchon, rejoining my friends, and not diſpleaſed to have a little reſt in the cool mountains, after ſo burning a ride.——28 miles.

The 10th. Finding our party not yet ready to ſet out on their return to Paris, I determined to make uſe of the time there was yet to ſpare, ten or eleven days, in a tour to Bagnere de Bigorre, to Bayonne, and to meet them on the way to Bourdeaux, at Auch. This being ſettled, I mounted my Engliſh mare, and took my laſt leave of Luchon.——28 miles.

The 11th. Paſs a convent of Bernardine monks, who have a revenue of 30,000 liv. It is ſituated in a vale, watered by a charming chryſtal ſtream, and ſome hills, covered with oak, ſhelter it behind.—Arrive at Bagnere, which contains little worthy of notice, but it is much frequented by company on account of its waters. To the valley of Campan, of which I had heard great things, and which yet much ſurpaſſed my expectation. It is quite different from all the other vales I have ſeen in the Pyrenees or in Catalonia. The features and the arrangement novel.

In general the richly cultivated ſlopes of thoſe mountains are thickly incloſed; this, on the contrary, is open. The vale itſelf is a flat range of cultivation and watered meadow, ſpread thickly with villages and ſcattered houſes. The eaſtern boundary is a rough, ſteep, and rocky mountain, and affords paſturage to goats and ſheep; a contraſt to the weſtern, which forms the ſingular feature of the ſcene. It is one noble ſheet of corn and graſs uninc1oſed, and interſected only by lines that mark the diviſion of properties, or the channels that conduct water from the higher regions for irrigating the lower ones; the whole hanging is one matchleſs ſlope of the richeſt and moſt luxuriant vegetation. Here and there are ſcattered ſome ſmall maſſes of wood, which chance has grouped with wonderful happineſs for giving variety to the ſcene. The ſeaſon of the year, by mixing the rich yellow of ripe corn, with the green of the watered meadows, added greatly to the colouring of the landſcape, which is upon the whole the moſt exquiſite for *form* and *colour* that my eye has ever been regaled with.—Take the road to Lourde, where is a caſtle on a rock, garriſoned for the mere purpoſe of keeping ſtate priſoners, ſent hither by *lettres de cachet*. Seven or eight are *known* to be here at preſent; thirty have been here at a time; and many for life—torn by the relentleſs hand of jealous tyranny from the boſom of domeſtic comfort; from wives, children, friends, and hurried for crimes unknown to themſelves—more probably for virtues—to languiſh in this deteſted abode of miſery—and die of deſpair. Oh, liberty! liberty!——and yet this is the mildeſt government of any conſiderable country in Europe, our own excepted. The diſpenſations of providence ſeem to have permitted the human race to exiſt only as the prey of tyrants, as it has made pigeons for the prey of hawks.——35 miles.

The 12th. Pau is a conſiderable town, that has a parliament and a linen manufacture; but it is more famous for being the birth-place of Henry IV. I viewed the caſtle, and was ſhewn, as all travellers are, the room in which that amiable prince was born, and the cradle, the ſhell of a tortoiſe, in which he was nurſed. What an effect on poſterity have great and diſtinguiſhed talents! This is a conſiderable town, but I queſtion whether any thing would ever carry a ſtranger to it but its poſſeſſing the cradle of a favourite character.

Take the road to Moneng, and come preſently to a ſcene which was ſo new to me in France, that I could hardly believe my own eyes. A ſucceſſion of many well built, tight, and COMFORTABLE farming cottages, built of ſtone, and covered with tiles; each having its little garden, incloſed by clipt thorn hedges, with plenty of peach and other fruit-trees, ſome fine oaks ſcattered in the hedges, and young trees nurſed up with ſo much care, that nothing but the foſtering attention of the owner could effect any thing like it. To every houſe belongs a farm, perfectly well incloſed, with graſs borders mown and neatly kept around the corn fields, with gates to paſs from one incloſure to another. The men are all dreſſed with red caps, like the highlanders of Scotland. There are ſome parts of England (where ſmall yeomen ſtill remain) that reſemble this country of Bearne; but we have very little that is equal to what I have ſeen in this ride of twelve miles from Pau to Moneng. It is all in the hands of little proprietors, without the farms being ſo ſmall as to occaſion a vicious and miſerable population. An air of neatneſs, warmth, and comfort breathes over the whole. It is viſible in their new built houſes and ſtables; in their little gardens; in their hedges; in the courts before their doors; even in the coops for their poultry, and the ſties for their hogs. A peaſant does not think of rendering his pig comfortable, if his own happineſs hangs by the thread of a nine years leaſe. We are now in Bearne, within a few miles of the cradle of Henry IV. Do they inherit theſe bleſſings from that good prince? The benignant genius of that good monarch, ſeems to reign ſtill over the country; each peaſant has *the fowl in the pot*.——34 miles.

The 13th. The agreeable ſcene of yeſterday continues; many ſmall properties; and every appearance of rural happineſs. Navareen is a ſmall walled and fortified town, conſiſting of three principal ſtreets, which croſs at right angles, with a ſmall ſquare. From the ramparts there is the view of a fine country. The linen fabric ſpreads through it. To St. Palais the country is moſtly incloſed, and much of it with thorn-hedges, admirably trained, and kept neatly clipped.——25 miles.

The 14th. Left St. Palais, and took a guide to conduct me four leagues to Anſpan. Fair day, and the place crouded with farmers; I ſaw the ſoup prepared for what we ſhould call the farmer's ordinary. There was a mountain of ſliced bread, the colour of which was not inviting; ample proviſion of cabbage, greaſe, and water, and about as much meat for ſome ſcores of people, as half a dozen Engliſh farmers would have eaten, and grumbled at their hoſt for ſhort commons.——26 miles.

The 15th. Bayonne is by much the prettieſt town I have ſeen in France; the houſes are not only well built of ſtone, but the ſtreets are wide, and there are many openings which, though not regular ſquares, have a good effect. The river is broad, and many of the houſes being fronted to it, the view of them from the bridge is fine. The promenade is charming; it has many rows of trees, whoſe heads join and form a ſhade delicious in this hot climate. In the evening, it was thronged with well dreſſed people of both ſexes: and the women, through all the country, are the handſomeſt I have ſeen in France. In coming hither from Pau, I ſaw what is very rare in that kingdom, clean and pretty country girls; in moſt of the provinces, hard labour deſtroys both perſon and complexion. The bloom of health on the cheeks of a well dreſſed country girl is not the worſt feature in any landſcape. I hired a chaloup for viewing the embankment at the mouth of the river. By the water ſpreading itſelf too much, the harbour was injured; and government, to contract it, has built a wall on the north bank a mile long, and another on the ſouth ſhore of half the length. It is from ten to twenty feet wide, and about twelve high, from the top of the baſe of rough ſtone, which extends twelve or fifteen feet more. Towards the mouth of the harbour, it is twenty feet wide, and the ſtones on both ſides crampt together with irons. They are now driving piles of pine 16 feet deep, for the foundation. It is, on the whole, a work of great expence, magnificence and utility.

The 16th. To Dax is not the beſt way to Auch, but I had a mind to ſee the famous waſte called *Les Lundes de Bourdeaux*, of which I had long heard and read ſo much. I was informed, that by this route, I ſhould paſs through more than twelve leagues of them. They reach almoſt to the gates of Bayonne; but broken by cultivated ſpots for a league or two. Theſe *landes* are ſandy tracts covered with pine trees, cut regularly for reſin. Hiſtorians report, that when the moors were expelled from Spain, they applied to the court of France for leave to ſettle on and cultivate theſe *landes*; and that the court was much condemned for refuſing them. It ſeems to have been taken for granted, that they could not be peopled with French; and therefore ought rather to be given to Moors, than to be left waſte.—At Dax, there is a remarkably hot ſpring in the middle of the town. It is a very fine one, bubbling powerfully out of the ground in a large baſon, walled in; it is boiling hot; it taſtes like common water, and I was told that it was not impregnated with any mineral. The only uſe to which it is applied is for waſhing linen. It is at all ſeaſons of the ſame heat, and in the ſame quantity. —27 miles.

The 27th. Paſs a diſtrict of ſand as white as ſnow, and ſo looſe as to blow; yet has oaks two feet in diameter, by reaſon of a bottom of white adheſive earth like marl. Paſs three rivers, the waters of which might be applied in irrigation, yet no uſe made of them. The duke de Bouillon has vaſt poſſeſſions in theſe lands. A Grand Seigneur will at any time, and in any country, explain the reaſon of improveable land being left waſte.——29 miles.

The 18th. As dearneſs is, in my opinion, the general feature of all money exchanges in France, it is but candid to note inſtances to the contrary. At Airé, they gave me, at the Croix d'Or, ſoup, eels, ſweet bread, and green-peas, a pigeon, a chicken, and veal-cutlets, with a deſſert of biſcuits, peaches, nectarines, plumbs, and a glaſs of *liqueur*, with a bottle of good wine, all for 40*ſ.* (20d.) oats for my mare 20*ſ.* and hay 10*ſ.* At the ſame price at St. Severe, I had a ſupper laſt night not inferior to it. Every thing at Airé ſeemed good and clean; and what is very uncommon, I had a parlour to eat my dinner in, and was attended by a neat well dreſſed girl. The laſt two hours to Airé it rained ſo violently, that my ſilk ſurtout was an inſufficient defence; and the old landlady was in no haſte to give me fire enough to be dried. As to ſupper, I had the idea of my dinner.——35 miles.

The 19th. Paſs Beek, which ſeems a flouriſhing little place, if we may judge by the building of new houſes. The Clef d'Or is a large, new, and good inn.

In the the 270 miles, from Bagnere de Luchon to Auch, a general obſervation I may make is, that the whole, with very few exceptions, is incloſed; and that the farm-houſes are every where ſcattered, inſtead of being, as in ſo many parts of France collected in towns. I have ſeen ſcarcely any gentlemen's country-ſeats that ſeem at all modern; and, in general, they are thin to a ſurpriſing degree. I have not met with one country equipage, nor any thing like a gentleman riding to ſee a neighbour. Scarcely a gentleman at all. At Auch, met by appointment my friends, on their return to Paris. The town is almoſt without manufactures or commerce, and is ſupported chiefly by the rents of the country. But they have many of the nobleſſe in the province, too poor to live here; ſome indeed ſo poor, that they plough their own fields; and theſe may poſſibly be much more eſtimable members of ſociety, than the fools and knaves that laugh at them.——31 miles.

The 20th. Paſs Fleuran, which contains many good houſes, and go through a populous country to La Tour, a biſhoprick, the dioceſan of which we left at Bagnere de Luchon. The ſituation is beautiful on the point of a ridge of hills. ——20 miles.

The 22d. By Leyrac, through a fine country, to the Garonne, which we croſs by a ferry. This river is here a quarter of a mile broad, with every appearance of commerce. A large barge paſſed loaded with cages of poultry; of ſuch conſequence throughout the extent of this navigation is the conſumption of the great city of Bourdeaux. The rich vale continues to Agen, and is very highly cultivated; but has not the beauty of the environs of La Tour. If new buildings are a criterion of the flouriſhing ſtate of a place, Agen proſpers. The biſhop has raiſed a magnificent palace, the centre of which is in good taſte; but the junction with the wings not equally happy.——23 miles.

The 23d. Paſs a rich and highly cultivated vale to Aguillon; much hemp, and every woman in the country employed on it. Many neat well built farm-houſes on ſmall properties, and all the country very populous. View the chateau of the Duc d'Aguillon, which, being in the town, is badly ſituated, according to all rural ideas; but a town is ever an accompanyment of a chateau in France, as it was formerly in moſt parts of Europe; it ſeems to have reſulted from a feudal arrangement, that the Grand Seigneur might keep his ſlaves the nearer to his call, as a man builds his ſtables near his houſe. This edifice is a conſiderable one, built by the preſent Duke; begun about twenty years ago, when he was exiled here during eight years. And, thanks to that baniſhment, the building went on nobly; the body of the houſe done, and the detached wings almoſt finiſhed. But as ſoon as the ſentence was reverſed, the duke went to Paris, and has not been here ſince, conſequently all now ſtands ſtill. It is thus that baniſhment alone will force the French nobility to execute what the Engliſh do for pleaſure—reſide upon and adorn their eſtates. There is one magnificent circumſtance, namely, an elegant and ſpacious theatre; it fills one of the wings. The orcheſtra is for twenty-four muſicians, the number kept, fed, and paid, by the duke when here. This elegant and agreeable luxury, which falls within the compaſs of a very large fortune is known in every country in Europe except England: the poſſeſſors of great eſtates here preferring horſes and dogs very much before any entertainment a theatre can yield. To Tonnance.——25 miles.

The 24th. Many new and good country ſeats of gentlemen, well built, and ſet off with gardens, plantations, &c. Theſe are the effects of the wealth of Bourdeaux. Theſe people, like other Frenchmen, eat little meat; in the town of Leyrac five oxen only are killed in a year; whereas an Engliſh town with the ſame population would conſume two or three oxen a week. A noble view towards Bourdeaux for many leagues, the river appearing in four or five places. Reach Langon, and drink of its excellent white wine..——32 miles.

The 25th. Paſs through Barſac, famous alſo for its wines. They are now ploughing with oxen between the rows of the vines, the operation which gave Tull the idea of horſe-hoeing corn. Great population, and country ſeats all the way. At Caſtres the country changes to an unintereſting flat. Arrive at Bourdeaux, through a continued village.——30 miles.

The 26th. Much as I had read and heard of the commerce, wealth, and magnificence of this city, they greatly ſurpaſſed my expectations. Paris did not anſwer at all, for it is not to be compared to London; but we muſt not name Liverpool in competition with Bourdeaux. The grand feature here, of which I had heard moſt, anſwers the leaſt; I mean the quay, which is reſpectable only for length, and its quantity of buſineſs, neither of which, to the eye of a ſtranger, is of much conſequence, if devoid of beauty. The row of houſes is regular, but without either magnificence or beauty. It is a dirty, ſloping, muddy ſhore; parts without pavement, incumbered with filth and ſtones; barges lie here for loading and unloading the ſhips, which cannot approach to what ſhould be a quay. Here is all the dirt and diſagreeable circumſtances of trade, without the order, arrangement, and magnificence of a quay. Barcelona is unique in this reſpect. When I preſumed to find fault with the buildings on the river, it muſt not be ſuppoſed that I include the whole; the creſcent which is in the ſame line is better. The *place royale*, with the ſtatue of Lewis XV. in the middle, is a fine opening, and the buildings which form it regular and handſome. But the quarter of the *chapeau rouge* is truly magnificent, conſiſting of noble houſes, built, like the reſt of the city, of white hewn ſtone. It joins the *chateau trompette*, which occupies near half a mile of the ſhore. This fort is bought of the king, by a company of ſpeculators, who are now pulling it down with an intention of building a fine ſquare and many new ſtreets, to the amount of 1800 houſes. I have ſeen a deſign of the ſquare and the ſtreets, and it would, if executed, be one of the moſt ſplendid additions to a city that is to be ſeen in Europe. This great work ſtands ſtill at preſent through a fear of reſumptions. The theatre, built about ten or twelve years ago, is by far the moſt magnificent in France. I have ſeen nothing that approaches it. The building is inſulated; and fills up a ſpace of 306 feet by 165, one end being the principal front, containing a portico the whole length of it, of twelve very large Corinthian columns. The entrance from this portico is by a noble veſtibule, which leads not only to the different parts of the theatre, but alſo to an elegant oval concert-room and ſaloons for walking and refreſhments. The theatre itſelf is of a vaſt ſize; in ſhape the ſegment of an oval. The eſtabliſhment of actors, actreſſes, ſingers, dancers, orcheſtra, &c. ſpeak the wealth and luxury of the place. I have been aſſured, that from thirty to fifty louis a night have been paid to a favourite actreſs from Paris. Larrive, the firſt tragic actor of that capital, is now here, at 500 liv. (21l. 12s. 6d.) a night, with two benefits. Dauberval, the dancer, and his wife (the Madamoiſelle Theodore of London) are retained as principal ballet-maſter and firſt female dancer, at a ſalary of 28,000 liv. (1225l.) Pieces are performed every night, Sundays not excepted, as every where in France. The mode of living that takes place here among merchants is highly luxurious. Their houſes and eſtabliſhments are on expenſive ſcales. Great entertainments, and many ſerved on plate: high play is a much worſe thing;—and the ſcandalous chronicle ſpeaks of merchants keeping the dancing and ſinging girls of the theatre at ſalaries which ought to import no good to their credit. This theatre, which does ſo much honour to the pleaſures of Bourdeaux, was raiſed at the expence of the town, and coſt 270,000l. The new tide corn mill, erected by a company, is very well worth viewing. A large canal is dug and formed in maſonry of hewn ſtone, the walls four feet thick, leading under the building for the tide coming in, to turn the water wheels. It is then conducted in other equally well formed canals to a reſervoir; and when the tide returns it gives motion to the wheels again. Three of theſe canals paſs under the building for containing 24 pairs of ſtones. Every part of the work is on a ſcale of ſolidity and duration, admirably executed. The eſtimate of the expence is 8,000,000 liv.

(350,000l.); but I know not how to credit ſuch a ſum. How far the erection of ſteam engines to do the ſame buſineſs would have been found a cheaper method, I ſhall not enquire; but I ſhould apprehend that the common water mills, on the Garonne, which ſtart without ſuch enormous expences for their power, muſt in the common courſe of common events ruin this company. The new houſes that are building in all quarters of the town, mark, too clearly to be miſunderſtood, the proſperity of the place. The ſkirts are every where compoſed of new ſtreets; with ſtill newer ones marked out, and partly built. Theſe houſes are in general ſmall, or on a middling ſcale, for inferior tradeſmen. They are all of white ſtone, and add, as they are finiſhed, much to the beauty of the city. I enquired into the date of theſe new ſtreets, and found that four or five years were in general the period: that is to ſay, ſince the peace; and from the colour of the ſtone of thoſe ſtreets next in age, it is plain that the ſpirit of building was at a ſtop during the war. Since the peace they have gone on with great activity. What a ſatire on the government of the two kingdoms, to permit in one the prejudices of manufacturers and merchants, and in the other the inſidious policy of an ambitious court, to hurry the two nations forever into wars that check all beneficial works, and ſpread ruin where private exertion was buſied in deeds of proſperity. The rent of houſes and lodgings riſes every day, as it has done ſince the peace conſiderably, at the ſame time that ſo many new houſes have been and are erecting, unites with the advance in the prices of every thing: they complain that the expences of living have riſen in ten years full 30 per cent.—There can hardly be a clearer proof of an advance in proſperity.

The commercial treaty with England being a ſubject too intereſting not to have demanded attention, we made the neceſſary enquiries.—Here it is conſidered in a very different light from Abbeville and Rouen: at Bourdeaux they think it a wiſe meaſure, that tends equally to the benefit of both countries. This is not the place for being more particular on the trade of this town.

We went twice to ſee Larrive do his two capital parts of the Black Prince in Monſ. du Belloy's Piere le Cruel, and Philoctete, which gave me a very high idea of the French theatre. The inns at this city are excellent; the hotel d'Angleterre and the Prince of Aſturias; at the latter we found every accommodation to be wiſhed, but with an inconſiſtence that cannot be too much condemned: we had very elegant apartments, and were ſerved on plate, yet the neceſſary-houſe the ſame temple of abomination that is to be met in a dirty village.

The 28th. Leave Bourdeaux;—croſs the river by a ferry, which employs twenty-nine men and fifteen boats, and lets at 18,000 liv. (787l.) a year. The view of the Garonne is very fine, appearing to the eye twice as broad as the

Thames at London; and the number of large ſhips lying in it, makes it, I ſuppoſe, the *richeſt* water view that France has to boaſt. From hence to the Dordonne, a noble river, though much inferior to the Garonne, which we croſs by another ferry that lets at 6000 liv. Reach Cavignac.——20 miles.

The 29th. To Barbeſieux, ſituated in a beautiful country, finely diverſified and wooded; the marquiſate of which, with the chateau, belongs to the duke de la Rochefoucauld, whom we met here; he inherits this eſtate from the famous Louvois, the miniſter of Louis XIV. In this thirty-ſeven miles of country, lying between the great rivers Garonne, Dordonne, and Charente, and conſequently in one of the beſt parts of France for markets, the quantity of waſte land is ſurpriſing; it is the predominant feature the whole way. Much of theſe waſtes belonged to the prince de Soubiſe, who would not ſell any part of them. Thus it is whenever you ſtumble on a Grand Seigneur, even one that was worth millions, you are ſure to find his property deſert. The duke of Bouillon's and this prince's are two of the greateſt properties in France; and all the ſigns I have yet ſeen of their greatneſs, are waſtes, *landes*, deſerts, fern, ling.—Go to their reſidence, wherever it may be, and you would probably find them in the midſt of a foreſt, very well peopled with deer, wild boars, and wolves. Oh! if I was the legiſlator of France for a day, I would make ſuch great lords ſkip again *. We ſupped with the duke de la Rochefoucauld; the provincial aſſembly of Saintonge is ſoon to meet, and this nobleman, being the preſident, is waiting for their aſſembling.

The 30th. Through a chalk country, well wooded, though without incloſures to Angoulême; the approach to that town is fine; the country around being beautiful with the fine river Charente, here navigable, flowing through it, the effect ſtriking.——25 miles.

The 31ſt. Quitting Angoulême, paſs through a country almoſt covered with vines, and acroſs a noble wood belonging to the ducheſs d'Anville, mother of the duke de la Rochefoucauld, to Verteul, a chateau of the ſame Lady, built in 1459, where we found every thing that travellers could wiſh in a hoſpitable manſion. The Emperor Charles V. was entertained here by Anne de Polignac, widow of Francis II. count de la Roehefoucauld, and that prince, ſaid aloud, *n'avoir jamais été en maiſon qui ſentit mieux ſa grande vertu honnêteté & ſeigneurie que celle la.*—It is excellently kept; in thorough repair, fully furniſhed, and all in order, which merits praiſe, conſidering that the family rarely are here for more than a few days in a year, having many other and more conſiderable ſeats in different parts of the kingdom. If this juſt attention to the intereſts of poſterity was more general, we ſhould not ſee the melancholy ſpectacle of ruined chateaus in ſo many parts of France. In the gallery is a range of portraits from the tenth century; by one of which it appears, that this eſtate came by a Mademoiſelle la Rochefoucauld, in 1470. The park, woods, and river Charente here are fine: the laſt abounds greatly in carp, tench, and perch. It is at any time eaſy to get from 50 to 100 brace of fiſh that weigh from three to 10lb. each: we had a brace of carp for ſupper, the ſweeteſt, without exception, I ever taſted. If I pitched my tent in France, I ſhould chooſe it to be by a river that gave ſuch fiſh. Nothing provokes one ſo in a country reſidence as a lake, a river, or the ſea within view of the windows, and a dinner every day without fiſh, which is ſo common in England.——27 miles.

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* I can aſſure the reader that theſe ſentiments were thoſe of the moment; the events that have taken place almoſt induced me to ſtrike many ſuch paſſages out, but it is fairer to all parties to leave them.

SEPTEMBER 1ſt. Paſs Caudec, Ruffec, Maiſons-Blanches, and Chaunay. At the firſt of theſe places, view a very fine flour-mill built by the late count de Broglio, brother of the marechal de Broglio, one of the ableſt and moſt active officers in the French ſervice. In his private capacity, his undertakings were of a national kind; this mill, an iron forge, and the project of a navigation, proved, that he had a diſpoſition for every exertion that could, according to the prevalent ideas of the times, benefit his country; that is to ſay, in every way except the one in which it would have been effective—practical agriculture. This day's journey has been, with ſome exceptions, through a poor, dull, and diſagreeable country.——35 miles.

The 2d. Poitou, from what I ſee of it, is an unimproved, poor, and ugly country. It ſeems to want communication, demand, and activity of all kinds; nor does it, on an average, yield the half of what it might. The lower part of the province is much richer and better.

Arrive at Poitiers, which is one of the worſt built towns I have ſeen in France; very large and irregular, but containing ſcarcely any thing worthy of notice, except the cathedral, which is well built, and very well kept.—The fineſt thing by far in the town is the promenade, which is the moſt extenſive I have ſeen; it occupies a conſiderable ſpace of ground, with gravelled walks, &c. excellently kept.——12 miles.

The 3d. A white chalky country to Chateaurault, open, and thinly peopled, though not without country-ſeats. That town has ſome animation, owing to its navigable river, which falls into the Loire. There is a conſiderable cutlery manufacture: we were no ſooner arrived, than our apartment was full of the wives and daughters of manufacturers, each with her box of knives, ſciſſars, toys, &c. and with ſo much civil ſolicitude to have ſomething bought, that had we wanted nothing it would have been impoſſible to let ſo much urgency prove vain. It is remarkable, as the fabrics made here are cheap, that there is ſcarcely any diviſion of labour in this manufacture; it is in the hands of diſtinct and unconnected workmen, who go through every branch on their own account, and without aſſiſtance, except from their families.——25 miles.

The 4th. Paſs a better country, with many chateaus, to Les Ormes, where we ſtopped to ſee the ſeat built by the late count de Voyer d'Argenſon. This chateau is a large handſome edifice of ſtone, with two very conſiderable wings for offices and ſtrangers' apartments: the entrance is into a neat veſtibule, at the end of which is the ſaloon, a circular marble room, extremely elegant and well furniſhed: in the drawing-room are paintings of the four French victories of the war of 1744: in every apartment there is a ſtrong diſpoſition to Engliſh furniture and modes. This pleaſing reſidence belongs at preſent to the count d'Argenſon. The late count who built it formed with the preſent duke of Grafton, in England, the ſcheme of a very agreeable party. The duke was to go over with his horſes and pack of fox-hounds, and live here for ſome months, with a number of friends. It originated in the propoſal to hunt French wolves with Engliſh fox-dogs. Nothing could be better planned than the ſcheme, for Les Ormes is large enough to have contained a numerous party; but the count's death deſtroyed the plan. This is a ſort of intercourſe between the nobility of two kingdoms, which I am ſurpriſed does not take place ſometimes; it would vary the common ſcenes of life very agreeably, and be productive of ſome of the advantages of travelling in the moſt eligible way.——23 miles.

The 5th. Through a dead flat and unpleaſant country, but on the fineſt road I have ſeen in France—nor does it ſeem poſſible that any ſhould be finer; not ariſing from great exertions, as in Languedoc, but from being laid flat with admirable materials. Chateaus are ſcattered every where in this part of Touraine; but farm houſes and cottages thin, till you come in ſight of the Loire, the banks of which ſeem one continued village. The vale, through which that river flows, may be three miles over; a dead level of burnt ruſſet meadow.

The entrance of Tours is truly magnificent, by a new ſtreet of large houſes, built of hewn white ſtone, with regular fronts. This fine ſtreet, which is wide, and with foot pavements on each ſide, is cut in a ſtrait line through the whole city to the new bridge, of fifteen flat arches, each of ſeventy-five feet ſpan. It is altogether a noble exertion for the decoration of a provincial town. Some houſes remain yet to be built, the fronts of which are done; ſome reverend fathers are ſatisfied with their old habitations, and do not chooſe the expence of filling up the elegant deſign of the Tours projectors; they ought, however, to be unrooſted if they will not comply, for fronts without houſes behind them have a ridiculous appearance. From the tower of the cathedral there is an extenſive view of the adjacent country; but the Loire, for ſo conſiderable a river, and for being boaſted as the moſt beautiful in Europe, exhibits ſuch a breadth of ſhoals and ſands as to be almoſt ſubverſive of beauty. In the chapel of the old palace of Louis XI. Les Pleſſis les Tours, are three pictures which deſerve the travellers notice; a holy family, St. Catharine, and the daughter of Herod; they ſeem to be of the beſt age of Italian art. There is a very fine promenade here; long and admirably ſhaded by four rows of noble and lofty elms, which for ſhelter againſt a burning ſun can have no ſuperior; parallel with it is another on the rampart of the old walls, which looks down on the adjacent gardens; but theſe walks, of which the inhabitants have long boaſted, are at preſent objects of melancholy; the corporation has offered the trees to ſale, and I was aſſured they would be cut down the enſuing winter.—One would not wonder at an Engliſh corporation ſacrificing the ladies' walk for plenty of turtle, veniſon, and madeira; but that a French one ſhould have ſo little gallantry, is inexcuſable.

The 9th. The count de la Rocheſoucauld having a feveriſh complaint when he arrived here, which prevented our proceeding on the journey, it became the ſecond day a confirmed fever; the beſt phyſician of the place was called in, whoſe conduct I liked much, for he had recourſe to very little phyſick, but much attention to keep his apartment cool and airy; and ſeemed to have great confidence in leaving nature to throw off the malady that oppreſſed her. Who is it that ſays there is a great difference between a good phyſician and a bad one; yet very little between a good one and none at all?

Among other excurſions, I took a ride on the banks of the Loire towards Saumur, and found the country the ſame as near Tours; but the chateaus not ſo numerous or good. Where the chalk hills advance perpendicularly towards the river, they preſent a moſt ſingular ſpectacle of uncommon habitations; for a great number of houſes are cut out of the white rock, fronted with maſonry, and holes cut above for chimnies, ſo that you ſometimes know not where the houſe is from which you ſee the ſmoke iſſuing. Theſe cavern-houſes are in ſome places in tires one above another. Some with little ſcraps of gardens have a pretty effect. In general, the proprietors occupy them; but many are let at 10, 12, and 15 liv. a year. The people I talked with ſeemed well ſatisfied with their habitations, as good and comfortable: a proof of the dryneſs of the climate. In England the rheumatiſm would be the chief inhabitant. Walked to the Benedictine convent of Marmoutier, of which the cardinal de Rohan, at preſent here, is abbot.

The 10th. Nature, or the Tours doctor, having recovered the count, we ſet forward on our journey. The road to Chanteloup is made on an embankment, that ſecures a large level tract from floods. The country more unintereſting than I could have thought it poſſible for the vicinity of a great river to be.—View Chanteloup, the magnificent ſeat of the late duke de Choiſeul. It is ſituated on ar iſing ground, at ſome diſtance from the Loire, which in winter, or after great floods, is a fine object, but at preſent is ſcarcely ſeen. The ground-floor in front conſiſts of ſeven rooms: the dining-room of about thirty by twenty, and the drawing-room thirty by thirty-three: the library is ſeventy-two by twenty, but now fitted up by the preſent poſſeſſor, the duke de Penthievre, with very beautiful tapeſtry from the Gobelins.—In the pleaſure-ground, on a hill commanding a very extenſive proſpect, is a Chineſe pagoda, 120 feet high, built by the duke, in commemoration of the perſons who viſited him in his exile. On the walls of the firſt room in it their names are engraved on marble tablets. The number and rank of the perſons do honour to the duke and to themſelves. The idea was a happy one. The foreſt you look down on from this building is very extenſive; they ſay eleven leagues acroſs: ridings are cut pointing to the pagoda; and when the duke was alive, theſe glades had the miſchievous animation of a vaſt hunt, ſupported ſo liberally as to ruin the maſter of it, and transferred the property of this noble eſtate and reſidence from his family to the laſt hands I ſhould wiſh to ſee it in—a prince of the blood. Great lords love too much an environ of foreſt, boars, and huntſmen, inſtead of marking their reſidence by the accompanyment of neat and well cultivated farms, clean cottages, and happy peaſants. In ſuch a method of ſhewing their magnificence, rearing foreſts, gilding domes, or bidding aſpiring columns riſe, might be wanting; but they would have, inſtead of them, erections of comfort, eſtabliſhments of eaſe, and plantations of felicity: and their harveſt, inſtead of the fleſh of boars, would be in the voice of chearful gratitude—they would ſee public proſperity flouriſh on its beſt baſis of private happineſs.—As a farmer, there is one feature which ſhews the duke had ſome merit; he built a noble cow-houſe; a platform leads along the middle, between two rows of mangers, with ſtalls for ſeventy-two, and another apartment, not ſo large, for others, and for calves. He imported 120 very fine Swiſs cows, and viſited them with his company every day, as they were kept conſtantly tied up. To this I may add the beſt built ſheep-houſe I have ſeen in France: and I thought I ſaw from the pagoda part of the farm better laid out and ploughed than common in the country, ſo that he probably imported ſome ploughmen.—This has merit in it; but it was all the merit of baniſhment. Chanteloup would neither have been built nor decorated, nor furniſhed, if the duke had not been exiled. It was the ſame with the duke d'Aguillon. Theſe miniſters would have ſent the country to the devil before they would have reared ſuch edifices, or formed ſuch eſtabliſhments, if they had not both been ſent from Verſailles. View the manufacture of ſteel at Amboiſe, eſtabliſhed by the duke de Choiſeul. Vineyards the chief feature of agriculture.——37 miles.

The 11th. To Blois, an old town, prettily ſituated on the Loire, with a good ſtone bridge of eleven arches. We viewed the caſtle, for the hiſtorical monument it affords that has rendered it ſo famous. They ſhew the room where the council aſſembled, and the chimney in it before which the duke of Guiſe was ſtanding when the king's page came to demand his preſence in the royal cloſet: the door he was entering when ſtabbed: the tapeſtry he was in the act of turning aſide: the tower where his brother the cardinal ſuffered; with a hole in the floor into the dungeon of Louis XI. of which the guide tells many horrible ſtories, in the ſame tone, from having told them ſo often, in which the fellow in Weſtminſter Abbey gives his monotonous hiſtory of the tombs. The be ſtcircumſtance attending the view of the ſpots, or the walls within which great, daring, or important actions have been performed, is the impreſſion they make on the mind, or rather on the heart of the ſpectator, for it is an emotion of feeling, rather than an effort of reflection. The murders, or political executions perpetrated in this caſtle, though not unintereſting, were inflicted on, and by men that command neither our love, nor our veneration. The character of the period, and of the men that figured in it, were alike diſguſting. Bigotry and ambition, equally dark, inſidious, and bloody, allow no feelings of regret. The parties could hardly be better employed than in cutting each others throats. Quit the Loire, and paſs to Chambord. The quantity of vines is very great; they have them very flouriſhing on a flat poor blowing ſand. How well ſatisfied would my friend Le Blanc be if his pooreſt ſands at Cavenham gave him 100 dozen of good wine per acre per annum! See at one *coup d'œil* 2000 acres of them. View the royal chateau of Chambord, built by that magnificent prince Francis I. and inhabited by the late marechal de Saxe. I had heard much of this caſtle, and it more than anſwered my expectation. It gives a great idea of the ſplendor of that prince. Comparing the centuries, and the revenues of Louis XIV. and Francis I. I prefer Chambord infinitely to Verſailles. The apartments are large, numerous, and well contrived. I admired particularly the ſtone ſtair-caſe in the centre of the houſe, which, being in a double ſpiral line, contains two diſtinct ſtair-caſes, one above another, by which means people are going up and down at the ſame time, without ſeeing each other. The four apartments in the attic, with arched ſtone roofs, were in no mean taſte. One of theſe count Saxe turned into a neat well contrived theatre. We were ſhewn the apartment which that great ſoldier occupied, and the room in which he died. Whether in his bed or not is yet a problem for anecdote hunters to ſolve. A report not uncommon in France was, that he was ran through the heart in a duel with the Prince of Conti, who came to Chambord for that purpoſe; and great care was taken to conceal it from the king (Louis XV.), who had ſuch a friendſhip for the marechal, that he would certainly have driven the prince out of the kingdom. There are ſeveral apartments modernized, either for the marechal or for the governors that have reſided here ſince. In one there is a fine picture of Louis XIV. on horſeback. Near the caſtle are the barracks for the regiment of 1500 horſe, formed by marechal de Saxe, and which Louis XV. gave him, by appointing them to garriſon Chambord while their colonel made it his reſidence. He lived here in great ſplendour, and highly reſpected by his ſovereign, and the whole kingdom.—The ſituation of the caſtle is bad; it is low, and without the leaſt proſpect that is intereſting; indeed the whole country is ſo flat that a high ground is hardly to be found in it. From the battlements we ſaw the environs, of which the park or foreſt forms three-fourths; it contains within a wall about 20,000 arpents, and abounds with all ſorts of game to a degree of profuſion. Great tracts of this park are waſte or under heath, &c. or at leaſt a very imperfect cultivation: I could not help thinking, that if the king of France ever formed the idea of eſtabliſhing one compleat and perfect farm under the turnip culture of England, here is the place for it. Let him aſſign the chateau for the reſidence of the director and all his attendants; and the barracks, which are now applied to no uſe whatever, for ſtalls for cattle, and the profits of the wood would be ſufficient to ſtock and ſupport the whole undertaking. What compariſon between the utility of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, and that of a much greater expence applied here at preſent for ſupporting a wretched haras (ſtud), which has not a tendency but to miſchief! I may, however, recommend ſuch agricultural eſtabliſhments; but they never were made in any country, and never will be, till mankind are governed on principles abſolutely contrary to thoſe which prevail at preſent—until ſomething more is thought requiſite for a national huſbandry than academies and memoirs.——35 miles.

The 12th. In two miles from the park wall regain the high road on the Loire. In diſcourſe with a vigneron, we were informed that it froze this morning hard enough to damage the vines; and I may obſerve, that for four or five days paſt the weather has been conſtantly clear, with a bright ſun, and ſo cold a north-eaſt wind as to reſemble much our cold clear weather in England in April; we have all our great coats on the day through. Dine at Clarey, and view the monument of that able but bloody tyrant Louis XI. in white marble; he is repreſented in a kneeling poſture, praying forgiveneſs, I ſuppoſe, which doubtleſs was promiſed him by his prieſts for his baſeneſſes and his murders. Reach Orleans.——30 miles.

The 13th. Here my companions, wanting to return as ſoon as poſſible to Paris, took the direct road thither; but, having travelled it before, I preferred that by Petivier in the way to Fountainbleau. One motive for my taking this road was its paſſing by Denainvilliers, the ſeat of the late celebrated

Monſ. du Hamel, and where he made thoſe experiments in agriculture which he has recited in many of his works. At Petivier I was juſt by, and walked thither for the pleaſure of viewing grounds I had read of ſo often, conſidering them with a ſort of claſſic reverence. His *homme d'affaire*, who conducted the farm, being dead, I could not get many particulars to be depended upon. Monſ. Fougeroux, the preſent poſſeſſor, was not at home, or I ſhould doubtleſs have had all the information I wiſhed. I examined the ſoil, a principal point in all experiments, when concluſions are to be drawn from them; and I alſo took notes of the common huſbandry. Learning from the labourer who attended me that the drill-ploughs, &c. were yet in being, on a loft in one of the offices, I viewed them with pleaſure, and found them, as well as I can remember, very accurately repreſented in the plates which their ingenious author has given. I was glad to find them laid up in a place out of common traffic, where they may remain ſafe till ſome other farming traveller, as enthuſiaſtic as myſelf, may view the venerable remains of a uſeful genius. Here is a ſtove and bath for drying wheat, which he alſo has deſcribed. In an incloſure behind the houſe is a plantation of various curious exotic trees, finely grown, alſo ſeveral rows of aſh, elm, and poplar along the roads, near the chateau, all planted by Monſ. du Hamel. It gave me ſtill greater pleaſure to find that Denainvilliers is not an inconſiderable eſtate. The lands extenſive; the chateau reſpectable; with offices, gardens, &c. that prove it the reſidence of a man of fortune; from which it appears, that this indefatigable author, however he might have failed in ſome of his purſuits, met with that reward from his court which did it credit to beſtow; and that he was not, like others, left in obſcurity to the ſimple rewards which ingenuity can confer on itſelf. Four miles before Malſherbs a fine plantation of a row of trees on each ſide the road begins, formed by Monſ. de Malſherbs, and is a ſtriking inſtance of attention to decorating an open country. More than two miles of them are mulberries. They join his other noble plantations at Malſherbs, which contain a great variety of the moſt curious trees that have been introduced in France.——36 miles,

The 14th. After paſſing three miles through the foreſt of Fontainbleau, arrive at that town, and view the royal palace, which has been ſo repeatedly added to by ſeveral kings, that the ſhare of Francis I. its original founder, is not eaſily aſcertained. He does not appear to ſuch advantage as at Chambord. This has been a favourite with the Bourbons, from there having been ſo many Nimrods of that family. Of the apartments which are ſhewn here, the king's, the queen's, monſieur's, and madame's, are the chief. Gilding ſeems the prevalent decoration: but in the queen's cabinet it is well and elegantly employed. The painting of that delicious little room is exquiſite; and nothing can exceed the extremity of ornament that is here with taſte beſtowed. The tapeſtries of Beauvais and the Gobelins, are ſeen in this palace to great advantage. I liked to ſee the gallery of Francis I. preſerved in its ancient ſtate, even to the andirons in the chimney, which are thoſe that ſerved that monarch. The gardens are nothing; and the grand canal, as it is called, not to be compared with that at Chantilly. In the pond that joins the palace, are carp as large and as tame as the Prince of Condè's. The landlord of the inn at Fontainbleau thinks that royal palaces ſhould not be ſeen for nothing; he made me pay 10 liv. for a dinner, which would have coſt me not more than half the money at the ſtar and garter at Richmond. Reach Meulan.——34 miles.

The 15th. Croſs, for a conſiderable diſtance, the royal oak foreſt of Senár.—About Montgeron, all open fields, which produce corn and partridges to eat it, for the number is enormous. There is on an average a covey of birds on every two acres, beſides favourite ſpots, where they abound much more. At St. George the Seine is a much more beautiful river than the Loire. Enter Paris once more, with the ſame obſervation I made before, that there is not one-tenth of the motion on the roads around it that there is around London. To the hotel de la Rochefoucauld.——2c miles.

The 16th. Accompanied the count de la Rochefoucauld to Liancourt.——38 miles.

I went thither on a viſit for three or four days; but the whole family contributed ſo generally to render the place in every reſpect agreeable, that I ſtaid more than three weeks. At about half a mile from the chateau is a range of hill that was chiefly a neglected waſte: the duke of Liancourt has lately converted this into a plantation, with winding walks, benches, and covered ſeats, in the Engliſh ſtyle of gardening. The ſituation is very fortunate. Theſe ornamented paths follow the edge of the declivity to the extent of three or four miles. The views they command are every where pleaſing, and in ſome places great. Nearer to the chateau the dutcheſs of Liancourt has built a menagerie and dairy in a pleaſing taſte. The cabinet and anti-room are very pretty; the ſaloon elegant, and the dairy entirely conſtructed of marble. At a village near Liancourt, the duke has eſtabliſhed a manufacture of linen and ſtuffs mixed with thread and cotton, which promiſes to be of conſiderable utility; there are 25 looms employed, and preparations making for more. As the ſpinning for theſe looms is alſo eſtabliſhed, it gives employment to great numbers of hands who were idle, for they have no ſort of manufacture in the country though it is populous. Such efforts merit great praiſe. Connected with this is the execution of an excellent plan of the duke's for eſtabliſhing habits of induſtry in the riſing generation. The daughters of the poor people are received into an inſtitution to be educated to uſeful induſtry: they are inſtructed in their religion, taught to write and read, and to ſpin cotton: are kept till marriageable, and then a regulated proportion of their earnings given them as a marriage portion. There is another eſtabliſhment of which I am not ſo good a judge; it is for training the orphans of ſoldiers to be ſoldiers themſelves. The duke of Liancourt has raiſed ſome conſiderable buildings for their accommodation well adapted to the purpoſe. The whole is under the ſuperintendance of a worthy and intelligent officer, Monſ. le Roux, captain of dragoons, and croix de St. Louis, who ſees to every thing himſelf. There are at preſent 120 boys, all dreſſed in uniform.—My ideas have all taken a turn which I am too old to change: I ſhould have been better pleaſed to ſee 120 lads educated to the plough, in habits of culture ſuperior to the preſent; but certainly the eſtabliſhment is humane, and the conduct of it excellent.

The ideas I had formed, before I came to France, of a country reſidence in that kingdom, I found at Liancourt to be far from correct. I expected to find it a mere transfer of Paris to the country, and that all the burthenſome forms of a city were preſerved, without its pleaſures; but I was deceived: the mode of living, and the purſuits, approach much nearer to the habits of a great nobleman's houſe in England, than would commonly be conceived. A breakfaſt of tea for thoſe that choſe to repair to it; riding, ſporting, planting, gardening, till dinner, and that not till half after two o'clock, inſtead of their old faſhioned hour of twelve; muſic, cheſs, and the other common amuſements of a rendezvouz-room, with an excellent library of ſeven or eight thouſand volumes, were well calculated to make the time paſs agreeably; and to prove that there is a great approximation in the modes of living at preſent in the different countries of Europe. Amuſements, in truth, ought to be numerous within doors; for, in ſuch a climate, none are to be depended on without: the rain that has fallen here is hardly credible. I have, for five-and-twenty years paſt, remarked in England, that I never was prevented by rain from taking a walk every day without going out while it actually rains; it may fall heavily for many hours; but a perſon who watches an opportunity gets a walk or a ride. Since I have been at Liancourt, we have had three days in ſucceſſion of ſuch inceſſantly heavy rain, that I could not go an hundred yards from the houſe to the duke's pavilion, without danger of being quite wet. For ten days more rain fell here, I am confident, had there been a gauge to meaſure it, than ever fell in England in thirty. The preſent faſhion in France, of paſſing ſome time in the country is new; at this time of the year, and for many weeks paſt, Paris is, comparatively ſpeaking, empty. Every body that have country-ſeats are at them; and thoſe who have none viſit others who have. This remarkable revolution in the French manners is certainly one of the beſt cuſtoms they have taken from England; and its introduction was effected the eaſier, being aſſiſted by the magic of Rouſſeau's writings. Mankind are much indebted to that ſplendid genius, who, when living, was hunted from country to country, to ſeek an aſylum, with as much venom as if he had been a mad dog; thanks to the vile ſpirit of bigotry, which has not yet received its death's wound. Women of the firſt faſhion in France are now aſhamed of not nurſing their own children; and ſtays are univerſally proſcribed from the bodies of the poor infants, which were for ſo many ages tortured in them, as they are ſtill in Spain. The country reſidence may not have effects equally obvious; but they will be no leſs ſure in the end, and in all reſpects beneficial to every claſs in the ſtate.

The duke of Liancourt being preſident of the provincial aſſembly of the election of Clermont, and paſſing ſeveral days there in buſineſs, aſked me to dine with the aſſembly, as he ſaid there were to be ſome conſiderable farmers preſent. Theſe aſſemblies, which had been propoſed many years paſt by the French patriots, and eſpecially by the marquis de Mirabeau, the celebrated *l'ami des hommes*; which had been treated by M. Necker, and which were viewed with eyes of jealouſy by certain perſons who wiſhed for no better government than one whoſe abuſes were the chief foundation of their fortunes; theſe aſſemblies were to me intereſting to ſee. I accepted the invitation with pleaſure. Three conſiderable farmers, renters, not proprietors of land, were members, and preſent. I watched their carriage narrowly, to ſee their behaviour in the preſence of a great lord of the firſt rank, conſiderable property, and high in royal favour; and it was with pleaſure that I found them behaving with becoming eaſe and freedom, and though modeſt, and without any thing like flippancy, yet without any obſequiouſneſs offenſive to Engliſh ideas. They ſtarted their opinions freely, and adhered to them with becoming confidence. A more ſingular ſpectacle, was to ſee two ladies preſent at a dinner of this ſort, with five or ſix and twenty gentlemen; ſuch a thing could not happen in England. To ſay that the French manners, in this reſpect, are better then our own, is the aſſertion of an obvious truth. If the ladies are not preſent at meetings where the converſation has the greateſt probability of turning on ſubjects of more importance than the frivolous topics of common diſcourſe, the ſex muſt either remain on one hand in ignorance, or, on the other, filled with the foppery of over education, learned, affected, and forbidding. The converſation of men, not engaged in trifling purſuits, is the beſt ſchool for the education of a woman.

The political converſation of every company I have ſeen has turned much more on the affairs of Holland than on thoſe of France. The preparations going on for a war with England, are in the mouths of all the world; but the finances of France are in ſuch a ſtate of derangement, that the people beſt informed aſſert a war to be impoſſible; the marquis of Verac, the late French ambaſſador at the Hague, who was ſent thither, as the Engliſh politicians aſſert, expreſſly to bring about a revolution in the government, has been at Liancourt three days. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that he is cautious in what he ſays in ſuch a mixed company;

pany; but it is plain enough, that he is well perſuaded that that revolution, change, or leſſening the Stadtholder's power; that plan, in a word, whatever it was, for which he negotiated in Holland, had for ſome time been matured and ready for execution, almoſt without a poſſibility of failure, had the count de Vergennes conſented, and not ſpun out the buſineſs by refinement on refinement, to make himſelf the more neceſſary to the French cabinet; and it unites with the idea of ſome ſenſible Dutchmen, with whom I have converſed on the ſubject.

During my ſtay at Liancourt, my friend Lazowſki accompanied me on a little excurſion of two days to Ermenonville, the celebrated ſeat of the marquis de Girardon. We paſſed by Chantilly to Morefountain, the country-ſeat of Monſ. de Morefountain, *prevoſt des merchands* of Paris; the place has been mentioned as decorated in the Engliſh ſtyle. It conſiſts of two ſcenes; one a garden of winding walks, and ornamented with a profuſion of temples, benches, grottos, columns, ruins, and I know not what: I hope the French who have not been in England, do not conſider this as the Engliſh taſte. It is in fact as remote from it as the moſt regular ſtile of the laſt age. The water view is fine. There is a gaiety and chearfulneſs in it that contraſt well with the brown and unpleaſing hills that ſurround it, and which partake of the waſte character of the worſt part of the ſurrounding country. Much has been done here; and it wants but few additions to be as perfect as the ground admits.

Reach Ermenonville, through another part of the prince of Condé's foreſt, which joins the ornamented grounds of the marquis Girardon. This place, after the reſidence and death of the perſecuted but immortal Rouſſeau, whoſe tomb every one knows is here, became ſo famous as to be reſorted to very generally. It has been deſcribed, and plates publiſhed of the chief views; to enter into a particular deſcription would therefore be tireſome, I ſhall only make one or two obſervations, which I do not recollect having been touched on by others. It conſiſts of three diſtinct water ſcenes; or of two lakes and a river. We were firſt ſhewn that which is ſo famous for the ſmall iſle of poplars, in which repoſes all that was mortal of that extraordinary and inimitable writer. This ſcene is as well imagined, and as well executed as could be wiſhed. The water is between forty and fifty acres; hills riſe from it on both ſides, and it is ſufficiently cloſed in by tall wood at both ends, to render it ſequeſtered. The remains of departed genius ſtamp a melancholy idea, from which decoration would depart too much, and accordingly there is little. We viewed the ſcene in a ſtill evening. The declining ſun threw a lengthened ſhade on the lake, and ſilence ſeemed to repoſe on its unruffled boſom; as ſome poet ſays, I forget who. The worthies to whom the temple of philoſophers is dedicated, and whoſe names are marked on the columns, are, NEWTON, *Lucem*.—DESCARTES, *Nil in rebus inane*.—VOLTAIRE, *Ridiculum*.—ROUSSEAU, *Naturam*.

—And on another unfiniſhed column, *Quis hoc perficiet?* The other lake is larger; it nearly fills the bottom of the vale, around which are ſome rough, rocky, wild, and barren ſand hills; either broken or ſpread with heath; in ſome places wooded, and in others ſcattered thinly with junipers. The character of the ſcene is that of wild and undecorated nature, in which the hand of art was meant to be concealed as much as was conſiſtent with eaſe of acceſs. The laſt ſcene is that of a river, which is made to wind through a lawn, receding from the houſe, and broken by wood: the ground is not fortunate; it is too dead a flat, and no where viewed to much advantage.

From Ermenonville we went, the morning after, to Braſſeuſe, the ſeat of Madame du Pont, ſiſter of the dutcheſs of Liancourt. What was my ſurprize at finding this viſcounteſs a great farmer! A French lady, young enough to enjoy all the pleaſures of Paris, living in the country and minding her farm, was an unlooked for ſpectacle. She has probably more lucerne than any other perſon in Europe—250 arpents. She gave me, in a moſt unaffected and agreeable manner, both lucerne and dairy intelligence; but of that more elſewhere. Returned to Liancourt by Pont, where there is a handſome bridge, of three arches, the conſtruction uncommon, each pier conſiſting of four pillars, with a towing-path under one of the arches for the barge-horſes, the river being navigable.

Amongſt the morning amuſements I partook at Liancourt was *la chaſſe.* In deer ſhooting, the ſportſmen place themſelves at diſtances around a wood, then beat it, and ſeldom more than one in a company gets a ſhot; it is more tedious than is eaſily conceived: like angling, inceſſant expectation, and perpetual diſappointment. Partridge and hare ſhooting are almoſt as different from that of England. We took this diverſion in the fine vale of Catnoir, five or ſix miles from Liancourt; arranging ourſelves in a file at about thirty yards from perſon to perſon, and each with a ſervant and a loaded gun, ready to preſent when his maſter fires: thus we marched acroſs and croſs the vale, treading up the game. Four or five brace of hares, and twenty brace of partridges were the ſpoils of the day. I like this mode of ſhooting but little better than waiting for deer. The beſt circumſtance to me of exerciſe in company (it was not ſo once) is the feſtivity of the dinner at the cloſe of the day. To enjoy this, it muſt not be puſhed to great fatigue. Good ſpirits, after violent exerciſe, are always the affectation of ſilly young folks (I remember being that ſort of fool myſelf, when I was young), but with ſomething more than moderate, the exhileration of body is in uniſon with the flow of temper, and agreeable company is then delicious. On ſuch days as theſe we were too late for the regular dinner, and had one by ourſelves, with no other dreſſing than the refreſhment of clean linen; and theſe were not the repaſts when the dutcheſs's champaigne had the worſt flavour. A man is not worth hanging that does not drink a little too much on ſuch occaſions: *mais prenez-y-garde:* repeat it often; and make it a mere drinking party, the luſtre of the pleaſure fades, and you become what *was* an Engliſh fox-hunter. One day while we were thus dining *à l'Anglois*, and drinking the plough, the chace, and I know not what, the dutcheſs of Liancourt and ſome of her ladies came in ſport to ſee us. It was a moment for them to have betrayed ill-nature in the contempt of manners not French, which they might have endeavoured to conceal under a laugh:—but nothing of this; it was a good humoured curioſity; a natural inclination to ſee others pleaſed and in ſpirits. *Ils ont été de grands chaſſeurs aujourd'hui*, ſaid one. *Oh! ils s'applaudiſſent de leurs exploites.* Do they drink the gun? ſaid another. *Leurs maitreſſes certainement*, added a third. *J'aime a les voir en gaiété; il y a quelque choſe d'aimable dans tout ceci.* To note ſuch trifles may ſeem ſuperfluous to many: but what is life when trifles are withdrawn? and they mark the temper of a nation better than objects of importance. In the moments of council, victory, flight, or death, mankind, I ſuppoſe, are nearly the ſame. Trifles diſcriminate better, and the number is infinite that gives me an opinion of the good temper of the French. I am fond neither of a man nor a recital that can appear only on ſtilts, and dreſſed in holiday geers. It is every-day feelings that decide the colour of our lives; and he who values them the moſt plays the beſt for the ſtake of happineſs. But it is time to quit Liancourt, which I do with regret. Take leave of the good old dutcheſs, whoſe hoſpitality and kindneſs ought long to be remembered.——51 miles.

The 9th, 10th, and 11th. Return by Beauvais and Pontoiſe, and enter Paris for the fourth time, confirmed in the idea that the roads immediately leading to that capital are deſerts, comparatively ſpeaking, with thoſe of London. By what means can the connection be carried on with the country? The French muſt be the moſt ſtationary people upon earth, when in a place they muſt reſt without a thought of going to another. Or the Engliſh muſt be the moſt reſtleſs; and find more pleaſure in moving from one place to another, than in reſting to enjoy life in either. If the French nobility went to their country ſeats only when exiled there by the court, the roads could not be more ſolitary.——25 miles.

The 12th. My intention was to take lodgings; but on arriving at the hotel de la Rochefoucauld, I found that my hoſpitable dutcheſs was the ſame perſon at the capital as in the country; ſhe had ordered an apartment to be ready for me. It grows ſo late in the ſeaſon, that I ſhall make no other ſtay in this capital than what will be neceſſary for viewing public buildings. This will unite well enough with delivering ſome letters I brought to a few men of ſcience; and it will leave me the evenings for the theatres, of which there are many in Paris. In throwing on paper a rapid *coup d'œil*, of what I ſee of a city, ſo well known in

England, I ſhall be apt to delineate my own ideas and feelings, perhaps more than the objects themſelves; and be it remembered, that I profeſs to dedicate this careleſs itinerary to trifles, much more than to objects that are of real conſequence. From the tower of the cathedral, the view of Paris is complete. It is a vaſt city, even to the eye that has ſeen London from St. Paul's; being circular, gives an advantage to Paris; but a much greater is the atmoſphere. It is now ſo clear, that one would ſuppoſe it the height of ſummer: the clouds of coal-ſmoke that envelope London, always prevent a diſtinct view of that capital, but I take it to be one-third at leaſt larger than Paris. The buildings of the parliament-houſe are disfigured by a gilt and taudry gate, and a French roof. The hotel des Monoies is a fine building; and the façade of the Louvre one of the moſt elegant in the world, becauſe they have (to the eye) no roofs; in proportion as a roof is ſeen a building ſuffers. I do not recollect one edifice of diſtinguiſhed beauty (unleſs with domes) in which the roof is not ſo flat as to be hidden, or nearly ſo. What eyes then muſt the French architects have had, to have loaded ſo many buildings with coverings of a height deſtructive of all beauty? Put ſuch a roof as we ſee on the parliament-houſe or on the Thuilleries, upon the façade of the Louvre, and where would its beauty be?—At night to the opera, which I thought a good theatre, till they told me it was built in ſix weeks; and then it became good for nothing in my eyes, for I ſuppoſe it will be tumbling down in ſix years. Durability is one of the eſſentials of building: what pleaſure would a beautiful front of painted paſteboard give? The Alceſte of Gluck was performed; that part by Mademoiſelle St. Huberti, their firſt ſinger, an excellent actreſs. As to ſcenes, dreſſes, decorations, dancing, &c. this theatre beats the Haymarket to nothing.

The 13th. Acroſs Paris to the rue des blancs Manteaux, to Monſ. Brouſſonet, ſecretary of the Society of Agriculture; he is in Burgundy. Called on Mr. Cook from London, who is at Paris with his drill-plough, waiting for weather to ſhew its performance to the duke of Orleans: this is a French idea, improving France by drilling. A man ſhould learn to walk before he learns to dance. There is agility in cutting capers, and it may be done with grace; but where is the neceſſity to cut them at all. There has been much rain to day; and it is almoſt incredible to a perſon uſed to London, how dirty the ſtreets of Paris are, and how horribly inconvenient and dangerous walking is without a foot-pavement. We had a large party at dinner, with politicians among them, and ſome intereſting converſation on the preſent ſtate of France. The feeling of every body ſeems to be that the archbiſhop will not be able to do any thing towards exonerating the ſtate from the burthen of its preſent ſituation; ſome think that he has not the inclination; others that he has not the courage; others that he has not the ability. By ſome he is thought to be attentive only to his own intereſt; and by others, that the finances are too much deranged to be within the power of any ſyſtem to recover, ſhort of the ſtates-general of the kingdom; and that it is impoſſible for ſuch an aſſembly to meet without a revolution in the government enſuing. All ſeem to think that ſomething extraordinary will happen; and a bankruptcy is an idea not at all uncommon. But who is there that will have the courage to make it?

The 14th. To the benedictine abbey of St Germain, to ſee pillars of African marble, &c. It is the richeſt abbey in France: the abbot has 300,000 liv. a year (13,125l.) I loſe my patience at ſuch revenues being thus beſtowed; conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the tenth century, but not with that of the eighteenth. What a noble farm would the fourth of this income eſtabliſh! what turnips, what cabbages, what potatoes, what clover, what ſheep, what wool!—Are not theſe things better than a fat eccleſiaſtic? If an active Engliſh farmer was mounted behind this abbot, I think he would do more good to France with half the income than half the abbots of the kingdom with the whole of theirs. Paſs the baſtile; another pleaſant object to make agreeable emotions vibrate in a man's boſom. I ſearch for good farmers, and run my head at every turn againſt monks and ſtate priſons.—To the arſenal, to wait on Monſ. Lavoiſier, the celebrated chemiſt, whoſe theory of the non-exiſtence of phlogiſton, has made as much noiſe in the chemical world as that of Stahl, which eſtabliſhed its exiſtence. Dr. Prieſtley had given me a letter of introduction. I mentioned in the courſe of converſation his laboratory, and he appointed Tueſday. By the Boulevards, to the *Place Louis XV.* which is not properly a ſquare, but a very noble entrance to a great city. The façades of the two buildings erected are highly finiſhed. The union of the *Place Louis XV.* with the champs Eliſées, the gardens of the Thuillerіes and the Seine is open, airy, elegant, and ſuperb; and is the moſt agreeable and beſt built part of Paris; here one can be clean and breathe freely. But by far the fineſt thing I have yet ſeen at Paris is the *Halle aux bleds*, or corn market: it is a vaſt rotunda; the roof entirely of wood, upon a new principle of carpentry, to deſcribe which would demand plates and long explanations; the gallery is 150 yards round, conſequently the diameter is as many feet: it is as light as if ſuſpended by the fairies. In the grand area, wheat, peaſe, beans, lentils, are ſtored and ſold. In the ſurrounding diviſions, flour on wooden ſtands. You paſs by ſtair-caſes doubly winding within each other to ſpacious apartments for rye, barley, oats, &c. The whole is ſo well planned, and ſo admirably executed, that I know of no public building that exceeds it in either France or England. And if an appropriation of the parts to the conveniences wanted, and an adaptation of every circumſtance to the end required, in union with that elegance which is conſiſtent with uſe, and that magnificence which reſults from ſtability and duration are the criteria of public edifices, I know nothing that equals it :—it has but one fault, and that is ſituation ; it ſhould have been upon the banks of the river, for the convenience of unloading barges without land carriage. In the evening, to the *Comedie Italienne*, the edifice fine ; and the whole quarter regular and new built, a private ſpeculation of the duke de Choiſeul, whoſe family has a box entailed for ever.—L'Aimant jaloux. Here is a young ſinger, Mademoiſelle Rénard, with ſo ſweet a voice, that if ſhe ſung Italian, and had been taught in Italy, would have made a delicious performer.

To the tomb of Cardinal de Richlieu, which is a noble production of genius : by far the fineſt ſtatue I have ſeen. Nothing can be wiſhed more eaſy and graceful than the attitude of the cardinal, nor more expreſſive nature than the figure of weeping ſcience. Dine with my friend at the Palais Royale, at a coffee-houſe ; well dreſſed people ; every thing clean, good, and well ſerved : but here, as every where elſe, you pay a good price for good things ; we ought never to forget that a low price for bad things is not cheapneſs. In the evening to *l'Ecole des Peres*, at the *Comedie Françaiſe*, a crying *larmoyant* thing. This theatre, the principal one at Paris, is a fine building, with a magnificent portico. After the circular theatres of France, how can any one reliſh our ill-contrived oblong holes of London ?

The 16th. To Monſ. Lavoiſier, by appointment. Madame Lavoiſier, a lively, ſenſible, ſcientific lady, had prepared a *dejeuné Anglois* of tea and coffee, but her converſation on Mr. Kirwan's Eſſay on Phlogiſton, which ſhe is tranſlating from the Engliſh, and on other ſubjects, which a woman of underſtanding, that works with her huſband in his laboratory, knows how to adorn, was the beſt repaſt. That apartment, the operations of which have been rendered ſo intereſting to the philoſophical world, I had pleaſure in viewing. In the apparatus for ærial experiments, nothing makes ſo great a figure as the machine for burning inflammable and vital air, to make, or depoſit water ; it is a ſplendid machine. Three veſſels are held in ſuſpenſion with indexes for marking the immediate variations of their weights ; two that are as large as half hogſheads, contain the one inflammable, the other the vital air, and a tube of communication paſſes to the third, where the two airs unite and burn ; by contrivances, too complex to deſcribe without plates, the loſs of weight of the two airs, as indicated by their reſpective balances, equal at every moment to the gain in the third veſſel from the formation or depoſition of the water, it not being yet aſcertained whether the water be actually made or depoſited. If accurate (of which I muſt confeſs I have little conception), it is a noble machine. Monſ. Lavoiſier, when the ſtructure of it was commended, ſaid, *Mais oüi monſieur, & même par un artiſte Francois !* with an accent of voice that admitted their general inferiority to ours. It is well known that we have a conſiderable exportation of mathematical and other curious inſtruments to every part of Europe, and to France amongſt the reſt. Nor is this new, for the apparatus with which the French academicians meaſured a degree in the polar circle was made by Mr. George Graham *. Another engine Monſ. Lavoiſier ſhewed us was an electrical apparatus incloſed in a balloon, for trying electrical experiments in any ſort of air. His pond of quickſilver is conſiderable, containing 250lb. and his water apparatus very great, but his furnaces did not ſeem ſo well calculated for the higher degrees of heat as ſome others I have ſeen. I was glad to find this gentleman ſplendidly lodged, and with every appearance of a man of conſiderable fortune. This ever gives one pleaſure: the employments of a State can never be in better hands than of men who thus apply the ſuperfluity of their wealth. From the uſe that is generally made of money, one would think it the aſſiſtance of all others of the leaſt conſequence in affecting any buſineſs truly uſeful to mankind, many of the great diſcoveries that have enlarged the horizon of ſcience having been in this reſpect the reſult of means ſeemingly inadequate to the end: the energic exertions of ardent minds, burſting from obſcurity, and breaking the bands inflicted by poverty, perhaps by diſtreſs. To the *hotel des invalids*, the major of which eſtabliſhment had the goodneſs to ſhew the whole of it. In the evening to Monſ. Lomond, a very ingenious and inventive mechanic, who has made an improvement of the jenny for ſpinning cotton. Common machines are ſaid to make too hard a thread for certain fabrics, but this forms it looſe and ſpongy. In electricity he has made a remarkable diſcovery: you write two or three words on a paper; he takes it with him into a room, and turns a machine incloſed in a cylindrical caſe, at the top of which is an electrometer, a ſmall fine pith ball; a wire connects with a ſimilar cylinder and electrometer in a diſtant apartment; and his wife, by remarking the correſponding motions of the ball, writes down the words they indicate: from which it appears that he has formed an alphabet of motions. As the length of the wire makes no difference in the effect, a correſpondence might be carried on at any diſtance: within and without a beſieged town, for inſtance; or for a purpoſe much more worthy, and a thouſand times more harmleſs, between two lovers prohibited or prevented from any better connection. Whatever the uſe may be, the invention is beautiful. Monſ. Lomond has many other curious machines, all the entire work of his own hands: mechanical invention ſeems to be in him a natural propenſity. In the evening to the *Comedie Françaiſe*. Mola did the *Bourru Bienfaiſant*, and it is not eaſy for acting to be carried to greater perfection.

The 17th. To Monſ. l'Abbé Meſſier, aſtronomer royal, and of the Academy of Sciences. View the exhibition, at the Louvre, of the Academy's paintings. For one hiſtory piece in our exhibitions at London here are ten; abundantly more than to balance the difference between an annual and biennial exhibition. Dined to-day with a party, whoſe converſation was entirely political. Monſ. de Calonne's *Requête au Roi* is come over, and all the world are reading and diſputing on it. It ſeems, however, generally agreed that, without exonerating himſelf from the charge of the agiotage, he has thrown no inconſiderable load on the ſhoulders of the archbiſhop of Toulouze, the preſent premier, who will be puzzled to get rid of the attack. But both theſe miniſters were condemned on all hands in the lump; as being abſolutely unequal to the difficulties of ſo arduous a period. One opinion pervaded the whole company, that they are on the eve of ſome great revolution in the government: that every thing points to it: the confuſion in the finances great; with a *deficit* impoſſible to provide for without the ſtates-general of the kingdom, yet no ideas formed of what would be the conſequence of their meeting: no miniſter exiſting, or to be looked to in or out of power, with ſuch deciſive talents as to promiſe any other remedy than palliative ones: a prince on the throne, with excellent diſpoſitions, but without the reſources of a mind that could govern in ſuch a moment without miniſters: a court buried in pleaſure and diſſipation; and adding to the diſtreſs, inſtead of endeavouring to be placed in a more independent ſituation: a great ferment amongſt all ranks of men, who are eager for ſome change, without knowing what to look to, or to hope for: and a ſtrong leaven of liberty, increaſing every hour ſince the American revolution; altogether form a combination of circumſtances that promiſe e'er long to ferment into motion, if ſome maſter hand, of very ſuperior talents, and inflexible courage, is not found at the helm to guide events, inſtead of being driven by them. It is very remarkable, that ſuch converſation never occurs, but a bankruptcy is a topic: the curious queſtion on which is, *would a bankruptcy occaſion a civil war, and a total overthrow of the government?* The anſwers that I have received to this queſtion, appear to be juſt: ſuch a meaſure, conducted by a man of abilities, vigour, and firmneſs, would certainly not occaſion either one or the other. But the ſame meaſure, attempted by a man of a different character, might poſſibly do both. All agree, that the ſtates of the kingdom cannot aſſemble without more liberty being the conſequence; but I meet with ſo few men that have any juſt ideas of freedom, that I queſtion much the ſpecies of this new liberty that is to ariſe. They know not how to value the privileges of THE PEOPLE: as to the nobility and the clergy, if a revolution added any thing to their ſcale, I think it would do more miſchief than good *.

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* Whitehurſt's Formation of the Earth, 2d edit. p. 6.

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* In tranſcribing theſe papers for the preſs, I ſmile at ſome remarks and circumſtances which events have ſince placed in a ſingular poſition; but I alter none of theſe paſſages; they explain what were the opinions in France, before the revolution, on topics of importance; and the events which have ſince taken place render them the more intereſting. June, 1790.

The 18th. To the Gobelins, which is undoubtedly the firſt manufacture of tapeſtry in the world, and ſuch an one as could be ſupported only by a crowned head. In the evening to that incomparable comedy *La Metromanie*, of Pyron, and well acted. The more I ſee of it the more I like the French theatre; and have no doubt in preferring it far to our own. Writers, actors, buildings, ſcenes, decorations, muſic, dancing, take the whole in a maſs, and it is unrivalled by London. We have certainly a few brilliants of the firſt water; but throw all in the ſcales, and that of England kicks the beam. I write this paſſage with a lighter heart than I ſhould do were it giving the palm to the French plough.

The 19th. To Charenton, near Paris, to ſee *l'Ecole Veterinaire*, and the farm of the Royal Society of Agriculture. Monſ. Chabert, the directeur-general, received us with the moſt attentive politeneſs. Monſ. Flandrein, his aſſiſtant, and ſon-in-law, I had had the pleaſure of knowing in Suffolk. They ſhewed the whole veterinary eſtabliſhment, and it does honour to the government of France. It was formed in 1766: in 1783 a farm was annexed to it, and four other profeſſorſhips eſtabliſhed; two for rural œconomy, one for anatomy, and another for chemiſtry.—I was informed that Monſ. d'Aubenton, who is at the head of this farm with a ſalary of 6000 liv. a year, reads lectures of rural œconomy, particularly on ſheep, and that a flock was for that purpoſe kept in exhibition. There is a ſpacious and convenient apartment for diſſecting horſes and other animals; a large cabinet, where the moſt intereſting parts of all domeſtic animals are preſerved in ſpirits; and alſo of ſuch parts of their bodies that mark the viſible effect of diſtempers. This is very rich. This, with a ſimilar one near Lyons, is kept up (excluſive of the addition of 1783), at the moderate expence, as appears by the writings of M. Necker, of about 60,000 liv. (2600l.) Whence, as in many other inſtances, it appears that the moſt uſeful things coſt the leaſt. There are at preſent about one hundred eléves from different parts of the kingdom, as well as from every country in Europe, *except England*; a ſtrange exception, conſidering how groſſly ignorant our farriers are; and that the whole expence of ſupporting a young man here does not exceed forty louis a-year; nor more than four years neceſſary for his complete inſtruction. As to the farm, it is under the conduct of a great naturaliſt, high in royal academies of ſcience, and whoſe name is celebrated through Europe for merit in ſuperior branches of knowledge. It would argue in me a want of judgment in human nature, to expect good practice from ſuch men. They would probably think it beneath their purſuits and ſituation in life to be good ploughmen, turnip-hoers, and ſhepherds; I ſhould therefore betray my own ignorance of life, if I was to expreſs any ſurprize at finding this farm in a ſituation that——I had rather forget than deſcribe. In the evening, to a field much more ſucceſsfully cultivated, Mademoiſelle St. Huberti, in the Penelope of Picini.

The 20th. To the *Ecole Militaire*, eſtabliſhed by Louis XV. for the education of 140 youths, the ſons of the nobility; ſuch eſtabliſhments are equally ridiculous and unjuſt. To educate the ſon of a man who cannot afford the education himſelf, is a groſs injuſtice, if you do not ſecure a ſituation in life anſwerable to that education. If you do ſecure ſuch a ſituation, you deſtroy the reſult of the education, becauſe nothing but merit ought to give that ſecurity. If you educate the children of men, who are well able to give the education themſelves, you tax the people who cannot afford to educate their children, in order to eaſe thoſe who can well afford the burthen; and in ſuch inſtitutions, this is ſure to be the caſe. At night to *l'Ambigu Comique*, a pretty little theatre, with plenty of rubbiſh on it. Coffee-houſes on the boulevards, muſic, noiſe, and *filles* without end; every thing but ſcavangers and lamps. The mud is a foot deep; and there are parts of the boulevards without a ſingle light.

The 21ſt. Monſ. de Brouſſonet being returned from Burgundy, I had the pleaſure of paſſing a couple of hours at his lodgings very agreeably. He is a man of uncommon activity, and poſſeſſed of a great variety of uſeful knowledge in every branch of natural hiſtory; and he ſpeaks Engliſh perfectly well. It is very rare that a gentleman is ſeen better qualified for a poſt than Monſ. de Brouſſonet for that which he occupies, of ſecretary to a Royal Society.

The 22d. To the bridge of Neuilié, ſaid to be the fineſt in France. It is by far the moſt beautiful one I have any where ſeen. It conſiſts of five vaſt arches; flat, from the Florentine model; and all of equal ſpan; a mode of building incomparably more elegant, and more ſtriking than our ſyſtem of different ſized arches. To the machine at Marly; which ceaſes to make the leaſt impreſſion. Madame du Barré's reſidence, Luſienne, is on the hill juſt above this machine; ſhe has built a pavilion on the brow of the declivity, for commanding the proſpect, fitted up and decorated with much elegance. There is a table formed of Seve porcelain, exquiſitely done. I forget how many thouſand louis d'ors it coſt. The French, to whom I ſpoke of Luſienne, exclaimed againſt miſtreſſes and extravagance, with more violence than reaſon in my opinion. Who, in common ſenſe, would deny a king the amuſement of a miſtreſs, provided he did not make a buſineſs of his play-thing? *Mais Frederic le Grand avoit-il une maitreſſe, lui faſoit-il batir des pavillons, et les meubloit-il de tables de porcelaine?* No: but he had that which was fifty times worſe: a king had better make love to a handſome woman than to one of his neighbour's provinces. The king of Pruſſia's miſtreſs coſt an hundred millions ſterling, and the lives of 500,000 men; and before the reign of that miſtreſs is over, may yet coſt as much more. The greateſt genius and talents are lighter than a feather, weighed philoſophically, if rapine, war, and conqueſt, are the effects of them.

To St. Germain's, the terrace of which is very fine. Monſ. de Brouſſonet met me here, and we dined with Monſ. Breton, at the maréchal duc de Noailles, who has a good collection of curious plants. Here is the fineſt *ſophora japonica* I have ſeen.——10 miles.

The 23d. To Trianon, to view the Queen's *Jardin Anglois*. I had a letter to Monſ. Richard, which procured admittance. It contains about 100 acres, diſpoſed in the taſte of what we read of in books of Chineſe gardening, whence it is ſuppoſed the Engliſh ſtyle was taken. There is more of Sir William Chambers here than of Mr. Brown—more effort than nature—and more expence than taſte. It is not eaſy to conceive any thing that art can introduce in a garden that is not here; woods, rocks, lawns, lakes, rivers, iſlands, caſcades, grottos, walks, temples, and even villages. There are parts of the deſign very pretty, and well executed. The only fault is too much crouding; which has led to another, that of cutting the lawn by too many gravel walks, an error to be ſeen in almoſt every garden I have met with in France. But the glory of *La Petite Trianon* is the exotic trees and ſhrubs. The world has been ſucceſsfully rifled to decorate it. Here are curious and beautiful ones to pleaſe the eye of ignorance; and to exerciſe the memory of ſcience. Of the buildings, the temple of love is truly elegant.

Again to Verſailles. In viewing the king's apartment, which he had not left a quarter of an hour, with thoſe ſlight traits of diſorder that ſhewed he *lived* in it, it was amuſing to ſee the blackguard figures that were walking uncontrouled about the palace, and even in his bed-chamber; men whoſe rags betrayed them to be in the laſt ſtage of poverty, and I was the only perſon that ſtared and wondered how the devil they got there. It is impoſſible not to like this careleſs indifference and freedom from ſuſpicion. One loves the maſter of the houſe, who would not be hurt or offended at ſeeing his apartment thus occupied, if he returned ſuddenly; for if there was danger of this, the intruſion would be prevented. This is certainly a feature of that *good temper* which appears to me ſo viſible every where in France. I deſired to ſee the Queen's apartments, but I could not. Is her majeſty in it? No. Why then not ſee it as well as the king's? *Ma foi, Monſ. c'eſt un autre choſe*. Ramble through the gardens, and by the grand canal, with abſolute aſtoniſhment at the exaggerations of writers and travellers. There is magnificence in the quarter of the orangerie, but no beauty any where; there are ſome ſtatues good enough to wiſh them under cover. The extent and breadth of the canal are nothing to the eye; and it is not in ſuch good repair as a farmer's horſe-pond. The menagerie is well enough, but nothing great. Let thoſe who deſire that the buildings and eſtabliſhments of Louis XIV. ſhould continue the impreſſion made by the writings of Voltaire, go to the canal of Languedoc, and by no means to Verſailles. Return to Paris.——14 miles.

The 24th. With Monſ. de Brouſſonet to the King's cabinet of natural hiſtory and the botanical garden, which is in beautiful order. Its riches are well known, and the politeneſs of Monſ. Thouin, which is that of a moſt amiable diſpoſition, renders this garden the ſcene of other rational pleaſures beſides thoſe of botany. Dine at the Invalides, with Monſ. Parmentier, the celebrated author of many œconomical works, particularly on the *boulangerie* of France. This gentleman, to a conſiderable maſs of uſeful knowledge, adds a great deal of that fire and vivacity for which his nation has been diſtinguiſhed, but which I have not recognized ſo often as I expected.

The 25th. This great city appears to be in many reſpects the moſt ineligible and inconvenient for the reſidence of a perſon of ſmall fortune of any that I have ſeen; and vaſtly inferior to London. The ſtreets are very narrow, and many of them crouded, nine-tenths dirty, and all without foot-pavements. Walking, which in London is ſo pleaſant and ſo clean, that ladies do it every day, is here a toil and fatigue to a man, and an impoſſibility to a well dreſſed woman. The coaches are numerous, and, what are much worſe, there are an infinity of one-horſe cabriolets, which are driven by young men of faſhion and their imitators, alike fools, with ſuch rapidity as to be real nuiſances, and render the ſtreets exceedingly dangerous, without an inceſſant caution. I ſaw a poor child run over and probably killed, and have been myſelf many times blackened with the mud of the kennels. This beggarly practice, of driving a one-horſe booby hutch about the ſtreets of a great capital, flows either from poverty or a wretched and deſpicable œconomy; nor is it poſſible to ſpeak of it with too much ſeverity. If young noblemen at London were to drive their chaiſes in ſtreets without foot-ways, as their brethren do at Paris, they would ſpeedily and juſtly get very well threſhed, or rolled in the kennel. This circumſtance renders Paris an ineligible reſidence for perſons, particularly families that cannot afford to keep a coach; a convenience which is as dear as at London. The *fiacres*, hackney-coaches, are much worſe than at that city; and chairs there are none, for they would be driven down in the ſtreets. To this circumſtance alſo it is owing, that all perſons of ſmall or moderate fortune, are forced to dreſs in black, with black ſtockings; the duſky hue of this in company is not ſo diſagreeable a circumſtance as being too great a diſtinction; too clear a line drawn in company between a man that has a good fortune, and another that has not. With the pride, arrogance, and ill temper of Engliſh wealth this could not be borne; but the prevailing good humour of the French eaſes all ſuch untoward circumſtances. Lodgings are not half ſo good as at London, yet conſiderably dearer. If you do not hire a whole ſuite of rooms at an hotel, you muſt probably mount three, four, or five pair of ſtairs, and in general have nothing but a bed-chamber. After the horrid fatigue of the ſtreets, ſuch an elevation is a delectable circumſtance. You muſt ſearch with trouble before you will be lodged in a private family, as gentlemen uſually are at London, and pay a higher price. Servants wages are about the ſame as at that city. It is to be regretted that Paris ſhould have theſe diſadvantages, for in other reſpects I take it to be a moſt eligible reſidence for ſuch as prefer a great city. The ſociety for a man of letters, or who has any ſcientific purſuit, cannot be exceeded. The intercourſe between ſuch men and the great, which, if it is not upon an equal footing, ought never to exiſt at all, is reſpectable. Perſons of the higheſt rank pay an attention to ſcience and literature, and emulate the character they confer. I ſhould pity the man who expected, without other advantages of a very different nature, to be well received in a brilliant circle at London, becauſe he was a fellow of the Royal Society. But this would not be the caſe with a member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris; he is ſure of a good reception every where. Perhaps this contraſt depends in a great meaſure on the difference of the governments of the two countries. Politics are too much attended to in England to allow a due reſpect to be paid to any thing elſe; and ſhould the French eſtabliſh a freer government, academicians will not be held in ſuch eſtimation, when rivalled in the public eſteem by the orators who hold forth liberty and property in a free parliament.

The 28th. Quit Paris, and take the road to Flanders. Monſ. de Brouſſonet was ſo obliging as to accompany me to Dugny, to view the farm of Monſ. Cretté de Palluel, a very intelligent cultivator. Take the road to Senlis: at Dammertin, I met by accident a French gentleman, a Monſ. du Pré du St. Cotin. Hearing me converſing with a farmer on agriculture, he introduced himſelf as an amateur, gave me an account of ſeveral experiments he had made on his eſtate in Champagne, and promiſed a more particular detail; in which he was as good as his word.——22 miles.

The 29th. Paſs Nanteul, where the Prince of Condé has a chateau, to Villes-Coterets, in the midſt of immenſe foreſts belonging to the duke of Orleans. The crop of this country, therefore, is princes of the blood; that is to ſay, hares, pheaſants, deer, boars!——26 miles.

The 30th. Soiſſons ſeems a poor town, without manufactures, and chiefly ſupported by a corn-trade, which goes hence by water to Paris and Rouen.——25 miles.

The 31ſt. Coucy is beautifully ſituated on a hill, with a fine vale winding beſide it. At St. Gobin, which is in the midſt of great woods, I viewed the fabric of plate-glaſs the greateſt in the world. I was in high luck, arriving about half an hour before they begun to run glaſſes for the day. Paſs La Fere. Reach St. Quintin, where are conſiderable manufactures that employed me all the afternoon. From St. Gobin, are the moſt beautiful ſlate roofs I have any where ſeen.——30 miles.

NOVEMBER 1. Near Belle Angloiſe I turned aſide half a league to view the canal of Picardy, of which I had heard much. In paſſing from St. Quintin to Cambray the country riſes ſo much, that it was neceſſary to carry it in a tunnel under ground for a conſiderable depth, even under many vales as well as hills. In one of theſe vallies there is an opening for viſiting it by an arched ſtair-caſe, on which I deſcended 134 ſteps to the canal, and, as this valley is much below the adjacent and other hills, the great depth at which it is dug, may be conceived. Over the door of the deſcent, is the following inſcription:—*L'ann.* 1781.——*Monſ. le Comte d'Agay etant intendant de cette province, Monſ. Laurent de Lionni etant directeur de l'ancien & nouveau canal de Picardie, & Monſ. de Champroſé inſpecteur, Joſeph II. Empereur Roi des Romaines, a parcourru en batteau le canal ſous terrain depuis cet endroit juſques au puit, No. 20, le 28, & a temoigné ſa ſatisfaction d'avoir vu cet ouvrage en ces termes: "Je ſuis fier d'etre homme, quand je vois qu'un de mes ſemblables a oſé imaginer & executer un ouvrage auſſi vaſte et auſſi hardie. Cette idea me leve l'ame."*—Theſe three Meſſieurs lead the dance here in a very French ſtyle. The great Joſeph follows humbly in their train; and as to poor Louis XVI. at whoſe expence the whole was done, theſe gentlemen certainly thought that no name leſs than that of an emperor ought to be annexed to theirs. When inſcriptions are fixed to public works, no names ought to be permitted but thoſe of the king, whoſe merit patronizes, and the engineer or artiſt whoſe genius executes the work. As to a mob of intendants, directors, and inſpectors, let them go to the devil! The canal at this place is ten French feet wide and twelve high, hewn entirely out of the chalk rock, imbedded, in which are many flints—no maſonry. There is only a ſmall part finiſhed of ten toiſes long for a pattern, twenty feet broad and twenty high. Five thouſand toiſes are already done in the manner of that part which I viewed; and the whole diſtance under ground, when the tunnel will be complete, is 7020 toiſes (each ſix feet) or about nine miles. It has already coſt 1,200,000 liv. (52,500l.) and there wants 2,500,000 liv. (109,375l.) to complete it; ſo that the total eſtimate is near four millions. It is executed by ſhafts. At preſent there is not above five or ſix inches of water in it. This great work has ſtood ſtill entirely ſince the adminiſtration of the archbiſhop of Toulouze. When we ſee ſuch works ſtand ſtill for want of money, we ſhall reaſonably be inclined to aſk, What are the ſervices that continue ſupplied? and to conclude, that amongſt kings, and miniſters, and nations, œconomy is the firſt virtue:—without it, genius is a meteor; victory a ſound; and all courtly ſplendour a public robbery.

At Cambray, view the manufacture. Theſe frontier towns of Flanders are built in the old ſtyle, but the ſtreets broad, handſome, well paved, and lighted. I need not obſerve, that all are fortified, and that every ſtep in this country has been rendered famous or infamous according to the feelings of the ſpectator, by many of the bloodieſt wars that have diſgraced and exhauſted chriſtendom. At the hotel de Bourbon I was well lodged, fed, and attended: an excellent inn.—22 miles.

The 2d. Paſs Bouchaine to Valenciennes, another old town, which, like the reſt of the Flemiſh ones, manifeſts more the wealth of former than of preſent times.——18 miles.

The 3d, to Orchees; and the 4th to Liſle, which is ſurrounded by more windmills for expreſſing the oil of coleſeed, than are to be ſeen any where elſe I ſuppoſe in the world. Paſs fewer drawbridges and works of fortification here than at Calais; the great ſtrength of this place is in its mines and other *ſouteraines*. In the evening to the play.

The cry here for a war with England amazed me. Every one I talked with ſaid, it was beyond a doubt the Engliſh had called the Pruſſian army into Holland; and that the motives in France for a war were numerous and manifeſt. It is eaſy enough to diſcover, that the origin of all this violence is the commercial treaty, which is execrated here, as the moſt fatal ſtroke to their manufactures they ever experienced. Theſe people have the true monopolizing ideas; they would involve four-and-twenty millions of people in the certain miſeries of a war, rather than ſee the intereſt of thoſe who conſume fabrics, preferred to the intereſt of thoſe who make them. The advantages reaped by four-and-twenty millions of conſumers are lighter than a feather compared with the inconveniences ſuſtained by half a million of manufacturers. Meet many ſmall carts in the town, drawn each by a dog: I was told by the owner of one, what appears to me incredible, that his dog would draw 700lb. half a league. The wheels of theſe carts are very high, relative to the height of the dog, ſo that his cheſt is a good deal below the axle.

The 6th. In leaving Liſle, the reparation of a bridge made me take a road on the banks of the canal, cloſe under the works of the citadel. They appear to be very numerous, and the ſituation exceedingly advantageous, on a gently riſing ground, ſurrounded by low watry meadows, which may with eaſe be drowned. Paſs Darmentiers, a large paved town. Sleep at Mont Caſſel.——30 miles.

The 7th. Caſſel is on the ſummit of the only hill in Flanders. They are now repairing the baſon at Dunkirk, ſo famous in hiſtory for an imperiouſneſs in England, which ſhe muſt have paid dearly for. Dunkirk, Gibraltar, and the ſtatue of Louis XIV. in the *Place de Victoire*, I place in the ſame political claſs of national arrogance. Many men are now at work on this baſon, and, when finiſhed, it will not contain more than twenty or twenty-five frigates; and appears to an unlearned eye, a ridiculous object for the jealouſy of a great nation, unleſs it profeſſes to be jealous of privateers.—I made enquiries concerning the import of wool from England, and was aſſured that it was a very trifling object. I may here obſerve, that when I left the town, my little cloak-bag was examined as ſcrupulouſly as if I had juſt left England, with a cargo of prohibited goods, and again at a fort two miles off. Dunkirk being a free port, the cuſtom-houſe is at the gates. What are we to think of our woollen manufacturers in England, when ſuing for their wool-bill, of infamous memory, bringing one Thomas Wilkinſon from Dunkirk quay, to the bar of the Engliſh Houſe of Lords to *ſwear* that wool paſſes from Dunkirk without entry, duty, or any thing being required, at double cuſtom-houſes, for a check on each other, where they examine even a cloak-bag. On ſuch evidence, did our legiſlature, in the true ſhop-keeping ſpirit, paſs an act of fines, pains, and penalties againſt all the wool-growers of England. Walk to Roſſendal near the town, where Monſ. le Brun has an improvement on the Dunes, which he very obligingly ſhewed me. Between the town and that place are a great number of neat little houſes, built with each its garden, and one or two fields incloſed of moſt wretched blowing *dune* ſand, naturally as white as ſnow, but improved by induſtry. The magic of PROPERTY turns ſand to gold.——18 miles.

The 8th. Leave Dunkirk, where the *Concierge* a good inn, as indeed I have found all in Flanders. Paſs Gravelline, which, to my unlearned eyes, ſeems the ſtrongeſt place I have yet ſeen, at leaſt the works above ground are more numerous than at any other. Ditches, ramparts, and drawbridges without end. This is a part of the art military I like: it implies defence, and leaving raſcality to neighbours. If Gengiſchan or Tamerlane had met with ſuch places as Gravelline or Liſle in their way, where would their conqueſts and extirpations of the human race have been?——Reach Calais. And here ends a journey which has given me a great deal of pleaſure, and more information than I ſhould have expected in a kingdom not ſo well cultivated as our own. It has been the firſt of my foreign travels; and has with me confirmed the idea, that to know our own country well, we muſt ſee ſomething of others. Nations figure by compariſon; and thoſe ought to be eſteemed the benefactors of the human race, who have moſt eſtabliſhed public proſperity on the baſis of private happineſs. To aſcertain how far this has been the caſe with the French, has been one material object of my tour. It is an enquiry of great range, and no trifling complexity; but a ſingle excurſion is too little to truſt to. I muſt come again and again before I venture concluſions.——25 miles.

Wait at Deſſeins three days for a wind (the duke and dutcheſs of Glouceſter are in the ſame inn and ſituation) and for a pacquet. A captain behaved ſhabbilly: deceived me, and was hired by a family that would admit nobody but themſelves:—I did not aſk what nation this family was of.——Dover——London——Bradfield;—and have more pleaſure in giving my little girl a French doll, than in viewing Verſailles.

1788.

THE long journey I had laſt year taken in France, ſuggeſted a variety of reflections on the agriculture, and on the ſources and progreſs of national proſperity in that kingdom; in ſpite of myſelf, theſe ideas fermented in my mind; and while I was drawing concluſions relative to the political ſtate of that great country, in every circumſtance connected with its huſbandry. I found, at each moment of my reflection, the importance of making as regular a ſurvey of the whole as was poſſible for a traveller to effect. Thus inſtigated, I determined to attempt finiſhing what I had fortunately enough begun.

JULY 30. Left Bradfield; and arrived at Calais.——161 miles.

AUGUST 5. The next day I took the road to St. Omers. Paſs the bridge *Sans Pareil*, which ſerves a double purpoſe, paſſing two ſtreams at once; but it has been praiſed beyond its merit, and coſt more than it was worth. St. Omers contains little deſerving notice; and if I could direct the legiſlatures of England and Ireland, ſhould contain ſtill leſs:—why are catholics to emigrate in order to be ill educated abroad, inſtead of being allowed inſtitutions that would educate them well at home? The country is ſeen to advantage from St. Bertin's ſteeple.——25 miles.

The 7th. The canal of St. Omers is carried up a hill by a ſeries of ſluices. To Aire, and Lilliers, and Bethune, towns well known in military ſtory.—25 miles.

The 8th. The country now a champaign, one changes; from Bethune to Arras an admirable gravel road. At the laſt town there is nothing but the great and rich abbey of Var, which they would not ſhew me—it was not the right day—or ſome frivolous excuſe. The cathedral is nothing.——17½ miles.

The 9th. Market-day; coming out of the town I met at leaſt an hundred aſſes, ſome loaded with a bag, others a ſack, but all apparently with a trifling burthen, and ſwarms of men and women. This is called a market, being plentifully ſupplied; but a great proportion of all the labour of a country is idle in the midſt of harveſt, to ſupply a town which in England would be fed by $\frac{1}{10}$ of the people: whenever this ſwarm of triflers buz in a market, I take a minute and vicious diviſion of the ſoil for granted. Here my only companion *de voyage*, the Engliſh mare that carries me, diſcloſes by her eye a ſecret not the moſt agreeable, that ſhe is going rapidly blind. She is moon-eyed; but our fool of a Bury farrier aſſured me I was ſafe for above a twelvemonth. It muſt be confeſſed this is one of thoſe agreeable ſituations which not many will believe a man would put himſelf into. *Ma foy!* this is a piece of my good luck;—the journey at beſt is but a drudgery, that others are paid for performing on a good horſe, and I pay myſelf for doing it on a blind one;—I ſhall feel this inconvenience perhaps at the expence of my neck.——20 miles.

The 10th. To Amiens. Mr. Fox ſlept here laſt night, and it was amuſing to hear the converſation at the table d'hôte; they wondered that ſo great a man ſhould not travel in a greater ſtyle:—I aſked what was his ſtyle? Monſieur and *Madame* were in an Engliſh poſt-chaiſe, and the fille and valet de chambre in a cabriolet, with a French courier to have horſes ready. What would they have? but a ſtyle both of comfort and amuſement? A plague on a blind mare!—But I have worked through life; and he TALKS.

The 11th. By Poix to Aumale; enter Normandy.——25 miles.

The 12th. From thence to Newchatel, by far the fineſt country ſince Calais. Paſs many villas of Rouen merchants.——40 miles.

The 13th. They are right to have country villas—to get out of this great ugly, ſtinking, cloſe, and ill built town, which is full of nothing but dirt and induſtry. What a picture of new buildings does a flouriſhing manufacturing town in England exhibit! The choir of the cathedral is ſurrounded by a moſt magnificent railing of ſolid braſs. They ſhew the monument of Rollo, the firſt duke of Normandy, and of his ſon; of William Longſword; alſo thoſe of Richard Cœur de Lion; his brother Henry; the Duke of Bedford, regent of France; of their own King Henry V.; of the Cardinal d'Amboiſe, miniſter of Louis XII. The altar-piece is an adoration of the ſhepherds, by Philip of Champagne. Rouen is dearer than Paris, and therefore it is neceſſary for the pockets of the people that their bellies ſhould be wholeſomely pinched. At the table d'hôte, at the hotel *pomme du pin* we ſat down, ſixteen, to the following dinner, a ſoup, about 3lb. of bouilli, one fowl, one duck, a ſmall fricaſſee of chicken, rote of veal, of about 2lb. and two other ſmall plates with a ſallad: the price 45*ſ.* and 20*ſ.* more for a pint of wine; at an ordinary of 20d. a head in England there would be a piece of meat which would, literally ſpeaking, outweigh this whole dinner! The ducks were ſwept clean ſo quickly, that I moved from table without half a dinner. Such table d'hôtes are among the cheap things of France! Of all *ſombre* and *triſte* meetings a French table d'hôte is foremoſt; for eight minutes a dead ſilence, and as to the politeneſs of addreſſing a converſation to a foreigner, he will look for it in vain. Not a ſingle word has any where been ſaid to me unleſs to anſwer ſome queſtion: Rouen not ſingular in this. The parliament-houſe here is ſhut up, and its members exiled a month paſt to their country ſeats, becauſe they would not regiſter the edict for a new land-tax. I enquired much into the common ſentiments of the people, and found that the King perſonally from having been here, is more popular than the parliament, to whom they attribute the general dearneſs of every thing. Called on Monſ. d'Ambournay, the author of a treatiſe on uſing madder green inſtead of dried, and had the pleaſure of a long converſation with him on various farming topics, intereſting to my enquiries.

The 14th. To Barentin, through abundance of apples and pears, and a country better than the huſbandry: to Yveot richer, but miſerable management.—21 miles.

The 15th. Country the ſame to Bolbec; their incloſures remind me of Ireland, the fence is a high broad parapet bank, very well planted with hedges and oak and beech trees. All the way from Rouen there is a ſcattering of country ſeats, which I am glad to ſee; farm-houſes and cottages every where, and the cotton manufacture in all. Continues the ſame to Harfleur. To Havre de Grace, the approach ſtrongly marks a very flouriſhing place: the hills are almoſt covered with little new built villas, and many more are building; ſome are ſo cloſe as to form almoſt ſtreets, and conſiderable additions are alſo making to the town.——30 miles.

The 16th. Enquiries are not neceſſary to find out the proſperity of this town; it is nothing equivocal: fuller of motion, life, and activity, than any place I have been at in France. A houſe here, which in 1779 let without any fine on a leaſe of ſix years for 240 liv. per annum, was lately let for three years at 600 liv. which twelve years paſt was to be had at 24 liv. The harbour's mouth is narrow and formed by a mole, but it enlarges into two oblong baſons of greater breadth; theſe are full of ſhips, to the number of ſome hundreds, and the quays around are thronged with buſineſs, all hurry, buſtle, and animation. They ſay a fifty gun ſhip can enter, but I ſuppoſe without her guns. What is better, they have merchant-men of five and ſix hundred tons: the ſtate of the harbour has however given them much alarm and perplexity; if nothing had been done to improve it, the mouth would have been filled up with ſand, an increaſing evil; to remedy which, many engineers have been conſulted. The want of a back water to waſh it out is ſo great, that they are now, at the King's expence, forming a moſt noble and magnificent work, a vaſt baſon, walled off from the ocean, or rather an incloſure of it by ſolid maſonry, 700 yards long, five yards broad, and 10 or 12 feet above the ſurface of the ſea at high water; and for 400 yards more it conſiſts of two exterior walls, each three yards broad, and filled up ſeven yards wide between them with earth; by means of this new and enormous baſon, they will have an artificial back-water, capable, they calculate, of ſweeping out the harbour's mouth clean from all obſtructions. It is a work that does honour to the kingdom. The view of the Seine from this mole is ſtriking; it is five miles broad, with high lands for its oppoſite ſhore; and the chalk cliffs and promontories, that recede to make way for rolling its vaſt tribute to the ocean, bold and noble.

Wait on Monſ. l'Abbé Dicquemarre, the celebrated naturaliſt, where I had alſo the pleaſure of meeting Mademoiſelle le Maſſon le Golft, author of ſome agreeable performances; among others, *Entretien ſur le Havre*, 1781, when the number of ſouls was eſtimated at 25,000. The next day Monſ. le Reiſeicourt, captain of the *corps royale du Genie*, to whom alſo I had letters, introduced me to Meſſrs. Hombergs, who rank amongſt the moſt conſiderable merchants of France. I dined with them at one of their country houſes, meeting a numerous company and ſplendid entertainment. Theſe gentlemen have wives and daughters, couſins and friends, cheerful, pleaſing, and well informed. I did not like the idea of quitting them ſo ſoon, for they ſeemed to have a ſociety that would have made a longer reſidence agreeable enough. It is no bad prejudice ſurely to like people that like England; moſt of them have been there.—*Nous avons aſſurément en France de belles, d'agreables et de bonnes choſes, mais on trouve une telle energie dans votre nation*———.

The 18th. By the paſſage-packet, a decked veſſel, to Honfleur, ſeven and a half miles, which we made with a ſtrong north wind in an hour, the river being rougher than I thought a river could be. Honfleur is a ſmall town, full of induſtry, and a baſon full of ſhips, with ſome Guinea-men as large as at Havre. At Pont au de Mer, wait on Monſ. Martin, director of the *manufacture royale* of leather. I ſaw eight or ten Engliſhmen that are employed here (there are 40 in all), and converſed with one from Yorkſhire, who told me he had been deceived into coming; for though they are well paid, yet they find things very dear, inſtead of very cheap, as they had been given to underſtand.——20 miles.

The 19th. To Pont l'Eveque, towards which town the country is richer, that is, has more paſturage; the whole has ſingular features, compoſed of orchard incloſures, with hedges ſo thick and excellent, though compoſed of willow, with but a ſprinkling of thorns, that one can ſcarcely ſee through them; chateaus are ſcattered, and ſome good, yet the road is villainous. Pont l'Eveque is ſituated in the Pay d'Auge, celebrated for the great fertility of its paſtures. To Liſieux, through the ſame rich diſtrict, fences admirably planted, and the country thickly incloſed and wooded.—At the hotel d'Angleterre, an excellent inn, new, clean, and well furniſhed; and I was well ſerved and well fed.—26 miles.

The 20th. To Caen; the road paſſes on the brow of a hill, that commands the rich valley of Corbon, ſtill in the Pays d'Auge, the moſt fertile of the whole, all is under fine Poictou bullocks, and would figure in Leiceſter or Northampton.—28 miles.

The 21ſt. The marquis de Guerchy, who I had had the pleaſure of ſeeing in Suffolk, being colonel of the regiment of Artois, quartered here, I waited on him; he introduced me to his lady, and remarked, that as it was the fair of Guibray, and himſelf going, I could not do better than accompany him, ſince it was the ſecond fair in France. I readily agreed: in our way, we called at Bon, and dined with the marquis of Turgot, elder brother of the juſtly celebrated comptroller-general: this gentleman is author of ſome memoirs on planting, publiſhed in the Trimeſtres of the Royal Society of Paris; he ſhewed and explained to us all his plantations, but chiefly prides himſelf on the exotics; and I was ſorry to find in proportion not to their promiſed utility, but merely to their rarity. I have not found this uncommon in France; and it is far from being ſo in England. I wiſhed every moment, of a long walk to change the converſation from trees to huſbandry, and made many efforts, but all in vain. In the evening to the fair play-houſe—*Richard Cœur de Lion*; and I could not but remark an uncommon number of pretty women. Is there no antiquarian that deduces Engliſh beauty from the mixture of Norman blood? or who thinks, with Major Jardine, that nothing improves ſo much as croſſing; to read his agreeable book of travels, one would think none wanting, and yet to look at his daughters, and hear their muſic, it would be impoſſible to doubt his ſyſtem. Supped at the marquis d'Ecougal's, at his chateau *a la Frenaye*. If theſe French marquiſſes cannot ſhew me good crops of corn and turnips, here is a noble one of ſomething elſe—of beautiful and elegant daughters, the charming copies of an agreeable mother: the whole family I pronounced at the firſt bluſh amiable: they are chearful, pleaſing, intereſting: I want to know them better, but it is the fate of a traveller to meet opportunities of pleaſure, and merely ſee to quit them. After ſupper, while the company were at cards, the marquis converſed on topics intereſting to my enquiries.——22½ miles.

The 22d. At this fair of Guibray, merchandize is ſold, they ſay, to the amount of ſix millions (262,500l.) but at that of Beaucaire to ten: I found the quantity of Engliſh goods conſiderable, hard and queen's ware; cloths and cottons. A dozen of common plain plates, 3 liv. and 4 liv. for a French imitation, but much worſe; I aſked the man (a Frenchman) if the treaty of commerce would not be very injurious with ſuch a difference—*C'eſt préciſément le contraire Monſ.—quelque mauvaiſe que ſoit cette imitation, on n'a encore rien fait d'auſſi bien en France; l'année prochaine on fera mieux—nous perfectionnerons——et en fin nous l'emporterons ſur vous.*——I believe he is a very good politician, and that without competition, it is not poſſible to perfect any fabric. A dozen with blue or green edges, Engliſh, 5 liv. 5*ſ*. Return to Caen; dine with the marquis of Guerchy, lieutenant-colonel, major, &c. of the regiment, and their wives preſent a large and agreeable company. View the Abbey of Benedictines, founded by William the Conqueror. It is a ſplendid building, ſubſtantial, maſſy, and magnificent, with very large apartments, and ſtone ſtair-caſes worthy of a palace. Sup with Monſ. du Meſni, captain of the *corps de Genie*, to whom I had letters; he had introduced me to the engineer employed on the new port, which will bring ſhips of three or four hundred tons to Caen, a noble work, and among thoſe which do honour to France.

The 23d. Monſ. de Guerchy and the Abbée de ———, accompanied me to view Harcourt, the ſeat of the duke d'Harcourt, governor of Normandy, and of the Dauphin; I had heard it called the fineſt Engliſh garden in France, but Ermenonville will not allow that claim, though not near its equal as a reſidence. Found at laſt a horſe to try in order to proſecute my journey a little leſs like Don

Quixotte, but it would by no means do, an uneaſy ſtumbling beaſt, at a price that would have bought a good one, ſo my blind friend and I muſt jog on ſtill further.——30 miles.

The 24th. To Bayeux; the cathedral has three towers, one of which is very light, elegant, and highly ornamented.

The 25th. In the road to Carentan, paſs an arm of the ſea at Iſſigny, which is fordable. At Carentan I found myſelf ſo ill, from accumulated colds I ſuppoſe, that I was ſeriouſly afraid of being laid up—not a bone without its aches; and a horrid dead leaden weight all over me. I went early to bed, waſhed down a doſe of antimonial powders, which proved ſudorific enough to to let me proſecute my journey.——23 miles.

The 26th. To Volognes; thence to Cherbourg, a thick woodland, much like Suſſex. The marquis de Guerchy had deſired me to call on Monſ. Doumerc, a great improver at Pierbutté near Cherbourg, which I did; but he was abſent at Paris: however his bailiff, Monſ. Baillio, with great civility ſhewed me the lands, and explained every thing.——30 miles.

The 27th. Cherbourg. I had letters to the duke de Beuvron, who commands here; to the count de Chavagnac, and M. de Meuſnier, of the Academy of Sciences, and tranſlator of Cook's Voyages; the count is in the country. So much had I heard of the famous works erecting to form a harbour here, that I was eager to view them without the loſs of a moment: the duke favoured me with an order for that purpoſe, I therefore took a boat, and rowed acroſs the artificial harbour formed by the celebrated cones. As it is poſſible that this itinerary may be read by perſons that have not either time or inclination to ſeek other books for an account of theſe works, I will in a few words ſketch the intention and execution. The French poſſeſs no port for ſhips of war from Dunkirk to Breſt, and the former capable of receiving only frigates. This deficiency has been fatal to them more than once in their wars with England, whoſe more favourable coaſt affords not only the Thames, but the noble harbour of Portſmouth. To remedy the want, they planned a mole acroſs the open bay of Cherbourg; but to incloſe a ſpace ſufficient to protect a fleet of the line, would demand ſo extended a wall, and ſo expoſed to heavy ſeas, that the expence would be far too great to be thought of; and at the ſame time the ſucceſs too dubious to be ventured. The idea of a regular mole was therefore given up, and a partial one, on a new plan adopted; this was to erect in the ſea, a line where a mole is wanted, inſulated columns of timber and maſonry, of ſo vaſt a ſize, as to reſiſt the violence of the ocean, and to break its waves ſufficiently to permit a bank being formed between column and column. Theſe have been called cones from their form. They are 140 feet diameter at the baſe; 60 diameter at the top, and 60 feet vertical height, being, when ſunk in the ſea, 30 to 34 feet, immerſed at the low water of high tides. Theſe enormous broad-bottomed tubs being conſtructed of oak, with every attention to ſtrength and ſolidity, when finiſhed for launching, were loaded with ſtone juſt ſufficient for ſinking, and in that ſtate each cone weighed 1000 tons (of 2000lb.) To float them, ſixty empty caſks, each of ten pipes, were attached around by cords, and in this ſtate of buoyancy the enormous machine was floated to its deſtined ſpot, towed by numberleſs veſſels, and before innumerable ſpectators. At a ſignal, the cords are cut in a moment, and the pile ſinks: it is then filled inſtantly with ſtone from veſſels ready attending, and capped with maſonry. The contents of each filled only to within four feet of the ſurface, 2500 cubical toiſes of ſtone *. A vaſt number of veſſels are then employed to form a bank of ſtone from cone to cone, viſible at low water in neap tides. Eighteen cones, by one account, but 33 by another, would complete the work, leaving only two entrances, commanded by two very fine new-built forts, *Royale* and *d'Artois*, thoroughly well provided, it is ſaid, for they do not ſhew them, with an apparatus for heating canon balls. The number of cones will depend on the diſtances at which they are placed. I found eight finiſhed, and the ſkeleton frames of two more in the dock-yard; but all is ſtopped by the archbiſhop of Toulouze, in favour of the œconomical plans at preſent in ſpeculation. Four of them, the laſt ſunk, being moſt expoſed, are now repairing, having been found too weak to reſiſt the fury of the ſtorms, and the heavy weſterly ſeas. The laſt cone is much the moſt damaged, and, in proportion as they advance, they will be ſtill more and more expoſed, which gives riſe to the opinion of many ſkilful engineers, that the whole ſcheme will prove fruitleſs, unleſs ſuch an expence is beſtowed on the remaining cones as would be ſufficient to exhauſt the revenues of a kingdom. The eight already erected have for ſome years given a new appearance to Cherbourg; new houſes, and even ſtreets, and ſuch a face of activity and animation, that the ſtop to the works was received with blank countenances. They ſay, that, quarry-men included, 3000 were employed. The effect of the eight cones already erected, and the bank of ſtone formed between them has been to give perfect ſecurity to a conſiderable portion of the intended harbour. Two 40 gun ſhips have lain at anchor within them theſe eighteen months paſt, by way of experiment, and though ſuch ſtorms have happened in that time as have put all to ſevere trials, and, as I mentioned before, conſiderably damaged three of the cones, yet theſe ſhips have not received the ſmalleſt agitation; hence it is a harbour for a ſmall fleet without doing more. Should they ever proceed with the reſt of the cones, they muſt be built much ſtronger, perhaps larger, and far greater precautions taken in giving them firmneſs and ſolidity: it is alſo a queſtion, whether they muſt not be ſunk much nearer to each other; at all events, the proportional expence will be nearly doubled, but for wars with England, the importance of having a ſecure harbour, ſo critically ſituated, they conſider as equal almoſt to any expence; at leaſt this importance has its full weight in the eyes of the people of Cherbourg. I remarked, in rowing acroſs the harbour, that while the ſea without the artificial bar was ſo rough, that it would have been unpleaſant for a boat, within it was quite ſmooth. I mounted two of the cones, one of which has this inſcription:—*Louis* XVI.—*Sur ce premiere cône èchoue le* 6 *Juin* 1784, *a vu l'immerſion de celui de l'eſt, le* 23 *Juin* 1786.——On the whole, the undertaking is a prodigious one, and does no trifling credit to the ſpirit of enterprize of the preſent age in France. The ſervice of the marine is a favourite; whether juſtly or not, is another queſtion; and this harbour ſhews, that when this great people undertake any capital works, that are really favourites, they find inventive genius to plan, and engineers of capital talents to execute whatever is deviſed, in a manner that does honour to their kingdom. The duke de Beuvron had aſked me to dinner, but I found that if I accepted his invitation, it would then take me the next day to view the glaſs manufacture; I preferred therefore buſineſs to pleaſure, and taking with me a letter from that nobleman to ſecure a ſight of it, I rode thither in the afternoon; it is about three miles from Cherbourg. Monſ. de Puye, the director, explained every thing to me in the moſt obliging manner. Cherbourg is not a place for a reſidence longer than neceſſary; I was here fleeced more infamouſly than at any other town in France; the two beſt inns were full; I was obliged to go to the *barque*, a vile hole, little better than a hog-ſty; where, for a miſerable dirty wretched chamber, two ſuppers compoſed chiefly of a plate of apples and ſome butter and cheeſe, with ſome trifle beſides too bad to eat, and one miſerable dinner, they brought me in a bill of 31 liv. (1l. 7s. 1d.) they not only charged the room 3 liv. a night, but even the very ſtable for my horſe, after enormous items for oats, hay, and ſtraw. This is a ſpecies of profligacy which debaſes the national character. Calling, as I returned, on Monſ. Baillo, I ſhewed him the bill, at which he exclaimed for impoſition, and ſaid the man and woman were going to leave off their trade; and no wonder, if they had made a practice of fleecing others in that manner. Let no one go to Cherbourg without making a bargain for every thing he has, even to the ſtraw and ſtable; pepper, ſalt, and table-cloth.——10 miles.

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* The toiſe ſix feet.

The 28th, return to Carentan; and the 29th, paſs through a rich and thickly incloſed country, to Coutances, capital of the diſtrict called the Cotentin. They build in this country the beſt mud houſes and barns I ever ſaw, excellent habitations, even of three ſtories, and all of mud, with conſiderable barns and other offices. The earth (the beſt for the purpoſe is a rich brown loam) is well kneaded with ſtraw; and being ſpread about four inches thick on the ground, is cut in ſquares of nine inches, and theſe are taken with a ſhovel and toſſed to the man on the wall who builds it; and the wall built, as in Ireland, in layers, each three feet high, that it may dry before they advance. The thickneſs about two feet. They make them project about an inch, which they cut off layer by layer perfectly ſmooth. If they had the Engliſh way of white waſhing, they would look as well as our lath and plaiſter, and are much more durable. In good houſes the doors and windows are in ſtone work.——20 miles.

The 30th. A fine ſea view of the Iſles of Chauſée, at five leagues diſtant; and afterwards Jerſey, clear at about forty miles, with that of the town of Grandval on a high peninſula: entering the town, every idea of beauty is loſt; a cloſe, naſty, ugly, ill built hole: market day, and myriads of triflers, common at a French market. The bay of Cancalle, all along to the right, and St. Michael's rock riſing out of the ſea, conically, with a caſtle on the top, a moſt ſingular and pictureſque object.——30 miles.

The 31ſt. At Pont Orſin, enter Bretagne; there ſeems here a more minute diviſion of farms than before. There is a long ſtreet in the epiſcopal town of Doll, without a glaſs window; a horrid appearance. My entry into Bretagne gives me an idea of its being a miſerable province.——22 miles.

SEPTEMBER 1ſt. To Combourg, the country has a ſavage aſpect; huſbandry not much further advanced, at leaſt in ſkill, than among the Hurons, which appears incredible amidſt incloſures; the people almoſt as wild as their country, and their town of Combourg one of the moſt brutal filthy places that can be ſeen; mud houſes, no windows, and a pavement ſo broken, as to impede all paſſengers, but eaſe none—yet here is a chateau, and inhabited; who is this Monſ. de Chateaubriant, the owner, that has nerves ſtrung for a reſidence amidſt ſuch filth and poverty? Below this hideous heap of wretchedneſs is a fine lake, ſurrounded by well wooded incloſures. Coming out of Hedé, there is a beautiful lake belonging to Monſ. de Blaſſac, intendant of Poictiers, with a fine accompanyment of wood. A very little cleaning would make here a delicious ſcenery. There is a chateau, with four rows of trees, and nothing elſe to be ſeen from the windows in the true French ſtile. Forbid it, taſte, that this ſhould be the houſe of the owner of that beautiful water; and yet this Monſ. de Blaſſac has made at Poictiers the fineſt promenade in France! But that taſte which draws a ſtrait line, and that which traces a waving one, are founded on feelings and ideas as ſeparate and diſtinct as painting and muſic—as poetry or ſculpture. The lake abounds with fiſh, pike to 36lb. carp to 24lb. perch 4lb. and tench 5lb. To Rennes the ſame ſtrange wild mixture of deſert and cultivation, half ſavage, half human.——31 miles.

The 2d. Rennes is well built, and it has two good ſquares; that particularly of Louis XV. where is his ſtatue. The parliament being in exile, the houſe

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is not to be ſeen. The Benedictines garden, called the *Tabour*, is worth viewing. But the object at Rennes moſt remarkable at preſent is a camp, with a marſhal of France (de Stainville), and four regiments of infantry, and two of dragoons, cloſe to the gates. The diſcontents of the people have been double, firſt on account of the high price of bread, and ſecondly for the baniſhment of the parliament. The former cauſe is natural enough, but why the people ſhould love their parliament was what I could not underſtand, ſince the members, as well as of the ſtates, are all noble, and the diſtinction between the *nobleſſe* and *roturiers* no where ſtronger, more offenſive, or more abominable than in Bretagne. They aſſured me, however, that the populace have been blown up to violence by every art of deception, and even by money diſtributed for that purpoſe. The commotions roſe to ſuch a height before the camp was eſtabliſhed, that the troops here were utterly unable to keep the peace. Monſ. Argentaiſe, to whom I had brought letters, had the goodneſs, during the four days I was here, to ſhew and explain every thing to be ſeen. I find Rennes very cheap; and it appears the more ſo to me juſt come from Normandy, where every thing is extravagantly dear. The table d'hôte, at the *grand maiſon*, is well ſerved; they give two courſes, containing plenty of good things, and a very ample regular deſſert: the ſupper one good courſe, with a large joint of mutton, and another good deſſert; each meal, with the common wine, 40*ſ.* and for 20 more you have very good wine, inſtead of the ordinary ſort; 30*ſ.* for the horſe: thus, with good wine, it is no more than 6liv. 10*ſ.* a day, or 5s. 10d. Yet a camp which they complain has raiſed prices enormouſly.

The 5th. To Montauban. The poor people ſeem poor indeed; the children terribly ragged, if poſſible worſe clad than if with no cloaths at all; as to ſhoes and ſtockings they are luxuries. A beautiful girl of ſix or ſeven years playing with a ſtick, and ſmiling under ſuch a bundle of rags as made my heart ache to ſee her: they did not beg, and when I gave them any thing ſeemed more ſurprized than obliged. One third of what I have ſeen of this province ſeems uncultivated, and nearly all of it in miſery. What have kings, and miniſters, and parliaments, and ſtates, to anſwer for their prejudices, ſeeing millions of hands that would be induſtrious, idle and ſtarving, through the execrable maxims of deſpotiſm, or the equally deteſtable prejudices of a feudal nobility. Sleep at the *lion d'or*, at Montauban, an abominable hole.——20 miles.

The 6th. The ſame incloſed country to Brooms; but near that town improves to the eye, from being more hilly. At the little town of Lamballe, there are above fifty families of nobleſſe that live in winter, who reſide on their eſtates in the ſummer. There is probably as much foppery and nonſenſe in their circles, and for what I know as much happineſs, as in thoſe of Paris. Both would be better employed in cultivating their lands, and rendering the poor induſtrious.——30 miles.

The 7th. Leaving Lamballe, the country immediately changes. The marquis d'Urvoy, who I met at Rennes, and has a good eſtate at St. Brieux, gave me a letter for his agent, who anſwered my queſtions.——12¼ miles.

The 8th. To Guingamp, a *ſombre* incloſed country. Paſs Chateaulandrin, and enter Bas Bretagne. One recognizes at once another people, meeting numbers who have not more French than *Je ne ſai pas ce que vous dites*, or *Je n'entend rien*. Enter Guingamp by gateways, towers, and battlements, apparently of the oldeſt military architecture; every part denoting antiquity, and in the beſt preſervation. The poor people's habitations are not ſo good; they are miſerable heaps of dirt; no glaſs, and ſcarcely any light; but they have earth chimnies. I was in my firſt ſleep at Belleiſle, when the aubergiſte came to my bedſide, undrew a curtain, that I expected to cover me with ſpiders, to tell me that I had *une jument Anglois ſuperbe*, and that a ſigneur wiſhed to buy it of me: I gave him half a dozen flowers of French eloquence for his impertinence, when he thought proper to leave me and his ſpiders at peace. There was a great *chaſſe* aſſembled. Theſe Bas Bretagne ſigneurs are capital hunters, it ſeems, that fix on a blind mare for an object of admiration. *A-propos* to the breeds of horſes in France; this mare coſt me twenty-three guineas when horſes were dear in England, and had been ſold for ſixteen when they were rather cheaper; her figure may therefore be gueſſed; yet ſhe was much admired, and often in this journey; and as to Bretagne, ſhe rarely met a rival. That province, and it is the ſame in parts of Normandy, is infeſted in every ſtable with a pack of garran poney ſtallions, ſufficient to perpetuate the miſerable breed that is every where ſeen. This villainous hole, that calls itſelf the *grand maiſon*, is the beſt inn at a poſt town on the great road to Breſt, at which marſhals of France, dukes, peers, counteſſes, and ſo forth, muſt now and then, by the accidents to which long journies are ſubject to, have found themſelves. What are we to think of a country that has made, in the eighteenth century, no better proviſion for its travellers!——30 miles.

The 9th. Morlaix is the moſt ſingular port I have ſeen. It has but one feature, a vale juſt wide enough for a fine canal with two quays, and two rows of houſes; behind them the mountain riſes ſteep, and woody on one ſide; on the other gardens, rocks, and wood; the effect romantic and beautiful. Trade now very dull, but flouriſhed much in the war.——20 miles.

The 10th. Fair day at Landerviſier, which gave me an opportunity of ſeeing numbers of Bas Bretons collected, as well as their cattle. The men dreſs in great trowſers like breeches, many with naked legs, and moſt with wooden ſhoes, ſtrong marked features like the Welch, with countenances a mixture of half energy half lazineſs; their perſons ſtout, broad, and ſquare. The women furrowed without age by labour, to the utter extinction of all ſoftneſs of ſex. The eye diſcovers them at firſt glance to be a people abſolutely diſtinct from the French. Wonderful that they ſhould be found ſo, with diſtinct language, manners, dreſs, &c. after having been ſettled here 1300 years.——35 miles.

The 11th. I had reſpectable letters, and to reſpectable people at Breſt, in order to ſee the dock-yard, but they were vain; Monſ. le Chevalier de Tredairne particularly applied for me earneſtly to the commandant, but the order, contrary to its being ſhewn either to Frenchmen or foreigners, was too ſtrict to be relaxed without an expreſs direction from the miniſter of the marine, given very rarely, and to which, when it does come, they give but an unwilling obedience. Monſ. Tredairne, however, informed me, that lord Pembroke ſaw it not long ſince by means of ſuch an order: and he remarked himſelf, knowing that I could not fail doing the ſame, that it was ſtrange to ſhew the port to an Engliſh general and governor of Portſmouth, yet deny it to a farmer. He however aſſured me, that the duke of Chartres went away but the other day without being permitted to ſee it. Gretry's muſic at the theatre, which, though not large, is neat and even elegant, was not calculated to put me in good humour; it was *Panurge*.—Breſt is a well built town, with many regular and handſome ſtreets, and the quay where many men of war are laid up, and other ſhipping has much of that life and motion which animates a ſea-port.

The 12th. Return to Landernau, where, at the *duc de Chartre*, which is the beſt and cleaneſt inn in the biſhopric, as I was going to dinner, the landlord told me, there was a *Monſieur un homme comme il faut*, and the dinner would be better if we united; *de tout mon cœur*. He proved a Bas Breton noble, with his ſword and a little miſerable but nimble nag. This ſigneur was ignorant that the duke de Chartres, the other day at Breſt, was not the duke that was in Monſ. d'Orvillier's fleet. Take the road to Nantes. ——25 miles.

The 13th. The country to Chateaulin more mountainous; one-third waſte. All this region far inferior to Leon and Traguer; no exertions, nor any marks of intelligence, yet all near to the great navigation and market of Breſt water, and the ſoil good. Quimper, though a biſhopric, has nothing worth ſeeing but its promenades which are among the fineſt in France.——25 miles.

The 14th. Leaving Quimper, there ſeem to be more cultivated features; but this only for a moment; waſtes—waſtes—waſtes.—Reach Quimperlay.——27 miles.

The 15th. The ſame *ſombre* country to l'Orient, but with a mixture of cultivation and much wood.—I found l'Orient ſo full of fools, gaping to ſee a man of war launched, that I could get no bed for myſelf, nor ſtable for my horſe at the *epeè royale*. At the *cheval blanc*, a poor hole, I got my horſe crammed among twenty others, like herrings in a barrel, but could have no bed. The duke de Briſſac, with a ſuite of officers, had no better ſucceſs. If the governor of Paris could not, without trouble, get a bed at l'Orient, no wonder Arthur

Young found obſtacles. I went directly to deliver my letters, found Monſ. Beſné, a merchant, at home; he received me with a frank civility better than a million of compliments; and the moment he underſtood my ſituation, offered me a bed in his houſe, which I accepted. The Tourville, of 84 guns, was to be launched at three o'clock, but put off till the next day, much to the joy of the aubergiſtes, &c. who were well pleaſed to ſee ſuch a ſwarm of ſtrangers kept another day. I wiſhed the ſhip in their throats, for I thought only of my poor mare being ſqueezed a night amongſt the Bretagne garrans; ſixpence, however, to the garçon, had effects marvelouſly to her eaſe. The town is modern, and regularly built, the ſtreets diverge in rays from the gate, and are croſſed by others at right angles, broad, handſomely built, and well paved; with many houſes that make a good figure. But what makes l'Orient more known is being the appropriated port for the commerce of India, containing all the ſhipping and magazines of the company. The latter are truly great, and ſpeak the royal munificence from which they aroſe. They are of ſeveral ſtories, and all vaulted in ſtone, in a ſplendid ſtyle, and of vaſt extent. But they want, at leaſt at preſent, like ſo many other magnificent eſtabliſhments in France, the vigour and vivacity of an active commerce. The buſineſs tranſacting here ſeems trifling. Three 84 gun ſhips, the Tourville, l'Eole, and Jean Bart, with a 32 gun frigate, are upon the ſtocks. They aſſured me, that the Tourville has been only nine months building: the ſcene is alive, and fifteen large men of war being laid up here in ordinary, with ſome Indiamen, and a few traders, render the port a pleaſing ſpectacle. There is a beautiful round tower, 100 feet high, of white ſtone, with a railed gallery at top; the proportions light and agreeable; it is for looking out and making ſignals. My hoſpitable merchant, I find a plain unaffected character, with ſome whimſical originalities, that make him more intereſting; he has an agreeable daughter, who entertains me with ſinging to her harp. The next morning the Tourville quitted her ſtocks, to the muſic of the regiments, and the ſhouts of thouſands collected to ſee it. Leave l'Orient. Arrive at Hennebon.——7½ miles.

The 17th. To Auray, the eighteen pooreſt miles I have yet ſeen in Bretagne. Good houſes of ſtone and ſlate, without glaſs. Auray has a little port, and ſome ſloops, which always give an air of life to a town. To Vannes, the country various, but *landes* the more permanent feature. Vannes is not an inconſiderable town, but its greateſt beauty is its port and promenade.

The 18th. To Muſiliac. Belleiſle with the ſmaller ones, d'Hedic and d'Honat, are in ſight. Muſiliac, if it can boaſt of nothing elſe, may at leaſt vaunt its cheapneſs. I had for dinner two good flat fiſh, a diſh of oyſters, ſoup, a fine duck roaſted; with an ample deſſert of grapes, pears, walnuts, biſcuits, liqueur, and a pint of good Bourdeaux wine: my mare, beſides hay, had three-fourths of a peck of corn, and the whole 56*ſ.* 2*ſ.* to the fille and two to the garçon, in all 2s. 6d. Paſs *landes—landes—landes*—to la Roche Bernard. The view of the river Villaine, is beautiful from the boldneſs of the ſhores, there are no inſipid flats; the river is two-thirds of the width of the Thames at Weſtminſter, and would be equal to any thing in the world if the ſhores were woody, but they are the ſavage waſtes of this country.——33 miles.

The 19th. Turned aſide to Auvergnac, the ſeat of the count de la Bourdonaye, to whom I had a letter from the dutcheſs d'Anville, as a perſon able to give me every ſpecies of intelligence relative to Bretagne, having for five-and-twenty years been firſt ſyndac of the nobleſſe. A fortuitous jumble of rocks and ſteeps could ſcarcely form a worſe road than theſe five miles: could I put as much faith in two bits of wood laid over each other, as the good folks of the country do, I ſhould have croſſed myſelf, but my blind friend, with the moſt incredible ſure-footedneſs, carried me ſafe over ſuch places, that if I had not been in the every day habit of the ſaddle, I ſhould have ſhuddered at, though guided by eyes keen as Eclipſe's; for I ſuppoſe a fine racer, on whoſe velocity ſo many fools have been ready to loſe their money, muſt have good eyes, as well as good legs. Such a road, leading to ſeveral villages, and one of the firſt noblemen of the province, ſhews what the ſtate of ſociety muſt be;—no communication—no neighbourhood—no temptation to the expences which flow from ſociety; a mere ſecluſion to ſave money in order to ſpend it in towns. The count received me with great politeneſs; I explained to him my plan and motives for travelling in France, which he was pleaſed very warmly to approve, expreſſing his ſurpriſe that I ſhould attempt ſo large an undertaking, as ſuch a ſurvey of France, unſupported by my government; I told him he knew very little of our government, if he ſuppoſed they would give a ſhilling to any agricultural project or projector; that whether the miniſter was whig or tory made no difference, the party of THE PLOUGH never yet had one on its ſide; and that England has had many Colberts but not one Sully. This led to much intereſting converſation on the balance of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and on the means of encouraging them; and, in reply to his enquiries, I made him underſtand their relations in England, and how our huſbandry flouriſhed, in ſpite of the teeth of our miniſters, merely by the protection which civil liberty gives to property: and conſequently that it was in a poor ſituation, comparatively with what it would have been in had it received the ſame attention as manufactures and commerce. I told M. de la Bourdonaye that his province of Bretagne ſeemed to me to have nothing in it but privileges and poverty, he ſmiled, and gave me ſome explanations that are important; but no nobleman can ever probe this evil as it ought to be done, reſulting as it does from the privileges going to themſelves, and the poverty to the people. He ſhewed me his plantations, which are very fine and well thriven, and ſhelter him thoroughly on every ſide, even from the S. W. ſo near to the ſea; from his walks we ſee Belleiſle and its neighbours, and a little iſle or rock belonging to him, which he ſays the King of England took from him after Sir Edward Hawke's victory, but that his majeſty was kind enough to leave him his iſland after one night's poſſeſſion.——20 miles.

The 20th. Take my leave of Monſieur and Madame de la Bourdonaye, to whoſe politeneſs as well as friendly attentions I am much obliged. Towards Nazaire there is a fine view of the mouth of the Loire, from the riſing grounds, but the headlands that form the embouchure are low, which takes off from that greatneſs of the effect which highlands give to the mouth of the Shannon. The ſwelling boſom of the Atlantic boundleſs to the right. Savanal poverty itſelf.——33 miles.

The 21ſt. Come to an improvement in the midſt of theſe deſerts, four good houſes of ſtone and ſlate, and a few acres run to wretched graſs, which have been tilled, but all ſavage, and become almoſt as rough as the reſt. I was afterwards informed that this improvement, as it is called, was wrought by Engliſhmen, at the expence of a gentleman they ruined as well as themſelves.—I demanded how it had been done? Pare and burn, and ſow wheat, then rye, and then oats. Thus it is for ever and ever! the ſame follies, the ſame blundering, the ſame ignorance; and then all the fools in the country ſaid, as they do now, that theſe waſtes are good for nothing. To my amazement find the incredible circumſtance, that they reach within three miles of the great commercial city of Nantes! This is a problem and a leſſon to work at, but not at preſent. Arrive—go to the theatre, new built of fine white ſtone, and has a magnificent portico front of eight elegant Corinthian pillars, and four others within, to part the portico from a grand veſtibule. Within all is gold and painting, and *a coup d'œil* at entering, that ſtruck me forcibly. It is, I believe, twice as large as Drury-Lane, and five times as magnificent. It was Sunday, and therefore full. *Mon Dieu!* cried I to myſelf, do all the waſtes, the deſerts, the heath, ling, furz, broom, and bog, that I have paſſed for 300 miles lead to this ſpectacle? What a miracle, that all this ſplendour and wealth of the cities in France ſhould be ſo unconnected with the country! There are no gentle tranſitions from eaſe to comfort, from comfort to wealth: you paſs at once from beggary to profuſion,—from miſery in mud cabins to Mademoiſelle St. Huberti, in ſplendid ſpectacles at 500 liv. a night, (21l. 17s. 6d.) The country deſerted, or if a gentleman in it, you find him in ſome wretched hole, to ſave that money which is laviſhed with profuſion in the luxuries of a capital.——20 miles.

The 22d. Deliver my letters. As much as agriculture is the chief object of my journey, it is neceſſary to acquire ſuch intelligence of the ſtate of commerce, as can be beſt done from merchants, for abundance of uſeful information is to be gained, without putting any queſtions that a man would be cautious of anſwering, and even without putting any queſtions at all. Monſ. Riedy was very polite, and ſatisfied many of my enquiries; I dined once with him, and was pleaſed to find the converſation take an important turn on the relative ſituations of France and England in trade, particularly in the Weſt Indies. I had a letter alſo to Monſ. Epivent, *conſilier* in the parliament of Rennes, whoſe brother, Monſ. Epivent de la Villeſboiſnet, is a very conſiderable merchant here. It was not poſſible for any perſon to be more obliging than theſe two gentlemen; their attentions to me were marked and friendly, and rendered a few days reſidence here equally inſtructive and agreeable. The town has that ſign of proſperity of new buildings, which never deceives. The quarter of the *comedie* is magnificent, all the ſtreets at right angles and of white ſtone. I am in doubt whether the *hotel de Henri* IV. is not the fineſt inn in Europe: Deſſein's at Calais is larger, but neither built, fitted up, nor furniſhed like this, which is new. It coſt 400,000l. liv. (17,500l.) furniſhed, and is let at 14,000 liv. per ann. (612l. 10s.) with no rent for the firſt year. It contains 60 beds for maſters, and 25 ſtalls for horſes. Some of the apartments of two rooms, very neat, are 6 liv. a day; one good 3 liv. but for merchants 5 liv. per diem for dinner, ſupper, wine, and chamber, and 35 *ſ.* for his horſe. It is, without compariſon, the firſt inn I have ſeen in France, and very cheap. It is in a ſmall ſquare cloſe to the theatre, as convenient for pleaſure or trade as the votaries of either can wiſh. The theatre coſt 450,000 liv. and lets to the comedians at 17,000 liv. a year; it holds, when full, 120 louis d'or. The land the inn ſtands on was bought at 9 liv. a foot: in ſome parts of the city it ſells as high as 15 liv. This value of the ground induces them to build ſo high as to be deſtructive of beauty. The quay has nothing remarkable; the river is choaked with iſlands, but at the furtheſt part next to the ſea is a large range of houſes regularly fronted. An inſtitution common in the great commercial towns of France, but particularly flouriſhing in Nantes, is a *chamber de lecture*, or what we ſhould call a book-club, that does not divide its books, but forms a library. There are three rooms, one for reading, another for converſation, and the third is the library; good fires in winter are provided, and wax candles. Meſſrs. Epivent had the goodneſs to attend me in a water expedition, to view the eſtabliſhment of Mr. Wilkinſon, for boring cannon, in an iſland in the Loire below Nantes. Until that well known Engliſh manufacturer arrived, the French knew nothing of the art of caſting cannon ſolid, and then boring them. Mr. Wilkinſon's machinery, for boring four cannons, is now at work, moved by tide wheels; but they have erected a ſteam engine, with a new apparatus for boring ſeven more; M. de la Motte, who has the direction of the whole, ſhewed us alſo a model of this engine, about ſix feet long, five high, and four or five broad; which he worked for us, by making a ſmall fire under the boiler that is not bigger than a large tea-kettle; one of the beſt machines for a travelling philoſopher that I have ſeen. Nantes is as *enflammé* in the cauſe of liberty, as any town in France can be; the converſations I witneſſed here, prove how great a change is effected in the minds of the French, nor do I believe it will be poſſible for the preſent government to laſt half a century longer, unleſs the cleareſt and moſt decided talents are at the helm. The American revolution has laid the foundation of another in France, if government does not take care of itſelf *. The 23d one of the twelve priſoners from the Baſtile arrived here—he was the moſt violent of them all—and his impriſonment has been far enough from ſilencing him.

The 25th. It was not without regret that I quitted a ſociety both intelligent and agreeable, nor ſhould I feel comfortably if I did not hope to ſee Meſſrs. Epivents again; I have little chance of being at Nantes, but if they come a ſecond time to England, I have a promiſe of ſeeing them at Bradfield. The younger of theſe gentlemen ſpent a fortnight with Lord Shelburne at Bowood, which he remembers with much pleaſure; Colonel Barré and Dr. Prieſtley were there at the ſame time. To Aucenis is all incloſed: for ſeven miles many ſeats.——22½ miles.

The 26th. To the ſcene of the vintage. I had not before been witneſs to ſo much advantage as here; laſt autumn the heavy rains made it a melancholy buſineſs. At preſent, all is life and activity. The country all thickly and well incloſed. Glorious view of the Loire from a village, the laſt of Bretagne, where is a great barrier acroſs the road and cuſtom-houſes, to ſearch every thing coming from thence. The Loire here takes the appearance of a lake large enough to be intereſting. There is on both ſides an accompanyment of wood, which is not univerſal on this river. The addition of towns, ſteeples, windmills, and a great range of lovely country, covered with vines; the character gay as well as noble. Enter Anjou, with a great range of meadows. Paſs St. George, and take the road to Angers. For ten miles quit the Loire and meet it again at Angers. Letters from Monſ. de Brouſſonet; but he is unable to inform me in what part of Anjou was the reſidence of the marquis de Tourbilly; to find out that nobleman's farm, where he made thoſe admirable improvements, which he deſcribes in the *Memoire ſur les defrichemens*, was ſuch an object to me, that I was determined to go to the place, let the diſtance out of my way be what it might.——30 miles.

The 27th. Among my letters, one to Monſ. de la Livoniere, perpetual ſecretary of the Society of Agriculture here. I found he was at his country-ſeat, two leagues off at Mignianne. On my arrival at his ſeat, he was ſitting down to dinner with his family; not being paſt twelve, I thought to have eſcaped this awkwardneſs; but both himſelf and Madame prevented all embarraſſment by very unaffectedly deſiring me to partake with them, and making not the leaſt derangement either in table or looks, placed me at once at my eaſe, to an indifferent dinner, garniſhed with ſo much eaſe and chearfulneſs that I found it a repaſt more to my taſte than the moſt ſplendid tables could afford. An Engliſh family in the country, ſimilar in ſituation, taken unawares in the ſame way, would receive you with an unquiet hoſpitality, and an anxious politeneſs; and after waiting for a hurry-ſcurry derangement of cloth, table, plates, ſideboard, pot and ſpit, would give you perhaps ſo good a dinner, that none of the family, between anxiety and fatigue, could ſupply one word of converſation, and you would depart under cordial wiſhes that you might never return. This folly, ſo common in England, is never met with in France: the French are quiet in their houſes, and do things without effort.—Monſ. Livoniere converſed with me much on the plan of my travels, which he commended greatly, but thought it very extraordinary that neither government, nor the Academy of Sciences, nor the Academy of Agriculture, ſhould at leaſt be at the expence of my journey. This idea is purely French; they have no notion of private people going out of their way for the public good, without being paid by the public; nor could he well comprehend me, when I told him that every thing is well done in England, except what is done with public money. I was greatly concerned to find that he could give me no intelligence concerning the reſidence of the late marquis de Tourbilly, as it would be a provoking circumſtance to paſs all through the province without finding his houſe, and afterward hear perhaps that I had been ignorantly within a few miles of it. In the evening returned to Angers.—20 miles.

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* It wanted no great ſpirit of prophecy to foretel this; but latter events have ſhewn that I was very wide of the mark when I talked of fifty years.

The 28th. To La Flêche. The chateau of Duretal, belonging to the dutcheſs d'Eſtiſſac, is boldly ſituated above the little town of that name, and on the banks of a beautiful river, the ſlopes to which that hang to the ſouth are covered with vines. The country chearful, dry, and pleaſant for reſidence. I enquired here of ſeveral gentlemen for the reſidence of the marquis de Tourbilly, but all in vain. The 30 miles to La Flêche the road is a noble one; of gravel, ſmooth, and kept in admirable order. La Flêche is a neat, clean, little town, not ill built, on the river that flows to Duretal, which is navigable; but the trade is inconſiderable. My firſt buſineſs here, as every where elſe in Anjou, was to enquire for the reſidence of the marquis de Tourbilly. I repeated my enquiries till I found that there was a place not far from La Flêche, called Tourbilly, but not what I wanted, as there was no Monſ. de Tourbilly there, but a marquis de Galway, who inherited Tourbilly from his father. This perplexed me more and more; and I renewed my enquiries with ſo much eagerneſs, that ſeveral people, I believe, thought me half mad. At laſt I met with an ancient lady who ſolved my difficulty; ſhe informed me, that Tourbilly, about twelve miles from La Fleche, was the place I was in ſearch of: that it belonged to the marquis of that name, who had written ſome books ſhe believed; that he died twenty years ago inſolvent; that the father of the preſent marquis de Galway bought the eſtate. This was ſufficient for my purpoſe; I determined to take a guide the next morning, and, as I could not viſit the marquis, at leaſt ſee the remains of his improvements. The news, however, that he died inſolvent, hurt me very much; it was a bad commentary on his book, and foreſaw, that whoever I ſhould find at Tourbilly, would be full of ridicule, on a huſbandry that proved the loſs of the eſtate on which it was practiſed.—— 30 miles.

The 29th. This morning I executed my project; my guide was a countryman with a good pair of legs, who conducted me acroſs a range of ſuch ling waſtes as the marquis ſpeaks of in his memoir. They appear boundleſs here; and I was told that I could travel many—many days, and ſee nothing elſe: what fields of improvement to make, not to loſe eſtates! At laſt we arrived at Tourbilly, a poor village, of a few ſcattered houſes, in a vale between two riſing grounds, which are yet heath and waſte; the chateau in the midſt, with plantations of fine poplars leading to it. I cannot eaſily expreſs the anxious inquiſitive curioſity I felt to examine every ſcrap of the eſtate; no hedge or tree, no buſh but what was intereſting to me; I had read the tranſlation of the marquis's hiſtory of his improvements in Mr. Mills' huſbandry, and thought it the moſt intereſting morſel I had met with, long before I procured the original *Memoire ſur les defrichemens*; and determined that if ever I ſhould go to France to view improvements the recital of which had given me ſuch pleaſure. I had neither letter nor introduction to the preſent owner, the marquis de Galway. I therefore ſtated to him the plain fact, that I had read Monſ. de Tourbilly's book with ſo much pleaſure, that I wiſhed much to view the improvements deſcribed in it; he anſwered me directly in good Engliſh, received me with ſuch cordiality of politeneſs, and ſuch expreſſions of regard for the purport of my travels, that he put me perfectly in humour with myſelf, and conſequently with all around me. He ordered breakfaſt *a l'Angloiſe*; gave orders for a man to attend us in our walk, who I deſired might be the oldeſt labourer to be found of the late marquis de Tourbilly's. I was pleaſed to hear that one was alive who had worked with him from the beginning of his improvement. At breakfaſt Monſ. de Galway introduced me to his brother, who alſo ſpoke Engliſh, and regretted that he could not do the ſame to Madame de Galway, who was in the ſtraw: he then gave me an account of his father's acquiring the eſtate and chateau of Tourbilly. His great-grand-father came to Bretagne with King James II. when he fled from the Engliſh throne; ſome of the ſame family are ſtill living in the county of Cork, particularly at Lotta. His father was famous in that province for his ſkill in agriculture; and, as a reward for an improvement he had wrought on the *landes*, the ſtates of the province gave him a waſte tract in the iſland of Belleiſle, which at preſent belongs to his ſon. Hearing that the marquis de Tourbilly was totally ruined, and his eſtates in Anjou to be ſold by the creditors, he viewed them, and finding the land very improveable, made the purchaſe, giving about 15,000 louis d'ors for Tourbilly, a price which made the acquiſition highly advantageous, notwithſtanding his having bought ſome law-ſuits with the eſtate. It is about 3000 arpents, nearly contiguous, the ſeigneury of two pariſhes, with the *haute juſtice*, &c. a handſome, large, and convenient chateau, offices very compleat, and many plantations, the work of the celebrated man concerning whom my enquiries were directed. I was almoſt breathleſs on the queſtion of ſo great an improver being ruined! "You are unhappy that a man ſhould be ruined by an art you love ſo much." Preciſely ſo. But he eaſed me in a moment, by adding, that if the marquis had done nothing but farm and improve, he had never been ruined. One day, as he was boring to find marl, his ill ſtars diſcovered a vein of earth, perfectly white, which on trial did not efferveſce with acids. It ſtruck him as an acquiſition for porcelain—he ſhewed it to a manufacturer——it was pronounced excellent: the marquis's imagination took fire, and he thought of converting the poor village of Tourbilly into a town, by a fabric of china——he went to work on his own account——raiſed buildings——and got together all that was neceſſary, except ſkill and capital.——In fine, he made good porcelain, was cheated by his agents, and people, and at laſt ruined. A ſoap manufactory, which he eſtabliſhed alſo, as well as ſome law-ſuits relative to other eſtates, had their ſhare in cauſing his misfortunes: his creditors ſeized the eſtate, but permitted him to adminiſter it till his death, when it was ſold. The only part of the tale that leſſened my regret was, that, though married, he left no family; ſo that his aſhes will ſleep in peace, without his memory being reviled by an indigent poſterity. His anceſtors acquired the eſtate by marriage in the fourteenth century. His agricultural improvements, Monſ. Galway obſerved, certainly did not hurt him; they were not well done, nor well ſupported by himſelf, but they rendered the eſtate more valuable; and he never heard that they had brought him into any difficulties. I cannot but obſerve here, that there ſeems a fatality to attend country gentlemen whenever they attempt trade or manufacture. In England I never knew a man of landed property, with the education and habits of landed property, attempt either, but they were infallibly ruined; or if not ruined, conſiderably hurt by them. Whether it is that the ideas and principles of trade have ſomething in them repugnant to the ſentiments which *ought* to flow from education—or whether the habitual inattention of country gentlemen to ſmall gains and ſavings, which are the ſoul of trade, renders their ſucceſs impoſſible; to whatever it may be owing, the fact is ſuch, not one in a million ſucceeds. Agriculture, in the improvement of their eſtates, is the only proper and legitimate ſphere of their induſtry; and though ignorance renders this ſometimes dangerous, yet they can with ſafety attempt no other. The old labourer, whoſe name is Piron (as propitious I hope to farming as to wit), being arrived, we ſallied forth to tread what to me was a ſort of claſſic ground. I ſhall dwell but little on the particulars: they make a much better figure in the *Memoire ſur les defrichemens* than at Tourbilly; the meadows, even near the chateau, are yet very rough; the general features are rough: but the alleys of poplars, of which he ſpeaks in the memoirs, are nobly grown indeed, and do credit to his memory; they are 60 or 70 feet high, and girt a foot: the willows are equal. Why were they not oak? to have tranſmitted to the farming travellers of another century the pleaſure I feel in viewing the more periſhable poplars of the preſent time; the cauſeways near the caſtle muſt have been arduous works. The mulberries are in a ſtate of neglect; Monſ Galway's father not being fond of that culture, deſtroyed many, but ſome hundreds remain, and I was told that the poor people had made as far as 25lb. of ſilk, but none attempted at preſent. The meadows had been drained and improved near the chateau to the amount of 50 or 60 arpents, they are now ruſhy, but valuable in ſuch a country. Near them is a wood of Bourdeaux pines, ſown 35 years ago, and are now worth five or ſix liv. each. I walked into the boggy bit that produced the great cabbages he mentioned, it joins a large and moſt improveable bottom. Piron informed me that the marquis pared and burnt about 100 arpents in all, and he folded 250 ſheep. On our return to the chateau, Monſ. de Galway, finding what an enthuſiaſt I was in agriculture, ſearched among his papers to find a manuſcript of the marquis de Tourbilly's, written with his own hand, which he had the goodneſs to make me a preſent of, and which I ſhall keep amongſt my curioſities in agriculture. The polite reception I had met from Monſ. Galway, and the friendly attention he had given to my views, entering into the ſpirit of my purſuits, and wiſhing to promote it, would have induced me very cheerfully to have accepted his invitation of remaining ſome days with him; had I not been apprehenſive that the moment of Madame Galway's being in bed, would render ſuch an unlooked for viſit inconvenient. I took my leave therefore in the evening, and returned to La Flêche by a different road.——25 miles.

The 30th. A quantity of moors to Le Mans, they aſſured me at Guerces, that they are here 60 leagues in circumference, with no great interruptions. At Le Mans I was unlucky in Monſ. Tournai, ſecretary to the Society of Agriculture, being abſent.——28 miles.

OCTOBER 1. Towards Alençon, the country a contraſt to what I paſſed yeſterday; good land well incloſed, well built and tolerably cultivated, with marling. A noble road of dark coloured ſtone, apparently ferruginous, that binds well. Near Beaumont vineyards in ſight on the hills, and theſe are the laſt in thus travelling northwards; the whole country finely watered by rivers and ſtreams, yet no irrigation.——30 miles.

The 2d. Four miles to Nouant, of rich herbage, under bullocks.—28 miles.

The 3d. From Gacé towards Bernay. Paſs the mariſhal duc de Broglio's chateau at Broglio, which is ſurrounded by ſuch a multiplicity of clipt hedges, double, treble, and quadruple, that he muſt half maintain the poor of the little town in clipping.——25 miles.

The 4th. Leave Bernay; where, and at other places in this country, are many mud walls, made of rich red loam, thatched at top, and well planted with fruit-trees: a hint very well worth taking for copying in England, where brick and ſtone are dear. Come to one of the richeſt countries in France, or indeed in Europe. There are few finer views than the firſt of Elbeuf, from the eminence above it, which is high; the town at your feet in the bottom; on one ſide the Seine preſents a noble reach, broken by wooded iſlands, and an immenſe amphitheatre of hill, covered with a prodigious wood, ſurrounding the whole.

The 5th. To Rouen, where I found the *hotel royal*, a contraſt to that dirty, impertinent, cheating hole the *pomme de pin*. In the evening to the theatre, which is not ſo large I think as that of Nantes, but not comparable in elegance or decoration; it is *ſombre* and dirty. Gretry's *Caravanne de Caire*, the muſic of which, though too much chorus and noiſe, has ſome tender and pleaſing paſſages. I like it better than any other piece I have heard of that celebrated compoſer. The next morning waited on Monſ. Scanegatty, *profeſſeur de phyſique dans la Societé Royale d'Agriculture*; he received me with politeneſs. He has a conſiderable room furniſhed with mathematical and philoſophical inſtruments and models. He explained ſome of the latter to me that are of his own invention, particularly one of a furnace for calcining gypſum, which is brought here in large quantities from Montmartre. Waited on Meſſrs. Midy, Roffec and Co. the moſt conſiderable wool merchants in France, who were ſo kind as to ſhew me a great variety of wools, from moſt of the European countries, and permitted me to take ſpecimens. The next morning I went to Darnetal, where Monſ. Curmer, ſhewed me his manufacture. Return to Rouen, and dined with Monſ. Portier, *directeur general des fermes*, to whom I had brought a letter from the duc de la Rochefoucauld. The converſation turned, among other ſubjects, on the want of new ſtreets at Rouen, on compariſon with Havre, Nantes, and Bourdeaux; at the latter places it was remarked, that a merchant makes a fortune in ten or fifteen years, and builds away; but at Rouen, it is a commerce of œconomy, in which a man is long doing it, and therefore unable with prudence to make the ſame exertions. Every perſon at table agreed in another point which was diſcuſſed, that the wine provinces are the pooreſt in all France: I urged the produce being greater per arpent by far than of other lands; they adhered to the fact as one generally known and admitted. In the evening at the theatre, Madame du Freſne entertained me greatly; ſhe is an excellent actreſs, never overdoes her parts, and makes one feel by feeling herſelf. The more I ſee of the French theatre, the more I am forced to acknowledge the ſuperiority to our own, in the number of good performers, and in the paucity of bad ones; and in the quantity of dancers, ſingers, and perſons on whom the buſineſs of the theatre depends, all eſtabliſhed on a great ſcale. I remark, in the ſentiments that are applauded, the ſame generous feelings in the audience in France, that have many times in England put me in good humour with my countrymen. We are too apt to hate the French, for myſelf I ſee many reaſons to be pleaſed with them; attributing faults very much to their government; perhaps in our own, our roughneſs and want of good temper are to be traced to the ſame origin.

The 8th. My plan had for ſome time been to go directly to England, on leaving Rouen, for the poſt-offices had been cruelly uncertain. I had received no letters for ſome time from my family, though I had written repeatedly to urge it; they paſſed to a perſon at Paris who was to forward them; but ſome careleſſneſs, or other cauſe, impeded all, at a time that others directed to the towns I paſſed, came regularly; I had fears that ſome of my family were ill, and that they would not write bad news to me in a ſituation where knowing the worſt could have no influence in changing it for better. But the deſire I had to accept the invitation to La Roche Guyon, of the dutcheſs d'Anville's and the duc de la Rocheſoucauld, prolonged my journey, and I ſet forward on this further excurſion. A truly noble view from the road above Rouen; the city at one end of the vale, with the river flowing to it perfectly checkered with iſles of wood. The other divides into two great channels, between which the vale is all ſpread with iſlands, ſome arable, ſome meadow, and much wood on all. Paſs Pont l'Arch to Louviers. I had letters for the celebrated manufacturer Monſ. Decretot, who received me with a kindneſs that ought to have ſome better epithet than polite; he ſhewed me his fabric, unqueſtionably the firſt woollen one in the world, if ſucceſs, beauty of fabric, and an inexhauſtible invention to ſupply with taſte all the cravings of fancy, can give the merit of ſuch ſuperiority. Perfection goes no further than the Vigonia cloths of Monſ. Decretot, at 110 liv. (4l. 16s. 3d.) the aulne. He ſhewed me alſo his cotton-mills, under the direction of two Engliſhmen. Near Louviers is a manufacture of copperplates for the bottoms of the King's ſhips; a colony of Engliſhmen. I ſupped with Monſ. Decretot, paſſing a very pleaſant evening in the company of ſome agreeable ladies.——17 miles.

The 9th. By Guillon to Vernon; the vale flat rich arable. Among the notes, I had long ago taken of objects to ſee in France, was the plantation of

mulberries,

mulberries, and the ſilk eſtabliſhment of the marechal de Belleiſle, at Biſſy, near Vernon; the attempts repeatedly made by the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, at London, to introduce ſilk into England, had made the ſimilar undertakings in the north of France more intereſting. I accordingly made all the enquiries that were neceſſary for diſcovering the ſucceſs of this meritorious attempt. Biſſy is a fine place, purchaſed on the death of the duc de Belleiſle by the duc de Penthievre, who has but one amuſement, which is that of varying his reſidence at the numerous ſeats he poſſeſſes in many parts of the kingdom. There is ſomething rational in this taſte; I ſhould like myſelf to have a ſcore of farms from the vale of Valencia to the Highlands of Scotland, and to viſit and direct their cultivation by turns. From Vernon, croſs the Seine, and mount the chalk hills again; after which mount again, and to La Roche Guyon, the moſt ſingular place I have ſeen. Madame d'Anville and the duc de la Rochefoucauld received me in a manner that would have made me pleaſed with the place had it been in the midſt of a bog. It gave me pleaſure to find alſo the dutcheſs de la Rochefoucauld here, with whom I had paſſed ſo much agreeable time at Bagnere de Luchon, a thoroughly good woman, with that ſimplicity of character which is baniſhed by pride of family or foppery of rank. The Abbé Rochon, the celebrated aſtronomer, of the academy of ſciences, with ſome other company, which, with the domeſtics and trappings of a grand ſeigneur, gave La Roche Guyon exactly the reſemblance of the reſidence of a great lord in England. Europe is now ſo much aſſimilated, that if one goes to a houſe where the fortune is 15 or 20,000l. a-year, we ſhall find in the mode of living much more reſemblance than a young traveller will ever be prepared to look for.—23 miles.

The 10th. This is one of the moſt ſingular places I have been at. The chalk rock has been cut perpendicularly, to make room for the chateau. The kitchen, which is a large one, vaſt vaults, and extenſive cellars (magnificently filled by the way) with various other offices, are all cut out of the rock, with merely fronts of brick; the houſe is large, containing thirty-eight apartments. The preſent dutcheſs has added a handſome ſaloon of forty-eight feet long, and well proportioned, with four fine tablets of the Gobelin tapeſtry, alſo a library well filled. Here I was ſhewn the ink-ſtand that belonged to the famous Louvois, the miniſter of Louis XIV. known to be the identical one from which he ſigned the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and I ſuppoſe alſo the order to Turenne to burn the Palatinate. This marquis de Louvois was grandfather to the two dutcheſſes d'Anville and d'Eſtiſſac, who inherited all his fortune, as well as their own family one of the houſe of La Rochefoucauld, from which family I conceive, and not from Louvois, they inherited their diſpoſitions. From the principal apartment, there is a balcony that leads to the walks which ſerpentine up the mountain. Like all French ſeats, there is a town, and a great *potager* to remove before it would be conſonant with Engliſh ideas. Biſſy, the duc de Penthievre's, is juſt the ſame; before the chateau there is a gently falling vale with a little ſtream through it, that might be made any thing of for *lawning and watering*; exactly there, in full front of the houſe, they have placed a great kitchen-garden, with walls enough for a fortreſs. The houſes of the poor people here, as on the Loire in Touraine, are burrowed into the chalk rock, and have a ſingular appearance: here are two ſtreets of them, one above another; they are aſſerted to be wholeſome, warm in winter, and cool in ſummer, but others thought differently; and that they were bad for the health of the inhabitants. The duc de la Rochefoucauld had the kindneſs to order the ſteward to give me all the information I wanted relative to the agriculture of the country, and to ſpeak to ſuch perſons as were neceſſary on points that he was in doubt about. At an Engliſh nobleman's, there would have been three or four farmers aſked to meet me, who would have dined with the family amongſt ladies of the firſt rank. I do not exaggerate, when I ſay, that I have had this at leaſt an hundred times in the firſt houſes of our iſlands. It is, however, a thing that in the preſent ſtate of manners in France, would not be met with from Calais to Bayonne, except by chance in the houſe of ſome great lord that had been much in England *, and then not unleſs it was aſked for. The nobility in France have no more idea of practiſing agriculture, and making it an object of converſation, except on the mere theory, as they would ſpeak of a loom or a bowſprit, than of any other object the moſt remote from their habits and purſuits. I do not ſo much blame them for this neglect, as I do that herd of viſionary and abſurd writers on agriculture, who, from their chambers in cities, have, with an impertinence almoſt incredible, deluged France with nonſenſe and theory, enough to diſguſt and ruin the whole nobility of the kingdom.

The 12th. Part with regret from a ſociety I had every reaſon to be pleaſed with.——35 miles.

The 13th. The 20 miles to Rouen, the ſame features. Firſt view of Rouen ſudden and ſtriking; but the road doubling, in order to turn more gently down the hill, preſents from an elbow the fineſt view of a town I have ever ſeen; the whole city, with all its churches and convents, and its cathedral proudly riſing in the midſt, fills the vale. The river preſents one reach, croſſed by the bridge, and then dividing into two fine channels, forms a large iſland covered with wood; the reſt of the vale of verdure and cultivation, of gardens and habitations, finiſh the ſcene, in perfect uniſon with the great city that forms the capital feature. Wait on Monſ. d'Ambournay, ſecretary of the ſociety of agriculture, who was abſent when I was here before; we had an intereſting converſation on agriculture, and on the means of encouraging it. I found, from this very ingenious gentleman, that his plan of uſing madder green, which many years ago made ſo much noiſe in the agricultural world, is not practiſed at preſent any where; but he continues to think it perfectly practicable. In the evening to the play, where Madame Cretal, from Paris, acted *Nina*; and it proved the richeſt treat I have received from the French theatre. She performed it with an inimitable expreſſion, with a tenderneſs, a *naiveté*, and an elegance withal, that maſtered every feeling of the heart, againſt which the piece was written: her expreſſion is as delicious, as her countenance is beautiful; in her acting, nothing overcharged, but all kept within the ſimplicity of nature. The houſe was crouded, garlands of flowers and laurel were thrown on the ſtage, and ſhe was crowned by the other actors, but modeſtly removed them from her head, as often as they were placed there.——20 miles.

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* I once knew it at the duc de Liancourt's.

The 14th. Take the road to Dieppe. Meadows in the vale well watered, and hay now making. Sleep at Tote.——17½ miles.

The 15th. To Dieppe. I was lucky enough to find the paſſage-boat ready to ſail; go on board with my faithful ſure-footed blind friend. I ſhall probably never ride her again, but all my feelings prevent my ſelling her in France.——Without eyes ſhe has carried me in ſafety above 1500 miles; and for the reſt of her life ſhe ſhall have no other maſter than myſelf; could I afford it, this ſhould be her laſt labour: ſome ploughing, however, on my farm, ſhe will perform for me, I dare ſay, cheerfully.

Landing at the neat, new-built town of Brighthelmſtone, offers a much greater contraſt to Dieppe, which is old and dirty, than Dover does to Calais; and in the caſtle inn I ſeemed for a while to be in fairy land; but I paid for the enchantment. The next day to lord Sheffield's, a houſe I never go to, but to receive equal pleaſure and inſtruction. I longed to make one for a few days in the evening library circle, but I took it ſtrangely into my head, from one or two expreſſions, merely accidental, in the converſation, coming after my want of letters to France, that I had certainly loſt a child in my abſence; and I hurried to London next morning, where I had the pleaſure of finding my alarm a falſe one; letters enough had been written, but all failed. To Bradfield.——202 miles.

1789.

MY two preceding journies had croſſed the whole weſtern half of France, in various directions; and the information I had received in making them, had made me as much a maſter of the general huſbandry, the ſoil, management and productions, as could be expected, without penetrating in every corner, and reſiding long in various ſtations, a method of ſurveying ſuch a kingdom as France, that would demand ſeveral lives inſtead of years. The eaſtern part of the kingdom remained. The great maſs of country, formed by the triangle, whoſe three points are Paris, Straſbourg and Moulins, and the mountainous region S. E. of the laſt town, preſented in the map an ample ſpace, which it would be neceſſary to paſs before I could have ſuch an idea of the kingdom as I had planned the acquiſition; I determined to make this third effort, in order to accompliſh a deſign which appeared more and more important, the more I reflected on it; and leſs likely to be executed by thoſe whoſe powers are better adapted to the undertaking than mine. The meeting of the States General of France alſo, who were now aſſembled, made it the more neceſſary to loſe no time; for in all human probability, that aſſembly will be the epoch of a new conſtitution, which will have new effects, and, for what I know, attended with a new agriculture; and to have the regal ſun in ſuch a kingdom, both riſe and ſet without the territory being known, muſt of neceſſity be regretted by every man ſolicitous for real political knowledge. The events of a century and half, including the brilliant reign of Louis XIV. will for ever render the ſources of the French power intereſting to mankind, and particularly that its ſtate may be known previous to the eſtabliſhment of an improved government, as the compariſon of the effects of the old and new ſyſtem will be not a little curious in future.

JUNE 2. To London. At night, *Il Generoſité d'Aleſſandro*, by Tarchi, in which Signor Marcheſi exerted his power, and ſung a duet, that made me for ſome moments forget all the ſheep and pigs of Bradfield. I was, however, much better entertained after it, by ſupping at my friend Dr. Burney's, and meeting Miſs Burney; how ſeldom it is that we can meet two characters at once in whom great celebrity deducts nothing from private amiableneſs: how many dazzling ones that we have no deſire to live with! give me ſuch as to great talents, add the qualities that make us wiſh to *ſhut up doors* with them.

The 3d. Nothing buzzing in my ears but the fête given laſt night by the Spaniſh ambaſſador. The beſt fête of the preſent period is that which ten millions of people are giving to themſelves,

> The feaſt of reaſon and the flow of ſoul.

The animated feelings of boſoms beating with gratitude for the eſcape of one common calamity, and the thrilling hope of the continuance of common bleſſings. Meet the count de Berchtold at Mr. Songa's; a reach of good ſenſe and important views:—Why does not the Emperor call him to his own country, and make him his prime miniſter? The world will never be well governed till princes know their ſubjects.

The 4th. To Dover in the machine, with two merchants from Stockholm, a German and a Swede; we ſhall be companions to Paris. I am more likely to learn ſomething uſeful from the converſation of a Swede and a German, than from the chance medley Engliſhmen of a ſtage-coach.——72 miles.

The 5th. Paſſage to Calais; 14 hours for reflection in a vehicle that does not allow one power to reflect.——21 miles.

The 6th. A Frenchman and his wife, and a French teacher from Ireland, full of foppery and affectation, which her own nation did not give her, were our company, with a young good-natured raw countryman of hers, at whom ſhe played off many airs and graces. The man and his wife contrived to produce a pack of cards, to baniſh, they ſaid, *l'enuye* of the journey; but they contrived alſo to fleece the young fellow of five louis. This is the firſt French diligence I have been in, and ſhall be the laſt; they are deteſtable. Sleep at Abbeville.——78 miles.

Theſe men and women, girls and boys, think themſelves (except the Swede) very cheerful becauſe very noiſy; they have ſtunned me with ſinging; my ears have been ſo tormented with French airs, that I would almoſt as ſoon have rode the journey blindfold on an aſs. This is what the French call good ſpirits; no truly chearful emotion in their boſoms; ſilent or ſinging; but for converſation they had none. I loſe all patience in ſuch company. Heaven ſend me a blind mare rather than another diligence! We were all this night, as well as all the day, on the road, and reached Paris at nine in the morning.——102 miles.

The 8th. To my friend Lazowſki, to know where were the lodgings I had written him to hire me, but my good dutcheſs d'Eſtiſſac would not allow him to execute my commiſſion. I found an apartment in her hotel prepared for me. Paris is at preſent in ſuch a ferment about the States General, now holding at Verſailles, that converſation is abſolutely abſorbed by them. Not a word of any thing elſe talked of. Every thing is conſidered, and juſtly ſo, as important in ſuch a criſis of the fate of four-and-twenty millions of people. It is now a ſerious contention whether the repreſentatives are to be called the *Commons* or the *Tiers Etat*; they call themſelves ſteadily the former, while the court and the great lords reject the term with a ſpecies of apprehenſion, as if it involved a meaning not eaſily to be fathomed. But this point is of little conſequence, compared with another, that has kept the ſtates for ſometime in inactivity, the verification of their power ſeparately or in common. The nobility and the clergy demand the former, but the Commons ſteadily refuſe it; the reaſon why a circumſtance, apparently of no great conſequence, is thus tenaciouſly regarded, is that it may decide their ſitting for the future in ſeparate houſes or in one. Thoſe who are warm for the intereſt of the people declare that it will be impoſſible to reform ſome of the groſſeſt abuſes in the ſtate, if the nobility, by ſitting in a ſeparate chamber, ſhall have a negative on the wiſhes of the people: and that to give ſuch a *veto* to the clergy would be ſtill more prepoſterous; if therefore, by the verification of their powers in one chamber, they ſhall once come together, the popular party hope that there will remain, no power afterwards to ſeparate. The nobility and clergy foreſee the ſame reſult, and will not therefore agree to it. In this dilemma it is curious to remark the *feelings* of the moment. It is not my buſineſs to write memoirs of what paſſes, but I am intent to catch, as well as I can, the opinions of the day moſt prevalent. While I remain at Paris, I ſhall ſee people of all deſcriptions, from the coffee-houſe politicians to the leaders in the ſtates; and the chief object of ſuch rapid notes as I throw on paper, will be to catch the ideas of the moment; to compare them afterwards with the actual events that ſhall happen, will afford amuſement at leaſt. The moſt prominent feature that appears at preſent is, that an idea of common intereſt and common danger does not ſeem to unite thoſe, who, if not united, may find themſelves too weak to oppoſe the common danger that muſt ariſe from the people being ſenſible of a ſtrength the reſult of *their* weakneſs. The king, court, nobility, clergy, army, and parliament, are nearly in the ſame ſituation. All theſe conſider, with equal dread, the ideas of liberty, now afloat; except the firſt, who, for reaſons obvious to thoſe who know his character, troubles himſelf little, even with circumſtances that concern his power the moſt intimately. Among the reſt, the feeling of danger is common, and they would unite, were there a head to render it eaſy, in order to do without the ſtates at all. That the commons themſelves look for ſome ſuch hoſtile union as more than probable, appears from an idea which gains ground, that they will find it neceſſary ſhould the other two orders continue to unite with them in one chamber, to declare themſelves boldly the repreſentatives of the kingdom at large, calling on the nobility and clergy to take their places—and to enter upon deliberations of buſineſs without them, ſhould they refuſe it. All converſation at preſent is on this topic, but opinions are more divided than I ſhould have expected. There ſeem to be many who hate the clergy ſo cordially, that rather than permit them to form a diſtinct chamber would venture on a new ſyſtem, dangerous as it might prove.

The 9th. The buſineſs going forward at preſent in the pamphlet ſhops of Paris is incredible. I went to the Palais Royal to ſee what new things were publiſhed, and to procure a catalogue of all. Every hour produces ſomething new.

Thirteen came out to-day, ſixteen yeſterday, and ninety-two laſt week. We think ſometimes that Debrett's or Stockdale's ſhops at London are crouded, but they are mere deſerts, compared to Deſein's, and ſome others here, in which one can ſcarcely ſqueeze from the door to the counter. The price of printing two years ago was from 27 liv. to 30 liv. per ſheet, but now it is from 60 liv. to 80 liv. This ſpirit of reading political tracts, they ſay, ſpreads into the provinces, ſo that all the preſſes of France are equally employed. Nineteen-twentieths of theſe productions are in favour of liberty, and commonly violent againſt the clergy and nobility; I have to-day beſpoken many of this deſcription, that have reputation; but enquiring for ſuch as had appeared on the other ſide of the queſtion, to my aſtoniſhment I find there are but two or three that have merit enough to be known. Is it not wonderful, that while the preſs teems with the moſt levelling and even ſeditious principles, that if put in execution would overturn the monarchy, nothing in reply appears, and not the leaſt ſtep is taken by the court to reſtrain this extreme licentiouſneſs of publication. It is eaſy to conceive the ſpirit that muſt thus be raiſed among the people. But the coffee-houſes in the Palais Royal preſent yet more ſingular and aſtoniſhing ſpectacles; they are not only crouded within, but other expectant crouds are at the doors and windows, liſtening *a gorge deployé* to certain orators, who from chairs or tables harrangue each his little audience: the eagerneſs with which they are heard, and the thunder of applauſe they receive for every ſentiment of more than common hardineſs or violence againſt the preſent government, cannot eaſily be imagined. I am all amazement at the miniſtry permitting ſuch neſts and hot-beds of ſedition and revolt, which diſſeminate amongſt the people, every hour, principles that by and by muſt be oppoſed with vigour, and therefore it ſeems little ſhort of madneſs to allow the propagation at preſent.

The 10th. Every thing conſpires to render the preſent period in France critical: the want of bread is terrible: accounts arrive every moment from the provinces of riots and diſturbances, and calling in the military, to preſerve the peace of the markets. The prices reported are the ſame as I found at Abbeville and Amiens 5*ſ.* (2½d.) a pound for white bread, and 3½*ſ.* to 4*ſ.* for the common ſort, eaten by the poor: theſe rates are beyond their faculties, and occaſion great miſery. At Meudon, the police, that is to ſay the intendant, ordered that no wheat ſhould be ſold on the market without the perſon taking at the ſame time an equal quantity of barley. What a ſtupid and ridiculous regulation, to lay obſtacles on the ſupply, in order to be better ſupplied; and to ſhew the people the fears and apprehenſions of government, creating thereby an alarm, and raiſing the price at the very moment they wiſh to ſink it. I have had ſome converſation on this topic with well informed perſons, who have aſſured me, that the price is, as uſual, much higher than the proportion of the crop demanded, and there would have been no real ſcarcity if Mr. Necker would have let the corn-trade alone; but his edicts of reſtriction, which have been mere comments on his book on the legiſlation of corn, have operated more to raiſe the price than all other cauſes together. It appears plain to me, that the violent friends of the commons are not diſpleaſed at the high price of corn, which ſeconds their views greatly, and makes any appeal to the common feeling of the people more eaſy, and much more to their purpoſe than if the price was low. Three days paſt, the chamber of the clergy contrived a cunning propoſition; it was to ſend a deputation to the commons, propoſing to name a commiſſion from the three orders to take into conſideration the miſery of the people, and to deliberate on the means of lowering the price of bread. This would have led to the deliberation by order, and not by heads, conſequently muſt be rejected, but unpopularly ſo from the ſituation of the people: the commons were equally dextrous; in their reply, they prayed and conjured the clergy to join them in the common hall of the ſtates to deliberate, which was no ſooner reported at Paris than the clergy became doubly an object of hatred; and it became a queſtion with the politicians of the *Caffé de Toy*, whether it was not lawful for the commons to decree the application of their eſtates towards eaſing the diſtreſs of the people?

The 11th. I have been in much company all day, and cannot but remark, that there ſeem to be no ſettled ideas of the beſt means of forming a new conſtitution. Yeſterday the Abbé Syeyes made a motion in the houſe of commons, to declare boldly to the privileged orders, that if they will not join the commons, the latter will proceed in the national buſineſs without them; and the houſe decreed it, with a ſmall amendment. This cauſes much converſation on what will be the conſequence of ſuch a proceeding; and on the contrary, on what may flow from the nobility and clergy continuing ſteadily to refuſe to join the commons, and ſhould they ſo proceed, to proteſt againſt all they decree, and appeal to the King to diſſolve the ſtates, and recal them in ſuch a form as may be practicable for buſineſs. In theſe moſt intereſting diſcuſſions, I find a general ignorance of the principles of government; a ſtrange and unaccountable appeal, on one ſide, to ideal and viſionary rights of nature; and, on the other, no ſettled plan that ſhall give ſecurity to the people for being in future in a much better ſituation than hitherto; a ſecurity abſolutely neceſſary. But the nobility, with the principles of great lords that I converſe with, are moſt diſguſtingly tenacious of all old rights, however hard they may bear on the people; they will not hear of giving way in the leaſt to the ſpirit of liberty, beyond the point of paying equal land-taxes, which they hold to be all that can with reaſon be demanded. The popular party, on the other hand, ſeem to conſider all liberty as depending on the privileged claſſes being loſt, and outvoted in the order of the commons, at leaſt for making the new conſtitution; and when I urge the great probability, that ſhould they once unite, there will remain no power of ever ſeparating them; and that in ſuch caſe, they will have a very queſtionable conſtitution, perhaps a very bad one; I am always told, that the firſt object muſt be for the people to get the power of doing good; and that it is no argument againſt ſuch a conduct to urge that an ill uſe may be made of it. But among ſuch men, the common idea is, that any thing tending towards a ſeparate order, like our houſe of lords, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with liberty; all which ſeems perfectly wild and unfounded.

The 12th. To the royal ſociety of agriculture, which meets at the *hotel de ville*, and of which being an *aſſocié*, I voted, and received a *ſetton*, which is a ſmall medal given to the members, every time they attend, in order to induce them to mind the buſineſs of their inſtitution; it is the ſame at all royal academies, &c. and amounts, in a year, to a conſiderable and ill-judged expence; for what good is to be expected from men who would go only to receive their *ſetton*? Whatever the motive may be, it ſeems well attended: near thirty were preſent; among them Parmentier, vice-preſident, Cadet de Vaux, Fourcroy, Tillet, Deſmarets, Brouſſonet, ſecretary, and Creté de Palieul, at whoſe farm I was two years ago, and who is the only practical farmer in the ſociety. The ſecretary reads the titles of the papers preſented, and gives ſome little account of them; but they are not read unleſs particularly intereſting, then memoirs are read by the members, or reports of references; and when they diſcuſs or debate, there is no order, but all ſpeak together as in a warm private converſation. The Abbé Reynal has given them 1200 liv. (52l. 10s.) for a premium on ſome important ſubject; and my opinion was aſked what it ſhould be given for. Give it, I replied, in ſome way for the introduction of turnips. But that they conceive to be an object of impoſſible attainment; they have done ſo much, and the government ſo much more, and all in vain, that they conſider it as a hopeleſs object. I did not tell them that all hitherto done has been abſolute folly; and that the right way to begin, was to undo every thing done. I am never preſent at any ſocieties of agriculture, either in France or England, but I am much in doubt with myſelf whether, when beſt conducted, they do moſt good or miſchief; that is, whether the benefits a national agriculture may by great chance owe to them, are not more than counterbalanced by the harm they effect; by turning the public attention to frivolous objects, inſtead of important ones, or dreſſing important ones in ſuch a garb as to make them trifles? The only ſociety that could be really uſeful would be that which, in the culture of a large farm, ſhould exhibit a perfect example of good huſbandry, for the uſe of ſuch as would reſort to it; conſequently one that ſhould conſiſt ſolely of practical men; and then query whether many good cooks would not ſpoil a good diſh. The ideas of the public on the great buſineſs going on at Verſailles change daily and even hourly. It now ſeems the opinion, that the commons, in their late violent vote, have gone too far; and that the union of the nobility, clergy, army, parliament, and King, will be by far too many for them; ſuch an union is ſaid to be in agitation; and that the count d'Artois, the Queen, and the party uſually known by her name, are taking ſteps to effect it, againſt the moment when the proceedings of the commons ſhall make it neceſſary to act with unity and vigour. The abolition of the parliaments is common converſation among the popular leaders, as a ſtep eſſentially neceſſary; becauſe, while they exiſt, they are tribunals to which the court can have reſort, ſhould they be inclined to take any ſtep againſt the exiſtence of the ſtates: thoſe bodies are alarmed, and ſee with deep regret, that their refuſal to regiſter the royal edicts, has created a power in the nation not only hoſtile, but dangerous to their own exiſtence. It is now very well known and underſtood on all hands, that ſhould the King get rid of the ſtates, and govern on any tolerable principles, all his edicts would be enregiſtered by all the parliaments. In the dilemma and apprehenſion of the moment, the people look very much to the duc d'Orleans, as to a head; but with palpable and general ideas of diſtruſt and want of confidence; they regret his character, and lament that they cannot depend on him in any ſevere and difficult trial: they conceive him to be without ſteadineſs, and that his greateſt apprehenſion is to be exiled from the pleaſures of Paris, and tell of many littleneſſes he practiſed before, to be recalled from baniſhment. They are, however, ſo totally without a head, that they are contented to look to him as one; and are highly pleaſed with what is every moment reported, that he is determined to go at the head of a party of the nobility, and verify their powers in common with the commons. All agree, that had he firmneſs, in addition to his vaſt revenue of ſeven millions (306,250l.) and four more (175,000l.) in reverſion, after the death of his father-in-law, the duc de Penthievre, he might, at the head of the popular cauſe, do any thing.

The 13th. In the morning to the King's library, which I had not ſeen when before at Paris; it is a vaſt apartment, and, as all the world knows, nobly filled. Every thing is provided to accommodate thoſe who wiſh to read or tranſcribe—of whom there were ſixty or ſeventy preſent. Along the middle of the rooms are glaſs caſes, containing models of the inſtruments of many trades preſerved for the benefit of poſterity, being made on the moſt exact ſcale of proportion; among others the potter, founder, brickmaker, chymiſt, &c. &c. and lately added a very large one of the Engliſh garden, moſt miſerably imagined; but with all this not a plough, or an iota of agriculture; yet a farm might be much eaſier repreſented than the garden they have attempted, and with infinitely more uſe. I have no doubt but there may ariſe many caſes, in which the preſervation of inſtruments unaltered, may be of conſiderable utility; I think I ſee clearly, that ſuch a uſe would reſult in agriculture, and if ſo, why not in other arts? Theſe caſes of models, however, have ſo much the air of childrens' play-houſes, that I would not anſwer for my little girl, if I had her here, not crying for them. At the dutcheſs of d'Anville's, where meet the archbiſhop of Aix, biſhop of Blois, Prince de Laon, and duc and dutcheſs de la Rochefoucauld, the three laſt of my old Bagnere de Luchon acquaintance, lord and lady Camelford, lord Eyre, &c. &c.

All this day I hear nothing but anxiety of expectation for what the criſis in the ſtates will produce. The embarraſſment of the moment is extreme. Every one agrees that there is no miniſtry: the Queen is cloſely connecting herſelf with the party of the princes, with the count d'Artois at their head; who are all ſo adverſe to Monſ. Necker that every thing is in confuſion: but the King, who is perſonally the honeſteſt man in the world, has but one wiſh, which is to do right; yet, being without thoſe deciſive parts that enable a man to foreſee difficulties and to avoid them, finds himſelf in a moment of ſuch extreme perplexity, that he knows not what council to take refuge in: it is ſaid that Monſ. Necker is alarmed for his power, and anecdote reports things to his diſadvantage, which probably are not true:—of his trimming—and attempting to connect himſelf with the Abbé de Vermont, reader to the Queen, and who has great influence in all affairs in which he chuſes to interfere; this is hardly credible, as that party are known to be exceedingly adverſe to Monſ. Necker; and it is even ſaid, that, as the count d'Artois, Madame de Polignac, and a few others were, but two days ago, walking in the private garden of Verſailles they met Madame Necker, and deſcended even to hiſſing her: if half this is true, it is plain enough that this miniſter muſt ſpeedily retire. All who adhere to the antient conſtitution, or rather government, conſider him as their mortal enemy; they aſſert, and truly, that he came in under circumſtances that would have enabled him to do every thing he pleaſed—he had King and kingdom at command—but that the errors he was guilty of, for want of ſome ſettled plan, have been the cauſe of all the dilemmas experienced ſince. They accuſe him heavily of aſſembling the notables, as a falſe ſtep that did nothing but miſchief: and aſſert that his letting the king go to the ſtates-general, before their powers were verified, and the neceſſary ſteps taken to keep the orders ſeparate, after giving double the repreſentation to the *tiers* to that of the other two orders, was madneſs. That he ought to have appointed commiſſaries to have received the verification before admittance: they accuſe him further of having done all this through an exceſſive and inſufferable vanity, which gave him the idea of guiding the deliberation of the ſtates by his knowledge and reputation. The character of a man, drawn by his enemies, muſt neceſſarily be charged; but theſe are his features here, of which all parties recognize ſome truth, however rejoiced they may be that error was a part of his conſtitution. It is expreſsly aſſerted by M. Necker's moſt intimate friends, that he has acted with good faith, and that he has been in principle a friend to the regal power, as well as to an amelioration of the condition of the people. The worſt thing I know of him is his ſpeech to the ſtates on their aſſembling,—a great opportunity, but loſt,—no great leading or maſterly views,—no deciſion on circumſtances in which the people ought to be relieved, and new principles of government adopted;——it is the ſpeech you would expect from a banker's clerk of ſome ability. Concerning it there is an anecdote worth inſerting; he knew his voice would not enable him to go through the whole of it, in ſo large a room, and to ſo numerous an aſſembly; and therefore he had ſpoken to Monſ. de Brouſſonet, of the academy of ſciences, and ſecretary to the royal ſociety of agriculture, to be in readineſs to read it for him. He had been preſent at an annual general meeting of that ſociety, when Monſ. Brouſſonet had read a diſcourſe with a powerful piercing voice, that was heard diſtinctly to the greateſt diſtance. This gentleman attended him ſeveral times to take his inſtructions, and be ſure of underſtanding the interlineations that were made, even after the ſpeech was finiſhed. M. Brouſſonet was with him the evening before the aſſembly of the ſtates, at nine o'clock: and next day, when he came to read it in public, he found ſtill more corrections and alterations, which Monſ. Necker had made after quitting him; they were chiefly in ſtile, and ſhew how very ſolicitous he was in regard to the form and decoration of his matter: the ideas in my opinion wanted this attention more than the ſtile. Monſ. Brouſſonet himſelf told me this little anecdote. This morning in the ſtates three curées of Poitou have joined themſelves to the commons, for the verification of their powers, and were received with a kind of madneſs of applauſe; and this evening at Paris nothing elſe is talked of. The nobles have been all day in debate, without coming to any concluſion, and have adjourned to Monday.

The 14th. To the king's garden, where Monſ. Thouin had the goodneſs to ſhew me ſome ſmall experiments he has made on plants that promiſe greatly for the farmer, particularly the *lathyrus biennis* *, and the *melilotus ſyberica* *, which now make an immenſe figure for forage; both are biennial; but will laſt three or four years if not ſeeded; the *Achillæa ſyberica* promiſes well, and an *aſtragalus*; he has promiſed me ſeeds. The Chineſe hemp has perfected its ſeeds, which it had not done before in France. The more I ſee of Monſ. Thouin the better I like him, he is one of the moſt amiable men I know.

To the repoſitory of the royal machines, which Monſ. Vandermond ſhewed and explained to me, with great readineſs and politeneſs. What ſtruck me moſt was

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* I have ſince cultivated theſe plants in ſmall quantities, and believe them to be a very important object.

Monſ. Vaucuſſon's machine for making a chain, which I was told Mr. Watt of Birmingham admired very much, at which my attendants ſeemed not diſpleaſed. Another for making the cogs indented in iron wheels. There is a chaff cutter, from an Engliſh original; and a model of the nonſenſical plough to go without horſes, theſe are the only ones in agriculture. Many of very ingenious contrivance for winding ſilk, &c. In the evening to the theatre *Françoiſe*, the Siege of Calais, by Monſ. de Belloy, not a good, but a popular performance.

It is now decided by the popular leaders, that they will move to-morrow to declare all taxes illegal not raiſed by authority of the ſtates general, but to grant them immediately for a term; either for two years, or for the duration of the preſent ſeſſion of the ſtates. This plan is highly approved at Paris by all friends of liberty; and it is certainly a rational mode of proceeding, founded on juſt principles, and will involve the court in a great dilemma.

The 15th. This has been a rich day, and ſuch an one as ten years ago none could believe would ever arrive in France; a very important debate being expected on what, in our houſe of commons, would be termed the ſtate of the nation. My friend Monſ. Lazowſki and myſelf were at Verſailles by eight in the morning. We went immediately to the hall of the ſtates to ſecure good ſeats in the gallery; we found ſome deputies already there, and a pretty numerous audience collected. The room is too large; none but ſtentorian lungs, or the fineſt cleareſt voices can be heard; however the very ſize of the apartment, which admits 2000 people, gave a dignity to the ſcene. It was indeed an intereſting one. The ſpectacle of the repreſentatives of twenty-five millions of people, juſt emerging from the evils of 200 years of arbitrary power, and riſing to the bleſſings of a freer conſtitution, aſſembled with open doors under the eye of the public, was framed to call into animated feelings every latent ſpark, every emotion of a liberal boſom. To baniſh whatever ideas might intrude of their being a people too often hoſtile to my own country,—and to dwell with pleaſure on the glorious idea of happineſs to a great nation—of felicity to millions yet unborn. Monſ. l'Abbé Syeyes opened the debate. He is one of the moſt zealous ſticklers for the popular cauſe; carries his ideas not to a regulation of the preſent government, which he thinks too bad to be regulated at all, but wiſhes to ſee it abſolutely overturned; being in fact a violent republican: this is the character he commonly bears, and in his pamphlets he ſeems pretty much to juſtify ſuch an idea. He ſpeaks ungracefully, and uneloquently, but logically, or rather reads ſo, for he read his ſpeech, which was prepared. His motion, or rather ſtring of motions, was to declare themſelves the repreſentatives known and verified of the French nation, admitting the right of all abſent deputies (the nobility and clergy) to be received among them on the verification of their powers. Monſ. de Mirabeau ſpoke without notes, for near an hour, with a warmth, animation, and eloquence, that entitles him to the reputation of an undoubted orator. He oppoſed the words *known* and *verified*, in the propoſition of Abbé Syeyes, with great force of reaſoning; and propoſed, in lieu, that they ſhould declare themſelves ſimply *Repreſentatives du peuple Françoiſe*: that no *veto* ſhould exiſt againſt their reſolves in any other aſſembly: that all taxes are illegal, but ſhould be granted during the preſent ſeſſion of the ſtates, and no longer: that the debt of the king ſhould become the debt of the nation, and be ſecured on funds accordingly. Monſ. de Mirabeau was well heard, and his propoſition much applauded. Monſ. de Mounier, a deputy from Dauphine, of great reputation, and who has alſo publiſhed ſome pamphlets, very well approved by the public, moved a different reſolution, to declare themſelves the legitimate repreſentatives of the majority of the nation: that they ſhould vote by head and not by order: and that they ſhould never acknowledge any right in the repreſentatives of the clergy or nobility to deliberate ſeparately. Monſ. Rabaud St. Etienne, a proteſtant from Languedoc, alſo an author, who has written in the preſent affairs, and a man of conſiderable talents, ſpoke alſo, and made his propoſition, which was to declare themſelves the repreſentatives of the people of France; to declare all taxes null; to regrant them during the ſitting of the ſtates; to verify and conſolidate the debt; and to vote a loan. All which were well approved except the loan, which was not at all to the feeling of the aſſembly. This gentleman ſpeaks clearly and with preciſion, and only paſſages of his ſpeech from notes. Monſ. Bernarve, a very young man, from Grenoble, ſpoke without notes with great warmth and animation. Some of his periods were ſo well rounded, and ſo eloquently delivered, that he met with much applauſe, ſeveral members crying—*bravo!*

In regard to their general method of proceeding, there are two circumſtances in which they are very deficient: the ſpectators in the galleries are allowed to interfere in the debates by clapping their hands, and other noiſy expreſſions of approbation: this is groſſly indecent; it is alſo dangerous; for, if they are permitted to expreſs approbation, they are, by parity of reaſon, allowed expreſſions of diſſent; and they may hiſs as well as clap; which, it is ſaid, they have ſometimes done:—this would be, to over-rule the debate, and influence the deliberations. Another circumſtance, is the want of order among themſelves; more than once to-day there were an hundred members on their legs at a time, and Monſ. Baillie abſolutely without power to keep order. This ariſes very much from complex motions being admitted; to move a declaration relative to their title, to their powers, to taxes, to a loan, &c. &c. all in one propoſition, appears to Engliſh ears prepoſterous, and certainly is ſo. Specific motions, founded on ſingle and ſimple propoſitions, can alone produce order in debate; for it is endleſs to have five hundred members declaring their reaſons of aſſent to one part of a complex propoſition, and their diſſent to another part. A debating aſſembly ſhould not proceed to any buſineſs whatever till they have ſettled the rules and orders of their proceedings, which can only be done by taking thoſe of other experienced aſſemblies, confirming them as they find uſeful, and altering ſuch as require to be adapted to different circumſtances. The rules and orders of debate in the houſe of commons of England, as I afterwards took the liberty of mentioning to Monſ. Rabaud St. Etienne, might have been taken at once in Mr. Hatſel's book, and would have ſaved them at leaſt a fourth of their time. They adjourned for dinner. Dined ourſelves with the duc de Liancourt, at his apartments in the palace, meeting twenty deputies.—I ſat by M. Rabaud St. Etienne, and had much converſation with him; they all ſpeak with equal confidence on the fall of deſpotiſm. They foreſee, that attempts, very adverſe to the ſpirit of liberty will be made, but the ſpirit of the people is too much excited at preſent to be cruſhed any more. Finding that the queſtion of to-day's debate cannot be decided to-day, and that in all probability it will be unfiniſhed even to-morrow, as the number that will ſpeak on it is very great, return in the evening to Paris.

The 16th. To Dugny, ten miles from Paris, again with Monſ. de Brouſſonet, to wait on Monſ. Creté de Palieul, the only practical farmer in the ſociety of agriculture. M. Brouſſonet, than whom no man can be more eager for the honour and improvement of agriculture, was deſirous that I ſhould witneſs the practice and improvements of a gentleman who ſtands ſo high in the liſt of good French farmers. Called firſt on the brother of Monſ. Creté who at preſent has the *poſte*, and conſequently 140 horſes; walked over his farm, and the crops he ſhewed me of wheat and oats were on the whole very fine, and ſome of them ſuperior; but I muſt confeſs I ſhould have been better pleaſed with them if he had not had his ſtables ſo well filled with a view different from that of the farm. And to look for a courſe of crops in France is vain; he ſows white corn twice, thrice, and even four times in ſucceſſion. At dinner, &c. had much converſation with the two brothers, and with ſome other neighbouring cultivators preſent on this point, in which I recommended either turnips or cabbages, according to the ſoil, for breaking their rotations of white corn. But every one of them, except Monſ. de Brouſſonet, was againſt me; they demanded, *Can* we ſow wheat after turnips and cabbages? On a ſmall portion you may and with great ſucceſs; but the time of conſuming the greater part of the crop renders it impoſſible. *That is ſufficient, if we cannot ſow wheat after them, they cannot be good in France.* This idea is every where nearly the ſame in that kingdom. I then ſaid, that they might have half their land under wheat, and yet be good farmers; thus—1. Beans;—2. Wheat;—3. Tares;—4. Wheat;—5. Clover;—6. Wheat;—this they approved better of, but thought their own courſes more profitable. But the moſt intereſting circumſtance of their farms is the chicory (*chicorium intybus*). I had the ſatisfaction to find, that Monſ. Creté de Palieul had as great an opinion of it as ever; that his brother had adopted it; that it was very flouriſhing on both their farms; and on thoſe of their neighbours alſo: I never ſee this plant but I congratulate myſelf on having travelled for ſomething more than to write in my cloſet; and that the introduction of it in England would alone, if no other reſult had flowed from one man's exiſtence, have been enough to ſhew that he did not live in vain. Of this excellent plant, and Monſ. Creté's experiments on it, more elſewhere.

The 17th. All converſation on the motion of l'Abbé Syeyes being accepted, yet that of the count de Mirabeau better reliſhed. But his character is a dead weight upon him; there is a ſuſpicion that he has received 100,000l. liv. from the Queen; a blind, improbable report; for his conduct would in every probability be very different had any ſuch tranſaction taken place: but when a man's life has not paſſed free from groſs errors, to uſe the mildeſt language, ſuſpicions are ever ready to fix on him, even when he is as free from what ought at the moment to give the imputation as any the moſt immaculate of their patriots. This report brings out others from their lurking holes; that he publiſhed, at her inſtigation, the anecdotes of the court of Berlin; and that the King of Pruſſia, knowing the cauſes of that publication, circulated the memoirs of Madame de la Motte all over Germany. Such are the eternal tales, ſuſpicions, and improbabilities for which Paris has always been ſo famous. One clearly, however, gathers from the complexion of converſation, even on the moſt ridiculous topics, provided of a public nature, how far, and for what reaſon, confidence is lodged in certain men. In every company, of every rank, you hear of the count de Mirabeau's talents; that he is one of the firſt pens of France, and the firſt orator; and yet that he could not carry from confidence ſix votes on any queſtion in the ſtates. His writings, however, ſpread in Paris and the provinces: he publiſhed a journal of the ſtates, written for a few days with ſuch force, and ſuch ſeverity, that it was ſilenced by an expreſs edict of government. This is attributed to Monſ. Necker, who was treated in it with ſo little ceremony, that his vanity was wounded to the quick. The number of ſubſcribers to the journal was ſuch, that I have heard the profit, to Monſ. Mirabeau, calculated at 80,000 liv. (3,500l.) a year. Since its ſuppreſſion, he publiſhes once or twice a week a ſmall pamphlet, to anſwer the ſame purpoſe of giving an account of the debates, or rather obſervations on them, entitled 1, 2, 3, &c. *Lettre des Comte de Mirabeau a ſes Commettans*, which, though violent, ſarcaſtic, and ſevere, the court has not thought proper to ſtop, reſpecting, I ſuppoſe, its title. It is a weak and miſerable conduct,

duct, to ſingle out any particular publication for prohibition, while the preſs groans with innumerable productions, whoſe tendency is abſolutely to overturn the preſent government; to permit ſuch pamphlets to be circulated all over the kingdom, even by the poſts and diligences in the hands of government, is a blindneſs and folly, from which there are no effects that may not be expected. In the evening to the comic opera; Italian muſic, Italian words, and Italian performers; and the applauſe ſo inceſſant and rapturous, that the ears of the French muſt be changing apace. What could Jean Jacques have ſaid, could he have been a witneſs to ſuch a ſpectacle at Paris!

The 18th. Yeſterday the commons decreed themſelves, in conſequence of the Abbé Syeyes's amended motion, the title of *Aſſembleé Nationale*; and alſo, conſidering themſelves then in activity, the illegality of all taxes; but granted them during the ſeſſion, declaring that they would, without delay, deliberate on the conſolidating of the debt; and on the relief of the miſery of the people. Theſe ſteps give great ſpirits to the violent partizans of a new conſtitution, but amongſt more ſober minds, I ſee evidently an apprehenſion, that it will prove a precipitate meaſure. It is a violent ſtep, which may be taken hold of by the court, and converted very much to the peoples diſadvantage. The reaſoning of Monſ. de Mirabeau againſt it was forcible and juſt—*Si je voulois employer contre les autres motions les armes dont on ſe ſert pour attaquer la mienne, ne pourrois-je pas dire a montour: de quelque maniere que vous-vous qualifiez que vous ſoyez les repreſentans connus & veriſies de la nation, les repréſentans de 25 millions d'hommes, les repreſentans de la majorité du peuple, duſſiez-vous même vous appeller l'Aſſembleé Nationalé, les etats généraux, empecherez-vous les claſſes privilegieés de continuer des aſſembleés que ſa majeſté a reconnues? Les empecherez-vous de prendre des deliberationes? Les empecherez-vous de pretendre au veto? Empecherez-vous le Roi de les recevoir? De les reconnoitre, de leur continuer les mêmes titres qu'il leur adonnés juſqu'a preſent? Enfin, empecherez-vous la nation d'appeller le clergé, le clergé, la nobleſſe, la nobleſſe?*

To the royal ſociety of agriculture, where I gave my vote with the reſt, who were unanimous for electing general Waſhington an honorary member; this was a propoſal of Monſ. Brouſſonet, in conſequence of my having aſſured him, that the general was an excellent farmer, and had correſponded with me on the ſubject. Abbé Commerel was preſent; he gave a pamphlet of his on a new project, the *choux a fauché*, and a paper of the ſeed.

The 19th. Accompanied Monſ. de Brouſſonet to dine with Monſ. de Parmentier, at the *hotel des invalids*. A preſident of the parliament, a Monſ. Mailly, brother-in-law to the chancellor, was there; Abbé Commerel, &c. &c. I remarked two years ago that Monſ. Parmentier is one of the beſt of men, and beyond all queſtion underſtands every circumſtance of the *boulangerie* better than any other writer, as his productions clearly manifeſt. After dinner, to the plains of Sablon, to ſee the ſociety's potatoes and preparation for turnips, of which I ſhall only ſay that I wiſh my brethern to ſtick to their *ſcientific* farming, and leave the practical to thoſe who underſtand it. What a ſad thing for philoſophical huſbandmen that God Almighty created ſuch a thing as couch *(triticum repens.)*

The 20th. News!—News!—Every one ſtares at what every one might have expected. A meſſage from the King to the preſidents of the three orders, that he ſhould meet them on Monday; and, under pretence of preparing the hall for the *ſeance royale,* the French guards were placed with bayonets to prevent any of the deputies entering the room. The circumſtances of doing this ill-judged act of violence have been as ill-adviſed as the act itſelf. Monſ. Bailly received no other notice of it than by a letter from the marquis de Brézé, and the deputies met at the door of the hall, without knowing that it was ſhut. Thus the ſeeds of diſguſt were ſown wantonly in the manner of doing a thing, which in itſelf was equally impalatable and unconſtitutional. The reſolution taken on the ſpot was a noble and firm one; it was to aſſemble inſtantly at the *Jeu de paume,* and there the whole aſſembly took a ſolemn oath never to be diſſolved but by their own conſent, and conſider themſelves, and act as the national aſſembly, let them be wherever violence or fortune might drive them, and their expectations were ſo little favourable, that expreſſes were ſent off to Nantes, intimating that the national aſſembly might poſſibly find it neceſſary to take refuge in ſome diſtant city. This meſſage, and placing guards at the hall of the ſtates, are the reſult of long and repeated councils, held in the king's preſence at Marly, where he has been ſhut up for ſome days, ſeeing nobody; and no perſon admitted, even to the officers of the court, without jealouſy and circumſpection. The King's brothers have no ſeat in the council, but the count d'Artois inceſſantly attends the reſolutions, conveys them to the Queen, and has long conferences with her. When this news arrived at Paris, the Palais Royal was in a flame, the coffee-houſes, pamphlet-ſhops, corridores, and gardens were crouded,——alarm and apprehenſion ſat in every eye,——the reports that were circulated eagerly, tending to ſhew the violent intentions of the court, as if it was bent on the utter extirpation of the French nation, except the party of the Queen, are perfectly incredible for their groſs abſurdity: but nothing was ſo glaringly ridiculous but the mob ſwallowed it with undiſcriminating faith. It was, however, curious to remark, among people of another deſcription (for I was in ſeveral parties after the news arrived), that the balance of opinions was clearly that the national aſſembly, as it called itſelf, had gone too far—had been too precipitate—and too violent——had taken ſteps that the maſs of the people would not ſupport. From which we may conclude, that if the court, having ſeen the tendency of their late proceedings, ſhall purſue a firm and politic plan, the popular cauſe will have little to boaſt.

The 21ſt. It is impoſſible to have any other employment at ſo critical a moment, than going from houſe to houſe demanding news; and remarking the opinions and ideas moſt current. The preſent moment is, of all others, perhaps that which is moſt pregnant with the future deſtiny of France. The ſtep the commons have taken of declaring themſelves the national aſſembly, independent of the other orders, and of the King himſelf, precluding a diſſolution, is in fact an aſſumption of all the authority in the kingdom. They have at one ſtroke converted themſelves into the long parliament of Charles I. It needs not the aſſiſtance of much penetration to ſee that if ſuch a pretenſion and declaration are not done away, King, lords, and clergy are deprived of their ſhares in the legiſlature of France. So bold, and apparently deſperate a ſtep, full in the teeth of every other intereſt in the realm, equally deſtructive to the royal authority, by parliaments and the army, can never be allowed. If it is not oppoſed, all other powers will lie in ruins around that of the common. With what anxious expectation muſt one therefore wait to ſee if the crown will exert itſelf firmly on the occaſion, with ſuch an attention to an improved ſyſtem of liberty, as is abſolutely neceſſary to the moment! All things conſidered, that is, the characters of thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of power, no well digeſted ſyſtem and ſteady execution are to be looked for. In the evening to the play; Madame Rocquere did the queen in Hamlet; it may eaſily be ſuppoſed how that play of Shakeſpeare is cut in pieces. It has however effect by her admirable acting.

The 22d. To Verſailles at ſix in the morning, to be ready for the *ſeance royale*. Breakfaſting with the duc de Liancourt, we found that the king had put off going to the ſtates till to-morrow morning. A committee of council was held laſt night, which ſat till midnight, at which were preſent Monſ. and the count d'Artois for the firſt time: an event conſidered as extraordinary, and attributed to the influence of the Queen. The count d'Artois, the determined enemy of Monſ. Necker's plans, oppoſed his ſyſtem, and prevailed to have the *ſeance* put off to give time for a council in the King's preſence to-day. From the chateau we went to find out the deputies; reports were various where they were aſſembling. To the *Récolets*, where they had been, but finding it incommodious they went to the church of St. Louis, whither we followed them, and were in time to ſee M. Bailly take the chair, and read the King's letter, putting off the *ſeance* till to-morrow. The ſpectacle of this meeting, was ſingular——the crowd that attended in and around the church was great,——and the anxiety and ſuſpenſe in every eye, with the variety of expreſſion that flowed from different views and different characters, gave to the countenances of all the world an impreſſion I had never witneſſed before. The only buſineſs of importance tranſacted, but which laſted till three o'clock, was receiving the oaths and the ſignatures of ſome deputies, who had not taken them at the *Jeu de paume*; and the union of three biſhops and 150 of the deputies of the clergy, who came to verify their powers, and were received by ſuch applauſe, with ſuch clapping and ſhouting, from all preſent, that the church reſounded. Apparently the inhabitants of Verſailles, which having a population of 60,000 people can afford a pretty numerous mob, are to the laſt perſon in the intereſt of the commons; remarkable, as this town is abſolutely fed by the palace, and if the cauſe of the court is not popular here, it is eaſy to ſuppoſe what it muſt be in all the reſt of the kingdom. Dine with the duc de Liancourt, in the palace, a large party of nobility and deputies of the commons, the duc d'Orleans, amongſt them; the biſhop of Rodez, Abbé Syeyes, and Monſ. Rabaud St. Etienne. This was one of the moſt ſtriking inſtances of the impreſſion made on men of different ranks by great events. In the ſtreets, and in the church of St. Louis, ſuch anxiety was in every face, that the importance of the moment was written in the phyſiognomy; and all the common forms and ſalutations of habitual civility loſt in attention: but amongſt a claſs ſo much higher as thoſe I dined with, I was ſtruck with the difference. There were not, in thirty perſons, five in whoſe countenances you could gueſs that any extraordinary event was going forward: more of the converſation was indifferent than I ſhould have expected. Had it all been ſo, there would have been no room for wonder; but obſervations were made of the greateſt freedom, and ſo received as to mark that there was not the leaſt impropriety in making them. In ſuch a caſe, would not one have expected more energy of feeling and expreſſion, and more attention in converſation to the criſis that muſt in its nature fill every boſom? Yet they ate, and drank, and ſat, and walked, loitered, and ſmirked and ſmiled, and chatted with that eaſy indifferenee, that made me ſtare at their inſipidity. Perhaps there is a certain nonchalance that is natural to people of faſhion from long habit, and which marks them from the vulgar, who have a thouſand aſperities in the expreſſion of their feelings, that cannot be found on the poliſhed ſurface of thoſe whoſe manners are ſmoothed by ſociety, not worn by attrition. Such an obſervation would therefore in all common caſes be unjuſt; but I confeſs the preſent moment, which is beyond all queſtion the moſt critical that France has ſeen from the foundation of the monarchy, ſince the council was aſſembled that muſt finally determine the King's conduct, was ſuch as might have accounted for a behaviour totally different. The duc d'Orleans preſence might do a little, but not much; his manner might do more; for it was not without ſome diſguſt, that I obſerved him ſeveral times playing off that ſmall ſort of wit, and flippant readineſs to titter, which, I ſuppoſe, is a part of his character, or it would not have appeared to-day. From his manner, he ſeemed not at all diſpleaſed. The Abbé Syeyes has a remarkable phyſiognomy, a quick rolling eye; penetrating the ideas of other people, but ſo cautiouſly reſerved as to guard his own. There is as much character in his air and manner as there is vacuity of it in the countenance of Monſ. Rabaud St. Etienne, whoſe phyſiognomy, however, is far from doing him juſtice, for he has undoubted talents. It ſeems agreed, that if, in the council the count d'Artois carries his point, Monſ. Necker, the count de Montmorin, and Monſ. de St. Prieſt will reſign; in which caſe Monſ. Necker's return to power, and in triumph, will inevitably happen. Such a turn, however, muſt depend on events.——Evening.—The count d'Artois plan accepted; the King will declare it in his ſpeech to-morrow. Monſ. Necker demanded to reſign, but was refuſed by the King. All is now anxiety to know what the plan is.

The 23d. The important day is over: in the morning Verſailles ſeemed filled with troops: the ſtreets, about ten o'clock, were lined with the French guards, and ſome Swiſs regiments, &c.: the hall of the ſtates was ſurrounded, and centinels fixed in all the paſſages, and at the doors; and none but deputies admitted. This military preparation was ill judged, for it ſeemed admitting the impropriety and unpopularity of the intended meaſure, and the expectation, perhaps fear of popular commotions. They pronounced, before the King left the chateau, that his plan was adverſe to the people, from the military parade with which it was uſhered in. The contrary, however, proved to be the fact; the propoſitions are known to all the world: the plan was a good one; much was granted to the people in great and eſſential points; and as it was granted before they had provided for thoſe public neceſſities of finance, which occaſioned the ſtates being called together; and conſequently left them at full power in future to procure for the people all that opportunity might preſent, they apparently ought to accept them, provided ſome ſecurity is given for the future meetings of the ſtates, without which all the reſt would be inſecure; but as a little negotiation may eaſily ſecure this, I apprehend the deputies will accept them conditionally: the uſe of ſoldiers, and ſome imprudencies in the manner of forcing the King's ſyſtem, relative to the interior conſtitution, and aſſembling of the deputies, as well as the ill-blood which had had time to brood for three days paſt in their minds, prevented the commons from receiving the King with any expreſſions of applauſe; the clergy, and ſome of the nobility, cried *vive le Roi!* but treble the number of mouths being ſilent, took off all effect. It ſeems they had previouſly determined to ſubmit to no violence: when the King was gone, and the clergy and nobility retired, the Marquis de Brézé waiting a moment to ſee if they meant to obey the King's expreſs orders, to retire alſo to another chamber prepared for them, and perceiving that no one moved, addreſſed them,—*Meſſieurs, vous connoiſſez les intentions du Roi.* A dead ſilence enſued;

and then it was that ſuperior talents bore the ſway, that overpowers in critical moments all other conſiderations. The eyes of the whole aſſembly were turned on the count de Mirabeau, who inſtantly replied to the Marquis de Brézé—*Oui, Monſieur, nous avons entendre les intentions qu'on a ſuggéreés au Roi, & vous qui ne ſauriez être ſon organe auprès des etats généraux, vous qui n'avez ici ni place, ni voix, ni droit de parler, vous n'êtes pas fait pour nous rapeller ſon diſcours. Cependant pour eviter toute equivoque, & tout delai, je vous declare que ſi l'on vous a chargé de nous faire ſortir d'ici, vous devez demander des ordres pour employer la force, car nous ne quitterons nos places que par la puiſſance de la baionette.*—On which there was a general cry of—*Tel eſt le vœu del l'Aſſembleé.* They then immediately paſſed a confirmation of their preceding arrets; and, on the motion of the count de Mirabeau, a declaration that their perſons, individually and collectively, were ſacred; and that all who made any attempts againſt them ſhould be deemed infamous traitors to their country.

The 24th. The ferment at Paris is beyond conception; 10,000 people have been all this day in the Palais Royal; a full detail of yeſterday's proceedings was brought this morning, and read by many apparent leaders of little parties, with comments, to the people. To my ſurpriſe, the King's propoſitions are received with univerſal diſguſt. He ſaid nothing explicit on the periodical meeting of the ſtates; he declared all the old feudal rights to be retained as property. Theſe, and the change in the balance of repreſentation in the provincial aſſemblies, are the articles that give the greateſt offence. But, inſtead of looking to, or hoping for further conceſſions on theſe points, in order to make them more conſonant to the general wiſhes; the people ſeem, with a ſort of phrenzy, to reject all idea of compromiſe, and to inſiſt on the neceſſity of the orders uniting, that full power may conſequently reſide in the commons, to effect what they call the regeneration of the kingdom, a favourite term, to which they affix no preciſe idea, but add the indefinite explanation of the general reform of all abuſes. They are alſo full of ſuſpicions at M. Necker's offering to reſign, to which circumſtance they ſeem to look more than to much more eſſential points. It is plain to me, from many converſations and harangues I have been witneſs to, that the conſtant meetings at the Palais Royal, which are carried to a degree of licentiouſneſs and fury of liberty, that is ſcarcely credible, united with the innumerable inflammatory publications that have been hourly appearing ſince the aſſembly of the ſtates, have ſo heated the peoples expectations, and given them the idea of ſuch total changes, that nothing the King or court could do, would now ſatisfy them; conſequently it would be idleneſs itſelf to make conceſſions that are not ſteadily adhered to, not only to be obſerved by the King, but to be enforced on the people, and good order at the ſame time reſtored. But the ſtumbling-block to this and every plan that can be deviſed, as the people know and declare in every corner, is the ſituation of the finances, which cannot poſſibly be reſtored but by liberal grants of the ſtates on one hand, or by a bankruptcy on the other. It is well known, that this point has been warmly debated in the council: Monſ. Necker has proved to them, that a bankruptcy is inevitable, if they break with the ſtates before the finances are reſtored; and the dread and terror of taking ſuch a ſtep, which no miniſter would at preſent dare to venture on, has been the great difficulty that oppoſed itſelf to the projects of the Queen and the count d'Artois. The meaſure they have taken is a middle one, from which they hope to gain a party among the people, and render the deputies unpopular enough to get rid of them: an expectation, however, in which they will infallibly be miſtaken. If, on the ſide of the people it is urged, that the vices of the old government make a new ſyſtem neceſſary, and that it can only be by the firmeſt meaſures that the people can be put in poſſeſſion of the bleſſings of a free government; it is to be replied, on the other hand, that the perſonal character of the King is a juſt foundation for relying that no meaſures of actual violence can be ſeriouſly feared: that the ſtate of the finances, under any poſſible regimen, whether of faith or bankruptcy, muſt ſecure their exiſtence, at leaſt for time ſufficient to ſecure by negociation, what may be hazarded by violence: that by driving things to extremities, they riſque an union between all the other orders of the ſtate, with the parliaments, army, and a great body even of the people, who muſt diſapprove of all extremities; and when to this is added the poſſibility of involving the kingdom in a civil war, now ſo familiarly talked of, that it is upon the lips of all the world, we muſt confeſs, that the commons, if they ſteadily refuſe what is now held out to them, put immenſe and certain benefits to the chance of fortune, to that hazard which may make poſterity curſe, inſtead of bleſs, their memories as real patriots, who had nothing in view but the happineſs of their country. Such an inceſſant buz of politics has been in my ears for ſome days paſt, that I went to night to the Italian opera, for relaxation. Nothing could be better calculated for that effect, than the piece performed, *La Villanella Rapita*, by Bianchi, a delicious compoſition. Can it be believed, that this people, who ſo lately valued nothing at an opera but the dances, and could hear nothing but a ſquall,—now attend with feeling to Italian melodies, applaud with taſte and rapture, and this without the meretricious aid of a ſingle dance! The muſic of this piece is charming, elegantly playful, airy, and pleaſing, with a duet, between Signora Mandini and Vigagnoni, of the firſt luſtre. The former is a moſt faſcinating ſinger,—her voice nothing, but her grace, expreſſion, ſoul, all ſtrung to exquiſite ſenſibility.

The 25th. The criticiſms that are made on Monſ. Necker's conduct, even by his friends, if above the level of the people, are ſevere. It is poſitively aſſerted,

ſerted, that Abbé Syeyes, Meſſrs. Mounier, Chapellier, Bernave, Target, Tourette, Rabaud, and other leaders, were almoſt on their knees to him, to inſiſt peremptorily on his reſignation being accepted, as they were well convinced that his retreat would throw the Queen's party into infinitely greater difficulties and embarraſſment than any other circumſtance. But his vanity prevailed over all their efforts, to liſten to the inſidious perſuaſions of the Queen, who ſpoke to him in the ſtyle of aſking a requeſt that would keep the crown on the King's head; at the ſame time that he yielded to do it, contrary to the intereſt of the friends of liberty, he courted the huzzas of the mob of Verſailles, in a manner that did much miſchief. The miniſters never go to and from the King's apartment on foot, acroſs the court, which Monſ. Necker took this opportunity of doing, though he himſelf had not done it in quiet times, in order to court the flattery of being called the father of the people, and moving with an immenſe and ſhouting multitude at his heels. Nearly at the time that the Queen, in an audience almoſt private, ſpoke as above to M. Necker, ſhe received the deputation from the nobility, with the Dauphin in her hand, whom ſhe preſented to them, claiming of their honour, the protection of her ſon's rights; clearly implying, that if the ſtep the King had taken, was not ſteadily aſſerted, the monarchy would be loſt, and the nobility ſunk. While M. Necker's mob was heard through every apartment of the chateau, the King paſſed in his coach to Marly, through a dead and mournful ſilence,—and that juſt after having given to his people, and the cauſe of liberty, more perhaps than ever any monarch had done before. Of ſuch materials are all mobs made,—ſo impoſſible is it to ſatisfy in moments like theſe, when the heated imagination dreſſes every viſionary project of the brain, in the bewitching colours of liberty. I feel great anxiety to know what will be the reſult of the deliberations of the commons, after their firſt proteſts are over, againſt the military violence which was ſo unjuſtifiably and injudiciouſly uſed. Had the King's propoſition come after the ſupplies were granted, and on any inferior queſtion, it would be quite another affair; but to offer this before one ſhilling is granted, or a ſtep taken, makes all the difference imaginable.——Evening.—The conduct of the court is inexplicable, and without plan: while the late ſtep was taken, to ſecure the orders ſitting ſeparate, a great body of the clergy has been permitted to go to the commons, and the duc d'Orleans, at the head of forty-ſeven of the nobility, has done the ſame: and, what is equally a proof of the unſteadineſs of the court, the commons are in the common hall of the ſtates, contrary to the expreſs command of the King. The fact is, the *ſeance royale* was contrary to the perſonal feelings of the King, and he was brought to it by the council, with much difficulty; and when it afterwards became, as it did every hour, to give new and effective orders to ſupport the ſyſtem then laid down, it was neceſſary to have a new battle for every point; and thus the ſcheme was only opened, and not perſiſted in:—this is the report, and apparently authentic: it is eaſy to ſee, that that ſtep had better, on a thouſand reaſons, not have been taken at all, for all vigour and effect of government will be loſt, and the people be more aſſuming than ever. Yeſterday at Verſailles, the mob was violent,—they inſulted, and even attacked all the clergy and nobility that are known to be ſtrenuous for preſerving the ſeparation of orders. The Biſhop of Beauvais had a ſtone on his head, that almoſt ſtruck him down*. The archbiſhop of Paris had all his windows broken, and forced to move his lodgings; and the cardinal de la Rochefoucauld hiſſed and hooted. The confuſion is ſo great, that the court have only the troops to depend on; and it is now ſaid confidently, that if an order is given to the French guards to fire on the people, they will refuſe obedience: this aſtoniſhes all, except thoſe who know how they have been diſguſted by the treatment, conduct, and manœuvres of the duc de Chatelet, their colonel: ſo wretchedly have the affairs of the court, in every particular, been managed; ſo miſerable its choice of the men in offices, even ſuch as are the moſt intimately connected with its ſafety, and even exiſtence. What a leſſon to princes, how they allow intriguing courtiers, women, and fools, to interfere, or aſſume the power that can be lodged, with ſafety, only in the hands of ability and experience. It is aſſerted expreſsly, that theſe mobs have been excited and inſtigated by the leaders of the commons, and ſome of them paid by the duc d'Orleans. The diſtraction of the miniſtry is extreme.—At night to the theatre *Françoiſe*; the Earl of Eſſex, and the *Maiſon de Moliere*.

The 26th. Every hour that paſſes ſeems to give the people freſh ſpirit: the meetings at the Palais Royal are more numerous, more violent, and more aſſured; and in the aſſembly of electors, at Paris, for ſending a deputation to the National Aſſembly, the language that was talked, by all ranks of people, was nothing leſs than a revolution in the government, and the eſtabliſhment of a free conſtitution: what they mean by a free conſtitution, is eaſily underſtood—*a republic*; for the doctrine of the times runs every day more and more to that point; yet they profeſs, that the kingdom ought to be a monarchy too; or, at leaſt, that there ought to be a king. In the ſtreets one is ſtunned by the hawkers of ſeditious pamphlets, and deſcriptions of pretended events, that all tend to keep the people equally ignorant and alarmed. The ſupineneſs, and even ſtupidity of the court, is without example: the moment demands the greateſt deciſion,—and yeſterday, while it was actually a queſtion, whether he ſhould be a doge of Venice, or a king of France, the King went a hunting! The ſpectacle the Palais Royal preſented this night, till eleven o'clock, and, as we afterwards heard, almoſt till morning, is curious. The croud was prodigious, and fire-works of all ſorts were played off, and all the building was illuminated: theſe were ſaid to be rejoicings on account of the duc d'Orleans and the nobility joining the commons; but united with the exceſſive freedom, and even licentiouſneſs, of the orators, who harangue the people. With the general movement which before was threatening, all this buſtle and noiſe, which will not leave them a moment tranquil, has a prodigious effect in preparing them for whatever purpoſes the leaders of the commons ſhall have in view; conſequently they are groſſly and diametrically oppoſite to the intereſts of the court;—but all theſe are blind and infatuated. It is now underſtood by every body, that the King's offers, in the *ſeance royale*, are out of the queſtion. The moment the commons found a relaxation, even in the trifling point of aſſembling in the great hall, they diſregarded all the reſt, and conſidered the whole as null, and not to be taken notice of, unleſs enforced in a manner of which there were no ſigns. They lay it down for a maxim, that they have a right to a great deal more than what the King touched on, but that they will accept of nothing as the conceſſion of power: they will aſſume and ſecure all to themſelves, as matters of right. Many perſons I talk with, ſeem to think there is nothing extraordinary in this,—but it appears, that ſuch pretentions are equally dangerous and inadmiſſible, and lead directly to a civil war, which would be the height of madneſs and folly, when public liberty might certainly be ſecured, without any ſuch extremity. If the commons are to aſſume every thing as their right, what power is there in the ſtate, ſhort of arms, to prevent them from aſſuming what is not their right? They inſtigate the people to the moſt extenſive expectations, and if they are not gratified, all muſt be confuſion; and even the King himſelf, eaſy and lethargic as he is, his indifference to power will, by and by, be ſeriouſly alarmed, and then he will be ready to liſten to meaſures, to which he will not at preſent give a moment's attention. All this ſeems to point ſtrongly to great confuſion, and even civil commotions; and to make it apparent, that to have accepted the King's offers, and made them the foundation of future negociation, would have been the wiſeſt conduct, and with that idea I ſhall leave Paris.

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* If they had knocked him on the head, he would not have been an object of much pity. At a meeting of the ſociety of agriculture in the country, where common farmers were admitted to dine with people of the firſt rank, this proud fool made difficulties of ſitting down in ſuch company.

The 27th. The whole buſineſs now ſeems over, and the revolution complete. The King has been frightened by the mobs into overturning his own act of the *ſeance royale*, by writing to the preſidents of the orders of the nobility and clergy, requiring them to join the commons,—full in the teeth of what he had ordained before. It was repreſented to him, that the want of bread was ſo great in every part of the kingdom, that there was no extremity to which the people might not be driven: that they were nearly ſtarving, and conſequently ready to liſten to any ſuggeſtions, and on the *qui vive* for all ſorts of miſchief: that Paris and Verſailles would inevitably be burnt; and, in a word, that all ſorts of miſery and confuſion would follow his adherence to the ſyſtem announced in the *ſeance royale*. His apprehenſions got the better of the party, who had for ſome days guided him; and he was thus induced to take this ſtep, which is of ſuch importance, that he will never more know where to ſtop, or what to refuſe; or rather he will find, that in the future arrangement of the kingdom, his ſituation will be very nearly that of Charles I. a ſpectator, without power, of the effective reſolutions of a long parliament. The joy this ſtep occaſioned was infinite; the aſſembly, uniting with the people, all hurried to the chateau. *Vive le Roi* might have been heard at Marly: the King and Queen appeared in the balcony, and were received with the loudeſt ſhouts of applauſe; the leaders, who governed theſe motions, knew the value of the conceſſion much better than thoſe who made it. I have to-day had converſation with many perſons on this buſineſs; and, to my amazement, there is an idea, and even among many of the nobility, that this union of the orders is only for the verification of their powers, and for *making the conſtitution*, which is a new term they have adopted; and which they uſe as if a conſtitution was a pudding to be made by a receipt. In vain I have aſked, where is the power that can ſeparate them hereafter, if the commons inſiſt on remaining together, which may be ſuppoſed, as ſuch an arrangement will leave all the power in their own hands? And in vain I appeal to the evidence of the pamphlets written by the leaders of that aſſembly, in which they hold the Engliſh conſtitution cheap, becauſe the people have not power enough, owing to that of the Crown and the Houſe of Lords. The event now appears ſo clear, as not to be difficult to predict: all real power will be henceforward in the commons, having ſo much inflamed the people in the exerciſe of it, they will find themſelves unable to uſe it temperately; the court cannot ſit to have their hands tied behind them; the clergy, nobility, parliaments, and army, will, when they find themſelves all in danger of annihilation, unite in their mutual defence; but as ſuch an union will demand time, they will find the people armed, and a bloody civil war muſt be the reſult. I have more than once declared this as my opinion, but do not find that others unite in it *. At all events, however, the tide now runs ſo ſtrongly in favour of the people, and the conduct of the court ſeems to be ſo weak, divided, and blind, that little can happen that will not clearly date from the preſent moment. Vigour and abilities would have turned every thing on the ſide of the court; for the great maſs of nobility in the kingdom, the higher clergy, the parliaments, and the army, were with the crown; but this deſertion of the conduct, that was neceſſary to ſecure its power, at a moment ſo critical, muſt lead to all ſorts of pretenſions. At night the fire-works, and illuminations, and mob, and noiſe, at the Palais Royal increaſed; the expence muſt be enormous; and yet nobody knows with certainty from whence it ariſes: ſhops there are, however, that for 12 *ſous*, give as many ſquibs and ſerpents as would coſt five livres. There is no doubt of its being the duc d'Orlean's money: the people are thus kept in a continual ferment, are for ever aſſembled, and ready to be in the laſt degree of commotion whenever called on by the men they have confidence in. Lately a company of Swiſs would have cruſhed all this; a regiment would do it now if led with firmneſs; but, let it laſt a fortnight longer, and an army will be wanting.—At the play, Mademoiſelle Contá, in the Miſanthrope of Moliere, charmed me. She is truly a great actreſs; eaſe, grace, perſon, beauty, wit, and ſoul. Mola did the miſanthrope, admirably. I will not take leave of the theatre François without once more giving it the preference to all I have ever ſeen. I ſhall leave Paris, however, truly rejoiced that the repreſentatives of the people have it undoubtedly in their power ſo to improve the conſtitution of their country, as to render all great abuſes in future, if not impoſſible, at leaſt exceedingly difficult, and conſequently will eſtabliſh to all uſeful purpoſes an undoubted political liberty; and if they effect this, it cannot be doubted but that they will have a thouſand opportunities to ſecure to their fellow-ſubjects the invaluable bleſſing of civil liberty alſo. The ſtate of the finances is ſuch, that the government may eaſily be kept virtually dependent on the ſtates, and their periodical exiſtence abſolutely ſecured. Such benefits will confer happineſs on 25 millions of people; a noble and animating idea, that ought to fill the mind of every citizen of the world, whatever be his country, religion, or purſuit. I will not allow myſelf to believe for a moment, that the repreſentatives of the people can ever ſo far forget their duty to the French nation, to humanity, and their own fame, as to ſuffer any inordinate and impracticable views,—any viſionary or theoretic ſyſtems,—any frivolous ideas of ſpeculative perfection; much leſs any ambitious private views, to impede their progreſs, or turn aſide their exertions, from that ſecurity which is in their hands, to place on the chance and hazard of public commotion and civil war, the invaluable bleſſings which are certainly in their power. I will not conceive it poſſible, that men who have eternal fame within their graſp, will place the rich inheritance on the caſt of a die, and, loſing the venture, be damned among the worſt and moſt profligate adventurers that ever diſgraced humanity.—The duc de Liancourt having made an immenſe collection of pamphlets, buying every thing that has a relation to the preſent period; and, among the reſt, the cahiers of all the diſtricts and towns of France of the three orders; it was a great object with me to read theſe, as I was ſure of finding in them a repreſentation of the grievances of the three orders, and an explanation of the improvements wiſhed for in the government and adminiſtration. Theſe cahiers being inſtructions given to their deputies, I have now gone through them all, with a pen in hand, to make extracts, and ſhall therefore leave Paris to-morrow.

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* I may remark at preſent, long after this was written, that, although I was totally miſtaken in my prediction, yet, on a reviſion, I think I was right in it, and that the common courſe of events would have produced ſuch a civil war, to which every thing tended, from the moment the commons rejected the King's propoſitions of the *ſeance royale*, which I now think, more than ever, that they ought, with qualifications, to have accepted. The events that followed were as little to be thought of as of myſelf being made King of France.

The 28th. Having provided myſelf a light French cabriolet for one horſe, or gig Anglois, and a horſe, I left Paris, taking leave of my excellent friend, Monſ. Lazowſki, whoſe anxiety for the fate of his country, made me reſpect his character as much as I had reaſon to love it for the thouſand attentions I was in the daily habit of receiving from him. My kind protectreſs, the dutcheſs d'Eſtiſſac, had the goodneſs to make me promiſe, that I would return again to her hoſpitable hotel, when I had finiſhed the journey I was about to undertake. Of the place I dined at on my road to Nangis, I forget the name, but it is a poſt-houſe on the left, at a ſmall diſtance out of the road. It afforded me a bad room, bare walls, cold raw weather, and no fire; for, when lighted, it ſmoked too much to be borne;—I was thoroughly out of humour: I had paſſed ſome time at Paris amidſt the fire, energy, and animation of a great revolution. And for thoſe moments not filled by political events, I had enjoyed the reſources of liberal and inſtructing converſation; the amuſements of the firſt theatre in the world, and the faſcinating accents of Mandini, had by turns ſolaced and charmed the fleeting moments: the change to inns, and thoſe French inns; the ignorance of every body of thoſe events that were now paſſing, and which ſo intimately concerned them; the deteſtable circumſtance of having no newſpapers, with a preſs much freer than the Engliſh, altogether formed ſuch a contraſt, that my heart ſunk with depreſſion. At Guignes, an itinerant dancing-maſter was fiddling to ſome children, of tradeſmen; to relieve my ſadneſs, I became a ſpectator of their innocent pleaſures, and, with great magnificence I gave four 12*ſ.* pieces for a cake for the children, which made them dance with freſh animation; but my hoſt, the poſtmaſter, who is a ſurly pickpocket, thought that if I was ſo rich, he ought alſo to receive the benefit, and made me pay 9 liv. 10*ſ.* for a miſerable tough chicken, a cutlet, a ſallad, and a bottle of ſorry wine. Such a dirty, pilfering diſpoſition, did not tend to bring me into better humour.——30 miles.

The 29th. To Nangis, the chateau of which belongs to the marquis de Guerchy, who laſt year at Caen had kindly made me promiſe to ſpend a few days here. A houſe almoſt full of company, and ſome of them agreeable, with the eagerneſs of Monſ. de Guerchy for farming, and the amiable *naiveté* of the marchioneſs, whether in life, politics, or a farm, were well calculated to bring me into tune again. But I found myſelf in a circle of politicians, with whom I could agree in hardly any other particular, except the general one of cordially wiſhing that France might eſtabliſh an indeſtructible ſyſtem of liberty; but for the means of doing it, we were far as the poles aſunder. The chaplain of Monſ. de Guerchy's regiment, who has a cure here, and I had known at Caen, Monſ. l'Abbé de ———, was particularly ſtrenuous for what is called the regeneration of the kingdom, by which it is impoſſible, from the explanation, to underſtand any thing more than a theoretic perfection of government; queſtionable in its origin, hazardous in its progreſs, and viſionary in its end; but always preſenting itſelf under a moſt ſuſpicious appearance to me, becauſe its advocates, from the pamphlets of the leaders in the National Aſſembly, to the gentlemen who make its panegyric at preſent, all affect to hold the conſtitution of England cheap in reſpect of liberty: and as that is unqueſtionably, and by their own admiſſion the beſt the world ever ſaw, they profeſs to appeal from practice to theory, which, in the arrangement of a queſtion of ſcience, might be admitted (though with caution); but, in eſtabliſhing the complex intereſts of a great kingdom, in *ſecuring* freedom to 25 millions of people, ſeems to me the very aciné of imprudence, the very quinteſſence of inſanity. My argument was an appeal to the Engliſh conſtitution; take it at once, which is the buſineſs of a ſingle vote; by your poſſeſſion of a real and equal repreſentation of the people, you have freed it from its only great objection; in the remaining circumſtances, which are but of ſmall importance, improve it—but improve it cautiouſly; for ſurely that ought to be touched with caution, which has given from the moment of its eſtabliſhment, felicity to a great nation; which has given greatneſs to a people deſigned by nature to be little; and, from being the humble copiers of every neighbour, has rendered them, in a ſingle century, rivals to the moſt ſucceſsful nations in thoſe decorative arts that embelliſh human life: and the maſters of the world in all thoſe that contribute to its convenience. I was commended for my attachment to *what I thought was liberty*; but anſwered, that the King of France muſt have no *veto* on the will of the nation; and that the army muſt be in the hands of the provinces, with an hundred ideas equally impracticable and prepoſterous. Yet theſe are the ſentiments which the court has done all in its power to ſpread through the kingdom; for, will poſterity believe, that while the preſs has ſwarmed with inflammatory productions, that tend to prove the bleſſings of theoretical confuſion, and ſpeculative licentiouſneſs, not one writer of talents has been employed to refute and confound the faſhionable doctrines, nor the leaſt care taken to diſſeminate works of another complexion? By the way, when the court found that the ſtates could not be aſſembled on the old plan, and that great innovations muſt accordingly be made, they ought to have taken the conſtitution of England for their model; in the mode of aſſembling, they ſhould have thrown the clergy and nobles into one chamber, with a throne for the King, when preſent. The commons ſhould have aſſembled in another, and each chamber have, as in England, verified their powers only to themſelves. And when the King held a *ſeance royale*, the commons ſhould have been ſent for to the bar of the lords, where ſeats ſhould have been provided; and the King, in the edict that conſtituted the ſtates, ſhould have copied from England enough of the rules and orders of proceeding to prevent thoſe preliminary diſcuſſions, which in France loſt two months, and gave time for heated imaginations to work upon the people too much. By taking ſuch ſteps, ſecurity would have been had, that if changes or events unforeſeen aroſe, they would at leaſt be met with in no ſuch dangerous channel as another form and order of arrangement would permit.——15 miles.

The 30th. My friend's chateau is a conſiderable one, and much better built than was common in England in the ſame period, 200 years ago; I believe, however, that this ſuperiority was univerſal in France, in all the arts. They were, I apprehend, in the reign of Henry IV. far beyond us in towns, houſes, ſtreets, roads, and, in ſhort, in every thing. We have ſince, thanks to liberty, contrived to turn the tables on them. Like all the chateaus I have ſeen in France, it ſtands cloſe to the town, indeed joining the end of it; but the back *front*, by ſome very judicious plantations, has entirely the air of the country, without the ſight of any buildings. There the preſent marquis has formed an Engliſh lawn, with ſome agreeable winding walks of gravel, and other decorations, to ſkirt it. In this lawn they are making hay; and I have had the marquis, Monſ. l'Abbé, and ſome others on the ſtack to ſhew them how to make and tread it: ſuch hot politicians!—it is well they did not ſet the ſtack on fire. Nangis is near enough to Paris for *the people* to be politicians; the perruquier that dreſſed me this morning tells me, that every body is determined to pay no taxes, ſhould the National Aſſembly ſo ordain. But the ſoldiers will have ſomething to ſay. No, Sir, never:—be aſſured as we are, that the French ſoldiers will never fire on the people: but, if they ſhould, it is better to be ſhot than ſtarved. He gave me a frightful account of the miſery of the people; whole families in the utmoſt diſtreſs; thoſe that work have a pay inſufficient to feed them—and many that find it difficult to get work at all. I enquired of Monſ. de Guerchy concerning this, and found it true. By order of the magiſtrates no perſon is allowed to buy more than two buſhels of wheat at a market, to prevent monopolizing. It is clear to common ſenſe, that all ſuch regulations have a direct tendency to increaſe the evil, but it is in vain to reaſon with people whoſe ideas are immoveably fixed. Being here on a market-day, I attended, and ſaw the wheat ſold out under this regulation, with a party of dragoons drawn up before the market-croſs to prevent violence. The people quarrel with the bakers, aſſerting the prices they demand for bread are beyond the proportion of wheat, and proceeding from words to ſcuffling, raiſe a riot, and then run away with bread and wheat for nothing: this has happened at Nangis, and many other markets; the conſequence was, that neither farmers nor bakers would ſupply them till they were in danger of ſtarving, and, when they did come, prices under ſuch circumſtances muſt neceſſarily riſe enormouſly, which aggravated the miſchief, till troops became really neceſſary to give ſecurity to thoſe who ſupplied the markets. I have been ſifting Madame de Guerchy on the expences of living; our friend Monſ. l'Abbé joined the converſation, and I collect from it, that to live in a chateau like this, with ſix men-ſervants, five maids, eight horſes, a garden, and a regular table, with company, but never to go to Paris, might be done for 1000 louis a year. It would in England coſt 2000; the mode of living (not the price of things) is therefore cent. per cent. different.—There are gentlemen (nobleſſe) that live in this country on 6 or 8000 liv. (262l. to 350l.), that keep two men, two maids, three horſes, and a cabriolet; there are the ſame in England, but they are fools. Among the neighbours that viſited Nangis was Monſ. Frudaine de Montigny, with his new and pretty wife, to return the firſt viſit of ceremony: he has a fine chateau at Montigny, and an eſtate of 4000 louis a year. This lady was Mademoiſelle de Cour Breton, niece to Madame Calonne; ſhe was to have been married to the ſon of Monſ. Lamoignon, but much againſt her inclinations; finding that common refuſals had no avail, ſhe determined on a very uncommon one, which was to go to church, in obedience to her father's orders, and give a ſolemn NO inſtead of a *yea*. She was afterwards at Dijon, and never ſtirred but ſhe was received with huzzas and acclamations by the people for refuſing to be allied with la Cour Pleniere; and her firmneſs was every where ſpoken of much to her advantage. Monſ. la Luzerne was with them, nephew to the French ambaſſador at London, who, in ſome broken Engliſh, informed me, that he had learned to box of Mendoza. No one can ſay that he has travelled without making acquiſitions. Has the duc d'Orleans learned to box alſo? The news from Paris is bad: the commotions increaſe greatly: and ſuch an alarm has ſpread, that the Queen has called the marechal de Broglio to the King's cloſet; he has had ſeveral conferences: the report is, that an army will be collected under him. It may be now neceſſary; but woeful management to have made it ſo.

JULY 2. To Meaux. Monſ. de Guerchy was ſo kind as to accomany me to Columiers; I had a letter to Monſ. Anveé Dumeé. Paſs Roſoy to Maupertius, through a country chearfully diverſified by woods, and ſcattered with villages; and ſingle farms ſpread every where as about Nangis. Maupertius ſeems to have been the creation of the marquis de Monteſquieu, who has here a very fine chateau of his own building; an extenſive Engliſh garden, made by the count d'Artois' gardener, with the town, has all been of his own forming. I viewed the garden with pleaſure; a proper advantage has been taken of a good command of a ſtream, and many fine ſprings which riſe in the grounds; they are well conducted, and the whole executed with taſte. In the kitchen-garden, which is on the ſlope of a hill, one of theſe ſprings has been applied to excellent uſe: it is made to wind in many doubles through the whole on a paved bed, forming numerous baſons for watering the garden, and might, with little trouble, be conducted alternately to every bed as in Spain. This is a hint of real utility to all thoſe who form gardens on the ſides of hills; for watering with pots and pails is a miſerable, as well as expenſive ſuccedaneum to this infinitely more effective method. There is but one fault in this garden, which is its being placed near the houſe, where there ſhould be nothing but lawn and ſcattered trees when viewed from the chateau. The road might be hidden by a judicious uſe of planting. The road to Columiers is admirably formed of broken ſtone, like gravel, by the marquis of Monteſquieu, partly at his own expenſe. Before I finiſh with this nobleman, let me obſerve, that he is commonly eſteemed the ſecond family in France, and by ſome who admit his pretenſions, even the firſt; he claims from the houſe of Armagnac, which was undoubtedly from Charlemagne: the preſent King of France, when he ſigned ſome paper relative to this family, that ſeemed to admit the claim, or refer to it, remarked, that it was declaring one of his ſubjects to be a better gentleman than himſelf. But the houſe of Montmorenci, of which family are the dukes of Luxembourg and Laval, and the prince of Robec, is generally admitted to be the firſt. Monſ. de Monteſquieu is a deputy in the ſtates, one of the *quarante* in the French academy, having written ſeveral pieces: he is alſo chief miniſter to Monſieur, the King's brother, an office that is worth 100,000 liv. a year (4,375l.) Dine with Monſ. and Madame Dumeé; converſation here, as in every other town of the country, ſeems more occupied by the dearneſs of wheat than on any other circumſtance; yeſterday was market-day, and a riot enſued of the populace, in ſpite of the troops, that were drawn up as uſual to protect the corn: it riſes to 46 liv. (2l. 3d.) the ſeptier, or half-quarter,—and ſome is ſold yet higher. To Meaux.—32 miles.

The 3d. Meaux was by no means in my direct road; but its diſtrict, Brie, is ſo highly celebrated for fertility, that it was an object not to omit. I was provided with letters for M. Bernier, a conſiderable farmer, at Chaucaunin, near Meaux; and for M. Gibert, of Neuf Moutier, a conſiderable cultivator, whoſe father and himſelf had between them made a fortune by agriculture. The former gentleman was not at home; by the latter I was received with great hoſpitality; and I found in him the ſtrongeſt deſire to give me every information

formation I wiſhed. Monſ. Gibert has built a very handſome and commodious houſe, with farming-offices, on the moſt ample and ſolid ſcale. I was pleaſed to find his wealth, which is not inconſiderable, to have ariſen all from the plough. He did not forget to let me know, that he was noble, and exempted from all tailles; and that he had the honours of the chace, his father having purchaſed the charge of *Secretaire du Roi*: but he very wiſely lives *en fermier*. His wife made ready the table for dinner, and his bailiff, with the female domeſtic, who has the charge of the dairy, &c. both dined with us. This is in a true farming ſtyle; it has many conveniencies, and looks like a plan of living, which does not promiſe, like the foppiſh modes of little gentlemen, to run through a fortune, from falſe ſhame and ſilly pretenſions. I can find no other fault with his ſyſtem than having built a houſe enormouſly beyond his plan of living, which can have no other effect than tempting ſome ſucceſſor, leſs prudent than himſelf into expences that might diſſipate all his and his father's ſavings. In England that would certainly be the caſe: the danger, however, is not equal in France.

The 4th. To Chateau Thiery, following the courſe of the Marne. The country is pleaſantly varied, and hilly enough to render it a conſtant picture, were it incloſed. Thiery is beautifully ſituated on the ſame river. I arrived there by five o'clock, and wiſhed, in a period ſo intereſting to France, and indeed to all Europe, to ſee a newſpaper. I aſked for a coffee-houſe, not one in the town. Here are two pariſhes, and ſome thouſands of inhabitants, and not a newſpaper to be ſeen by a traveller, even in a moment when all ought to be anxiety.—What ſtupidity, poverty, and want of circulation! This people hardly deſerve to be free; and ſhould there be the leaſt attempt with vigour to keep them otherwiſe, it can hardly fail of ſucceeding. To thoſe who have been uſed to travel amidſt the energic and rapid circulation of wealth, animation, and intelligence of England, it is not poſſible to deſcribe, in words adequate to one's feelings, the dulneſs and ſtupidity of France. I have been to day on one of their greateſt roads, within thirty miles of Paris, yet I have not ſeen one diligence, and met but a ſingle gentleman's carriage, nor any thing elſe on the road that looked like a gentleman.——30 miles.

The 5th. To Mareuil. The Marne, about 25 rods broad, flows in an arable vale to the right. The country hilly, and parts of it pleaſant; from one elevation there is a noble view of the river. Mareuil is the reſidence of Monſ. Le Blanc, of whoſe huſbandry and improvements, particularly in ſheep of Spain, and cows of Switzerland, Monſ. de Brouſſonet had ſpoken very advantageouſly. This was the gentleman alſo on whom I depended for information relative to the famous vineyards of Epernay, that produce the fine Champagne. What therefore was my diſappointment, when his ſervants informed me that he was nine leagues off on buſineſs. Is Madame Le Blanc at home? *No, ſhe is at Dormans.* My complaining ejaculations were interrupted by the approach of a very pretty young lady, whom I found to be Mademoiſelle Le Blanc. *Her mama would return to dinner, her papa at night; and, if I wiſhed to ſee him, I had better ſtay.* When perſuaſion takes ſo pleaſing a form, it is not eaſy to reſiſt it. There is a manner of doing every thing that either leaves it abſolutely indifferent or that intereſts. The unaffected good humour and ſimplicity of Mademoiſelle Le Blanc entertained me till the return of her mama, and made me ſay to myſelf, *you will make a good farmer's wife.* Madame Le Blanc, when ſhe returned, confirmed the native hoſpitality of her daughter; aſſured me, that her huſband would be at home early in the morning, as ſhe muſt diſpatch a meſſenger to him on other buſineſs. In the evening we ſupped with Monſ. B. in the ſame village, who married Madame Le Blanc's niece; to paſs Mareuil, it has the appearance of a ſmall hamlet of inconſiderable farmers, with the houſes of their labourers; and the ſentiment that would ariſe in moſt boſoms, would be that of picturing the baniſhment of being condemned to live in it. Who would think that there ſhould be two gentlemen's families in it; and that in one I ſhould find Mademoiſelle Le Blanc ſinging to her ſyſtrum, and in the other Madame B. young and handſome, performing on an excellent Engliſh piano forte? Compared notes of the expences of living in Champagne and Suffolk;—agreed, that 100 louis d'or a year in Champagne, were as good an income as 180 in England, which I believe true. On his return, Monſ. Le Blanc, in the moſt obliging manner, ſatisfied all my enquiries, and gave me letters to the moſt celebrated wine diſtricts.

The 7th. To Epernay, famous for its wines. I had letters for Monſ. Paretilaine, one of the moſt conſiderable merchants, who was ſo obliging as to enter, with two other gentlemen, into a minute diſquiſition of the produce and profit of the fine vineyards. The *hotel de Rohan* here is a very good inn, where I ſolaced myſelf with a bottle of excellent *vin mouſſeux,* for 40*ſ.* and drank proſperity to *true* liberty in France.——12 miles.

The 8th. To Ay, a village not far out of the road to Rheims, very famous for its wines. I had a letter for Monſ. Laſnier, who has 60,000 bottles in his cellar, but unfortunately he was not at home. Monſ. Dorſé has from 30 to 40,000. All through this country the crop promiſes miſerably, not owing to the great froſt, but the cold weather of laſt week.

To Rheims, through a foreſt of five miles, on the crown of the hill, which ſeparates the narrow vale of Epernay from the great plain of Rheims. The firſt view of that city from this hill, juſt before the deſcent, at the diſtance of about four miles, is magnificent. The cathedral makes a great figure, and the church of St. Remy terminates the town proudly. Many times I have had ſuch a view of towns in France, but when you enter them, all is a clutter of narrow, crooked, dark, and dirty lanes. At Rheims it is very different: the ſtreets are almoſt all broad, ſtrait, and well built, equal in that reſpect to any I have ſeen; and the inn, the *hotel de Moulinet*, is ſo large and well-ſerved as not to check the emotions raiſed by agreeable objects, by giving an impulſe to contrary vibrations in the boſom of the traveller, which at inns in France is too often the caſe. At dinner they gave me alſo a bottle of excellent wine. I ſuppoſe fixed air is good for the rheumatiſm; I had ſome writhes of it before I entered Champagne, but the *vin mouſſeux* has abſolutely baniſhed it. I had letters for Monſ. Cadot L'ainé, a conſiderable manufacturer, and the poſſeſſor of a large vineyard, which he cultivates himſelf; he was therefore a double fund to me. He received me very politely, anſwered my enquiries, and ſhewed me his fabric. The cathedral is large, but does not ſtrike me like that of Amiens, yet ornamented, and many painted windows. They ſhewed me the ſpot where the kings are crowned. You enter and quit Rheims through ſuperb and elegant iron gates: in ſuch public decorations, promenades, &c. French towns are much beyond Engliſh ones. Stopped at Sillery, to view the wine preſs of the marquis de Sillery; he is the greateſt wine-farmer in all Champagne, having in his own hands 180 arpents. Till I got to Sillery, I knew not that it belonged to the huſband of Madame de Genlis; but I determined, on hearing that it did, to pluck up impudence enough to introduce myſelf to the marquis, ſhould he be at home: I did not like to paſs the door of Madame de Genlis without ſeeing her: her writings are too celebrated. *La Petite Loge*, where I ſlept, is bad enough of all conſcience, but ſuch a reflexion would have made it ten times worſe: the abſence, however, of both Monſ. and Madame quieted both my wiſhes and anxieties. He is in the ſtates.——28 miles.

The 9th. To Chalons, through a poor country and poor crops. M. de Brouſſonet had given me a letter to Monſ. Sabbatier, ſecretary to the academy of ſciences, but he was abſent. A regiment paſſing to Paris, an officer at the inn addreſſed me in Engliſh.—He had learned, he ſaid, in America, damme!—*He* had taken lord Cornwallis, damme!——Marechal Broglio was appointed to command an army of 50,000 men near Paris—it was neceſſary—the *tiers etât* were running mad—and wanted ſome wholeſome correction;——they want to eſtabliſh a republic—abſurd! Pray, Sir, what did you fight for in America? To eſtabliſh a republic. What was ſo good for the Americans, is it ſo bad for the French? Aye, damme! that is the way the Engliſh want to be revenged. It is, to be ſure, no bad opportunity. Can the Engliſh follow a better example? He then made many enquiries about what we thought and ſaid upon it in England: and I may remark, that almoſt every perſon I meet with has the ſame idea—*The Engliſh muſt be very well contented at our confuſion*. They feel pretty pointedly what they deſerve.——12½ miles.

The 10th. To Ove. Paſs Courtiſſeau, a ſmall village, with a great church; and though a good ſtream, not an idea of irrigation. Roofs of houſes almoſt flat, with projecting eaves, reſembling thoſe from Pau to Bayonne. At St. Menehoud a dreadful tempeſt, after a burning day, with ſuch a fall of rain, that I could hardly get to Monſ. l'Abbé Michel, to whom I had a letter. When I found him, the inceſſant flaſhes of lightning would allow me no converſation; for all the females of the houſe came into the room for the Abbé's protection I ſuppoſe, ſo I took leave. The *vin de Champagne*, which is 40*ſ.* at Rheims, is 3 liv. at Chalons and here, and execrably bad; ſo there is an end of my phyſic for the rheumatiſm.——25 miles.

The 11th. Paſs Iſlets, a town (or rather collection of dirt and dung) of new features, that ſeem to mark, with the faces of the people, a country not French.——25 miles.

The 12th. Walking up a long hill, to eaſe my mare, I was joined by a poor woman, who complained of the times, and that it was a ſad country; demanding her reaſons, ſhe ſaid her huſband had but a morſel of land, one cow, and a poor little horſe, yet they had a *franchar* (42 lb.) of wheat, and three chickens, to pay as a quit-rent to one Seigneur; and four *franchar* of oats, one chicken and 1*ſ.* to pay to another, beſides very heavy tailles and other taxes. She had ſeven children, and the cow's milk helped to make the ſoup. But why, inſtead of a horſe, do not you keep another cow? Oh, her huſband could not carry his produce ſo well without a horſe; and aſſes are little uſed in the country. It was ſaid, at preſent, that *ſomething was to be done by ſome great folks for ſuch poor ones, but ſhe did not know who nor how*, but God ſend us better, *car les tailles & les droits nous ecraſent*.—This woman, at no great diſtance, might have been taken for ſixty or ſeventy, her figure was ſo bent, and her face ſo furrowed and hardened by labour,—but ſhe ſaid ſhe was only twenty-eight. An Engliſhman who has not travelled, cannot imagine the figure made by infinitely the greater part of the countrywomen in France; it ſpeaks, at the firſt ſight, hard and ſevere labour: I am inclined to think, that they work harder than the men, and this, united with the more miſerable labour of bringing a new race of ſlaves into the world, deſtroys abſolutely all ſymmetry of perſon and every feminine appearance. To what are we to attribute this difference in the manners of the lower people in the two kingdoms? To GOVERNMENT.—23 miles.

The 13th. Leave Mar-le-Tour at four in the morning: the village herdſman was ſounding his horn; and it was droll to ſee every door vomiting out its hogs or ſheep, and ſome a few goats, the flock collecting as it advances. Very poor ſheep, and the pigs with mathematical backs, large ſegments of ſmall circles. They muſt have abundance of commons here, but, if I may judge by the report of the animals carcaſes, dreadfully overſtocked. To Metz, one of the ſtrongeſt places in France; paſs three draw-bridges, but the command of water muſt give a ſtrength equal to its works. The common garriſon is 10,000 men, but there are fewer at preſent. Waited on M. de Payen, ſecretary of the academy of ſciences; he aſked my plan, which I explained; he appointed me at four in the afternoon at the academy, as there would be a *ſeance* held; and he promiſed to introduce me to ſome perſons who could anſwer my enquiries. I attended accordingly, when I found the academy aſſembled at one of their weekly meetings. Monſ. Payen introduced me to the members, and, before they proceeded to their buſineſs, they had the goodneſs to ſit in council on my enquiries, and to reſolve many of them. In the *Almanach des Trois Evechés*, 1789, this academy is ſaid to have been inſtituted particularly for agriculture; I turned to the liſt of their honorary members to ſee what attention they had paid to the men who, in the preſent age, have advanced that art. I found an Engliſhman, Dom Cowley, of London. Who is Dom Cowley?—Dined at the table d'hôte, with ſeven officers, out of whoſe mouths, at this important moment, in which converſation is as free as the preſs, not one word iſſued for which I would give a ſtraw, nor a ſubject touched on of more importance, than a coat, or a puppy dog. At table d'hôtes of officers, you have a voluble garniture of bawdry or nonſenſe; at thoſe of merchants, a mournful and ſtupid ſilence. Take the maſs of mankind, and you have more good ſenſe in half an hour in England than in half a year in France.—Government! Again:—all—all—is government.——15 miles.

The 14th. They have a *cabinet literaire* at Metz, ſomething like that I deſcribed at Nantes, but not on ſo great a plan; and they admit any perſon to read or go in and out for a day, on paying 4*ſ*. To this I eagerly reſorted, and the news from Paris, both in the public prints, and by the information of a gentleman, I found to be intereſting. Verſailles and Paris are ſurrounded by troops: 35,000 men are aſſembled, and 20,000 more on the road, large trains of artillery collected, and all the preparations of war. The aſſembling of ſuch a number of troops has added to the ſcarcity of bread; and the magazines that have been made for their ſupport, are not eaſily by the people diſtinguiſhed from thoſe they ſuſpect of being collected by monopoliſts. This has aggravated their evils almoſt to madneſs; ſo that the confuſion and tumult of the capital are extreme. A gentleman of an excellent underſtanding, and apparently of conſideration, from the attention paid him, with whom I had ſome converſation on the ſubject, lamented, in the moſt pathetic terms, the ſituation of his country; he conſiders a civil war as impoſſible to be avoided. There is not, he added, a doubt but the court, finding it impoſſible to bring the National Aſſembly to terms, will get rid of them; a bankruptcy at the ſame moment is inevitable; the union of ſuch confuſion muſt be a civil war; and it is now only by torrents of blood that we have any hope of eſtabliſhing a freer conſtitution: yet it muſt be eſtabliſhed; for the old government is rivetted to abuſes that are inſupportable. He agreed with me entirely, that the propoſitions of the *ſeance royale*, though certainly not ſufficiently ſatisfactory, yet, were the ground for a negotiation, that would have ſecured by degrees *all even that the ſword can give us, let it be as ſucceſsful as it will. The purſe—the power of the purſe is every thing; ſkilfully managed, with ſo neceſſitous a government as ours, it would, one after another, have gained all we wiſhed. As to a war, Heaven knows the event; and if we have ſucceſs, ſucceſs itſelf may ruin us; France may have a Cromwell in its boſom, as well as England.* Metz is, without exception, the cheapeſt town I have been in. The table d'hôte is 36 *ſ.* a head, plenty of good wine included. We were ten, and had two courſes and a deſſert of ten diſhes each, and thoſe courſes plentiful. The ſupper is the ſame; I had mine, of a pint of wine and a large plate of chaudiés, in my chamber, for 10*ſ.* a horſe, hay, and corn 25*ſ.* and nothing for the apartment; my expence was therefore 71*ſ.* a day, or 2s. 11½d.; and with the table d'hôte for ſupper, would have been but 97*ſ.* or 4s. 0½d.—In addition, much civility and good attendance. It is at the *Faiſan*. Why are the cheapeſt inns in France the beſt?—The country to Pont-a-Mouſſon is all of bold features.—The river Moſelle, which is conſiderable, runs in the vale, and the hills on either ſide are high. Not far from Metz there are the remains of an ancient aqueduct for conducting the waters of a ſpring acroſs the Moſelle: there are many arches left on this ſide, with the houſes of poor people built between them. At Pont-a-Mouſſon Monſ. Pichon, the ſub-delegué of the intendant, to whom I had letters, received me politely, ſatisfied my enquiries, which he was well able to do from his office, and conducted me to ſee whatever was worth viewing in the town. It does not contain much; the *école militaire*, for the ſons of the poor nobility, alſo the *couvent de Premonté*, which has a very fine library, 107 feet long and 25 broad. I was introduced to the abbot as a perſon who had ſome knowledge in agriculture.——17 miles.

The 15th. I went to Nancy, with great expectation, having heard it repreſented as the prettieſt town in France. I think, on the whole, it is not undeſerving the character in point of building, direction, and breadth of ſtreets.—Bourdeaux is far more magnificient; Bayonne and Nantes are more lively; but there is more equality in Nancy; it is almoſt all good; and the public buildings are numerous. The *place royale*, and the adjoining area are ſuberb. Letters from Paris! all confuſion! the miniſtry removed: Monſ. Necker ordered to quit the kingdom without noiſe. The effect on the people of Nancy was conſiderable.—I was with Monſ. Willemet when his letters arrived, and for ſome time his houſe was full of enquirers; all agreed, that it was fatal news, and that it would occaſion great commotions. *What will be the re-*

ſult at Nancy? The anſwer was in effect the ſame from all I put this queſtion to: *We are a provincial town, we muſt wait to ſee what is done at Paris; but every thing is to be feared from the people, becauſe bread is ſo dear, they are half ſtarved, and are conſequently ready for commotion.*—This is the general feeling; they are as nearly concerned as Paris; but they dare not ſtir; they dare not even have an opinion of their own till they know what Paris thinks; ſo that if a ſtarving populace were not in queſtion, no one would dream of moving. This confirms what I have often heard remarked, that the *deficit* would not have produced the revolution but in concurrence with the price of bread. Does not this ſhew the infinite conſequence of great cities to the liberty of mankind? Without Paris, I queſtion whether the preſent revolution, which is faſt working in France, could poſſibly have had an origin. It is not in the villages of Syria or Diarbekir that the Grand Seigneur meets with a murmur againſt his will; it is at Conſtantinople that he is obliged to manage and mix caution even with deſpotiſm. Mr. Willemet, who is demonſtrator of botany, ſhewed me the botanical garden, but it is in a condition that ſpeaks the want of better funds. He introduced me to a Monſ. Durival, who has written on the vine, and gave me one of his treatiſes, and alſo two of his own on botanical ſubjects. He alſo conducted me to Monſ. l'Abbé Grandpére, a gentleman curious in gardening, who, as ſoon as he knew that I was an Engliſhman, whimſically took it into his head to introduce me to a lady, my countrywoman, who hired, he ſaid, the greateſt part of his houſe. I remonſtrated againſt the impropriety of this, but all in vain; the Abbé had never travelled, and thought that if he were at the diſtance of England from France (the French are not commonly good geographers) he ſhould be very glad to ſee a Frenchman; and that, by parity of reaſoning, this lady muſt be the ſame to meet a countryman ſhe never ſaw or heard of. Away he went, and would not reſt till I was conducted into her apartment. It was the dowager Lady Douglas; ſhe was unaffected, and good enough not to be offended at ſuch a ſtrange intruſion.—She had been here but a few days; had two fine daughters with her, and a beautiful Kamchatka dog; ſhe was much troubled with the intelligence her friends in the town had juſt given her, that ſhe would, in all probability, be forced to move again, as the news of Monſ. Necker's removal, and the new miniſtry being appointed, would certainly occaſion ſuch dreadful tumults, that a foreign family would probably find it equally dangerous and diſagreeable.——18 miles.

The 16th. All the houſes at Nancy have tin eave troughs and pipes, which render walking the ſtreets much more eaſy and agreeable; it is alſo an additional conſumption, which is politically uſeful. Both this place and Luneville are lighted in the Engliſh manner, inſtead of the lamps being ſtrung acroſs the ſtreets as in other French towns. Before I quit Nancy, let me caution the unwary traveller, if he is not a great lord, with plenty of money that he does not know what to do with, againſt the *hotel d'Angleterre*; a bad dinner 3 liv. and for the room as much more. A pint of wine, and a plate of chaudié 20*ſ.* which at Metz was 10*ſ.* and in addition, I liked ſo little my treatment, that I changed my quarters to the *hotel de Halle*, where, at the table d'hôte, I had the company of ſome agreeable officers, two good courſes, and a deſſert, for 36*ſ.* with a bottle of wine. The chamber 20*ſ.*; for building, however, the *hotel d'Angleterre* is much ſuperior, and is the firſt inn. In the evening to Luneville. The country about Nancy is pleaſing.——17 miles.

The 17th. Luneville being the reſidence of Monſ. Lazowſki, the father of my much eſteemed friend, who was advertiſed of my journey, I waited on him in the morning; he received me with not politeneſs only, but hoſpitality—with a hoſpitality I began to think was not to be found on this ſide of the kingdom.—From Mareuil hither, I had really been ſo unaccuſtomed to receive any attentions of that ſort, that it awakened me to a train of new feelings agreeably enough.—An apartment was ready for me, which I was preſſed to occupy, deſired to dine, and expected to ſtay ſome days: he introduced me to his wife and family, particularly to M. l'Abbé Lazowſki, who, with the moſt obliging alacrity, undertook the office of ſhewing me whatever was worth ſeeing.—We examined, in a walk before dinner, the eſtabliſhment of the orphans; well regulated and conducted. Luneville wants ſuch eſtabliſhments, for it has no induſtry, and therefore is very poor; I was aſſured not leſs than half the population of the place, or 10,000 perſons are poor. Luneville is cheap. A cook's wages two, three, or four louis. A maid's, that dreſſes hair, three or four louis; a common houſe-maid, one louis; a common footman, or a houſe lad, three louis. Rent of a good houſe ſixteen or ſeventeen louis. Lodgings of four or five rooms, ſome of them ſmall, nine louis. After dinner, wait on M. Vaux dit Pompone, an intimate acquaintance of my friend's; here mingled hoſpitality and politeneſs alſo received me, and ſo much preſſed to dine with him to-morrow, that I ſhould certainly have ſtaid had it been merely for the pleaſure of more converſation with a very ſenſible and cultivated man, who, though advanced in years, has the talents and good humour to render his company univerſally agreeable: I was obliged to refuſe it; I was out of order all day. Yeſterday's heat was followed, after ſome lightning, by a cold night, and I laid, without knowing it, with the windows open, and caught cold I ſuppoſe, from the information of my bones. I am acquainted with ſtrangers as eaſily and quickly as any body; a habit that much travelling can ſcarcely fail to give, but to be ill among them would be *enuyante*, demand too much attention, and incroach on their humanity. This induced me to refuſe the obliging wiſhes of both the Meſſrs. Lazowſki's, Monſ. Pompone, and alſo of a pretty and agreeable American lady, I met at the houſe of the latter. Her hiſtory is ſingular, and yet very natural. She was Miſs Blake, of New-York; what carried her to Dominica I know not; but the ſun did not ſpoil her complexion: a French officer, Monſ. Tibalié, on taking the iſland, made her his captive, and himſelf became her own, fell in love, and married her; brought his prize to France, and ſettled her in his native town of Luneville. The regiment, of which he is major, being quartered in a diſtant province, ſhe complained of ſeeing her huſband not more than for ſix months in two years. She has been four years at Luneville; and having the ſociety of three children, is reconciled to a ſcene of life new to her. Monſ. Pompone, who, ſhe aſſured me, is one of the beſt men in the world, has parties every day at his houſe, not more to his own ſatisfaction than to her comfort.—This gentleman is another inſtance, as well as the major, of attachment to the place of nativity; he was born at Luneville; attended King Staniſlaus in ſome reſpectable office, near his perſon; has lived much at Paris, and with the great, and had firſt miniſters of ſtate for his intimate friends; but the love of the *natale ſolum* brought him back to Luneville, where he has lived beloved and reſpected for many years, ſurrounded by an elegant collection of books, amongſt which the poets are not forgotten, having himſelf no inconſiderable talents in transfuſing agreeable ſentiments into pleaſing verſes. He has ſome couplets of his own compoſition, under the portraits of his friends, which are pretty and eaſy. It would have given me much pleaſure to have ſpent ſome days at Luneville; an agreeable opening was made for me in two houſes, where I ſhould have met with a friendly and agreeable reception: but the misfortunes of travelling are ſometimes the accidents that croſs the moments prepared for enjoyment; and at others, the ſyſtem of a journey inconſiſtent with the plans of deſtined pleaſure.

The 18th. To Haming, through an unintereſting country.——28 miles.

The 19th. To Savern, in Alſace: the country to Phalſbourg, a ſmall fortified town, on the frontiers, is much the ſame to the eye as hitherto. The women in Alſace all wear ſtraw hats, as large as thoſe worn in England; they ſhelter the face, and ſhould ſecure ſome pretty country girls, but I have ſeen none yet. Coming out of Phalſbourg, there are ſome hovels miſerable enough, yet have chimnies and windows, but the inhabitants in the loweſt poverty. From that town to Savern all a mountain of oak timber, the deſcent ſteep, and the road winding. In Savern, I found myſelf to all appearance veritably in Germany; for two days paſt much tendency to a change, but here not one perſon in an hundred has a word of French; the rooms are warmed by ſtoves; the kitchen-hearth is three or four feet high, and various other trifles ſhew, that you are among another people. Looking at a map of France, and reading hiſtories of Louis XIV. never threw his conqueſt or ſeizure of Alſace into the light which travelling into it did: to croſs a great range of mountains; to enter a level plain, inhabited by a people totally diſtinct and different from France, with manners, language, ideas, prejudices, and habits all different, made an impreſſion of the injuſtice and ambition of ſuch a conduct, much more forcible than ever reading had done: ſo much more powerful are things than words.——22 miles.

The 20th. To Straſbourg, through one of the richeſt ſcenes of ſoil and cultivation to be met with in France, and rivalled only by Flanders, which however, exceeds it. I arrived there at a critical moment, which I thought would have broken my neck; a detachment of horſe, with their trumpets on one ſide, a party of infantry, with their drums beating on the other, and a great mob hallooing, frightened my French mare; and I could ſcarcely keep her from trampling on Meſſrs. the *tiers etat*. On arriving at the inn, hear the intereſting news of the revolt of Paris.—The *Guardes Françoiſes* joining the people; the little dependence on the reſt of the troops; the taking the Baſtile; and the inſtitution of the *milice bourgeoiſe*; in a word, of the abſolute overthrow of the old government. Every thing being now decided, and the kingdom abſolutely in the hands of the aſſembly, they have the power to make a new conſtitution, ſuch as they think proper; and it will be a great ſpectacle for the world to view, in this enlightened age, the repreſentatives of twenty-five millions of people ſitting on the conſtruction of a new and better order and fabric of liberty, than Europe has yet offered. It will now be ſeen, whether they will copy the conſtitution of England, freed from its faults, or attempt, from theory, to frame ſomething abſolutely ſpeculative: in the former caſe, they will prove a bleſſing to their country; in the latter, they will probably involve it in inextricable confuſions and civil wars, perhaps not in the preſent period, but certainly at ſome future one. I hear nothing of their removing from Verſailles; if they ſtay there under the controul of an armed mob, they muſt make a government that will pleaſe the mob; but they will, I ſuppoſe, be wiſe enough to move to ſome central town, Tours, Blois, or Orleans, where their deliberations may be free. But the Pariſian ſpirit of commotion ſpreads quickly; it is here; the troops that were near breaking my neck, are employed to keep an eye on the people who ſhew ſigns of an intended revolt. They have broken the windows of ſome magiſtrates that are no favourites; and a great mob of them is at this moment aſſembled, demanding clamourouſly to have meat at 5*ſ.* a pound. They have a cry among them that will conduct them to good lengths,—*Point d'impôt & vive les etâts.*—Waited on Monſ, Herman, profeſſor of natural hiſtory in the Univerſity here, to whom I had letters; he replied to ſome of my queſtions, and introduced me for others to Monſ. Zimmer, who having been in ſome degree a practitioner, had underſtanding enough of the ſubject to afford me ſome information that was valuable. View the public buildings, and croſs the Rhine paſſing for ſome little diſtance into Germany, but no new features to mark a change; Alſace is Germany, and the change great on deſcending the mountains. The exterior of the cathedral is fine, and the tower ſingularly light and beautiful; it is well known to be one of the higheſt in Europe; commands a noble and rich plain, through which the Rhine, from the number of its iſlands, has the appearance of a chain of lakes rather than of a river.—Monument of marechal Saxe, &c. &c. I am puzzled about going to Carlſrhue, the reſidence of the Margrave of Baden: it was an old intention to do it, if ever I was within an hundred miles; for there are ſome features in the reputation of that ſovereign, which made me wiſh to be there. He fixed Mr. Taylor, of Bifrons in Kent, whoſe huſbandry I deſcribe in my Eaſtern Tour, on a large farm; and the *œconomiſtes*, in their writings, ſpeak much of an experiment he made in their Phyſiocratical rubbiſh, which, however erroneous their principles might be, marked much merit in the prince. Monſ. Herman tells me alſo, that he has ſent a perſon into Spain to purchaſe rams for the improvement of wool, I wiſh he had fixed on ſomebody likely to underſtand a good ram, which a profeſſor of botany is not likely to do too well. This botaniſt is the only perſon Monſ. Herman knows at Carlſrhue, and therefore can give me no letter thither, and how I can go, unknown to all the world, to the reſidence of a ſovereign prince, for Mr. Taylor has left him, is a difficulty apparently inſurmountable.——22½ miles.

The 21ſt. I have ſpent ſome time this morning at the *cabinet literaire*, reading the gazettes and journals that give an account of the tranſactions at Paris: and I have had ſome converſation with ſeveral ſenſible and intelligent men on the preſent revolution. The ſpirit of revolt is gone forth into various parts of the kingdom; the price of bread has prepared the populace every where for all ſorts of violence; at Lyons there have been commotions as furious as at Paris, and the ſame at a great many other places: Dauphiné is in arms: and Bretagne in abſolute rebellion. The idea is, that the people will, from hunger, be driven to revolt; and when once they find any other means of ſubſiſtence than that of honeſt labour, every thing will be to be feared. Of ſuch conſequence it is to a country, and indeed to every country, to have a good police of corn; a police that ſhall, by ſecuring a high price to the farmer, encourage his culture enough to ſecure the people at the ſame time from famine. My anxiety about Carlſrhue is at an end; the Margrave is at Spaw; I ſhall not therefore think of going.——*Night*—I have been witneſs to a ſcene curious to a foreigner; but dreadful to Frenchmen that are conſiderate. Paſſing through the ſquare of the *hotel de ville*, the mob were breaking the windows with ſtones, notwithſtanding an officer and a detachment of horſe was in the ſquare.

Perceiving that their numbers not only increaſed, but that they grew bolder and bolder every moment, I thought it worth ſtaying to ſee what it would end in, and clambered on to the roof of a row of low ſtalls oppoſite the building, againſt which their malice was directed. Here I beheld the whole commodiouſly. Perceiving that the troops would not attack them, except in words and menaces, they grew more violent, and furiouſly attempted to beat the doors in pieces with iron crows; placing ladders to the windows. In about a quarter of an hour, which gave time for the aſſembled magiſtrates to eſcape by a back door, they burſt all open, and entered like a torrent with a univerſal ſhout of the ſpectators. From that minute a ſhower of caſements, ſaſhes, ſhutters, chairs, tables, ſophas, books, papers, pictures, &c. rained inceſſantly from all the windows of the houſe, which is ſeventy or eighty feet long, and which was then ſucceeded by tiles, ſkirting boards, banniſters, framework, and every part of the building that force could detach. The troops, both horſe and foot, were quiet ſpectators. They were at firſt too few to interpoſe, and, when they became more numerous, the miſchief was too far advanced to admit of any other conduct than guarding every avenue around, permitting none to go to the ſcene of action, but letting every one that pleaſed retire with his plunder; guards being at the ſame time placed at the doors of the churches, and all public buildings. I was for two hours a ſpectator at different places of the ſcene, ſecure myſelf from the falling furniture, but near enough to ſee a fine lad of about 14 cruſhed to death by ſomething as he was handing plunder to a woman, I ſuppoſe his mother, from the horror that was pictured in her countenance. I remarked ſeveral common ſoldiers, with their white cockades, among the plunderers, and inſtigating the mob even in ſight of the officers of the detachment. There were amongſt them people ſo decently dreſſed, that I regarded them with no ſmall ſurprize:—they deſtroyed all the public archives; the ſtreets for ſome way around ſtrewed with papers; this has been a wanton miſchief; for it will be the ruin of many families unconnected with the magiſtrates.

The 22d. To Scheleſtadt. At Straſbourg, and the country I paſſed, the lower ranks of women wear their hair in a toupee in front, and behind braided into a circular plait, three inches thick, and is moſt curiouſly contrived to convince one that they rarely paſs a comb through it. I could not but picture them as the *nidus* of living colonies, that never approached me (they are not burthened with too much beauty), but I ſcratched my head from ſenſations of imaginary itching. The moment you are out of a great town all in this country is German; the inns have one common large room, many tables and cloths ready ſpread, where every company dines; gentry at ſome, and the poor at others. Cookery alſo German: *ſchnitz* is a diſh of bacon and fried pears; has the appearance of a meſs for the devil; but I was ſurprized, on taſting, to find it better than paſſable. At Scheleſtadt I had the pleaſure of finding the count de la Rochefoucauld, whoſe regiment (of Champagne), of which he is ſecond major, is quartered here. No attentions could be kinder than what I received from him; they were a renewal of the numerous ones I was in the habit of experiencing from his family; and he introduced me to a good farmer from whom I had the intelligence I wanted.——25 miles.

The 23d. An agreeable quiet day, with the count de la Rochefoucauld: dine with the officers of the regiment, the count de Loumené, the colonel, nephew to the cardinal de Loumené, preſent. Sup at my friend's lodgings; an officer of infantry, a Dutch gentleman who has been much in the Eaſt-Indies, and ſpeaks Engliſh there. This has been a refreſhing day; the ſociety of well informed people, liberal, polite, and communicative, has been a contraſt to the *ſombre* ſtupidity of table d'hôtes.

The 24th. To Iſenheim, by Colmar. The country is in general a dead level, with the Voge mountains very near to the right; thoſe of Suabia to the left; and there is another range very diſtant, that appears in the opening to the ſouth. The news at the table d'hôte at Colmar curious, that the Queen had a plot, nearly on the point of execution, to blow up the National Aſſembly by a mine, and to march the army inſtantly to maſſacre all Paris. A French officer preſent preſumed but to doubt of the truth of it, and was immediately overpowered with numbers of tongues. A deputy had written it; they had ſeen the letter, and not a heſitation could be admitted: I ſtrenuouſly contended, that it was folly and nonſenſe at the firſt bluſh, a mere invention to render perſons odious who, for what I knew, might deſerve to be ſo, but certainly not by ſuch means; if the angel Gabriel had deſcended and taken a chair at table to convince them, it would not have ſhaken their faith. Thus it is in revolutions, one raſcal writes, and an hundred thouſand fools believe.——25 miles.

The 25th. From Iſenheim, the country changes from the dead flat, to pleaſant views and inequalities, improving all the way to Befort, but neither ſcattered houſes nor incloſures. Great riots at Befort:—laſt night a body of mob and peaſants demanded of the magiſtrates the arms in the magazine, to the amount of three or four thouſand ſtand; being refuſed, they grew riotous, and threatened to ſet fire to the town, on which the gates were ſhut; and to-day the regiment of Bourgogne arrived for their protection. Monſ. Necker paſſed here to-day in his way from Baſle to Paris, eſcorted by 50 bourgeois horſemen, and through the town by the muſic of all the troops. But the moſt brilliant period of his life is paſt; from the moment of his reinſtatement in power to the aſſembling of the ſtates, the fate of France, and of the Bourbons, was then in his hands; and whatever may be the reſult of the preſent confuſions they will, by poſterity, be attributed to his conduct, ſince he had unqueſtionably the power of aſſembling the ſtates in whatever form he pleaſed: he might have had two chambers, three, or one; he might have given what would unavoidably have ſlid into the conſtitution of England; all was in his hands; he had the greateſt opportunity of political architecture that ever was in the power of man: the great legiſlators of antiquity never poſſeſſed ſuch a moment: in my opinion he miſſed it completely, and threw that to the chance of the winds and waves, to which he might have given impulſe, direction, and life. I had letters to Monſ. de Bellonde, *commiſſaire de Guerre*; I found him alone: he aſked me to ſup, ſaying he ſhould have ſome perſons to meet me who could give me information. On my returning, he introduced me to Madame de Bellonde, and a circle of a dozen ladies, with three or four young officers, leaving the room himſelf to attend Madame, the princeſs of ſomething, who was on her flight to Switzerland. I wiſhed the whole company very cordially at the devil, for I ſaw, at one glance, what ſort of information I ſhould have. There was a little *coterie* in one corner liſtening to an officer's detail of leaving Paris. This gentleman further informed us, that the count d'Artois, and all the princes of the blood, except Monſieur, and the duke d'Orleans, the whole connection of Polignac, the marechal de Broglio, and an infinite number of the firſt nobility had fled the kingdom, and were daily followed by others; and laſtly, that the King, Queen, and royal family, were in a ſituation at Verſailles really dangerous and alarming, without any dependence on the troops near them, and, in fact, more like priſoners than free. Here is, therefore, a revolution effected by a ſort of magic; all powers in the realm are deſtroyed but that of the commons; and it now will remain to ſee what ſort of architects they are at rebuilding an edifice in the place of that which has been thus marvellouſly tumbled in ruins. Supper being announced, the company quitted the room, and as I did not puſh myſelf forward, I remained at the rear till I was very whimſically alone; I was a little ſtruck at the turn of the moment, and did not advance when I found myſelf in ſuch an extraordinary ſituation, in order to ſee whether it would arrive at the point it did. I then, ſmiling, took my hat, and walked fairly out of the houſe. I was, however, overtaken below; but I talked of buſineſs—or pleaſure—or of ſomething, or nothing—and hurried to the inn. I ſhould not have related this, if it had not been at a moment that carried with it its apology: the anxiety and diſtraction of the time muſt fill the head, and occupy the attention of a gentleman;—and, as to ladies, what can French ladies think of a man who travels for the plough?—25 miles.

The 26th. For twenty miles to Liſle ſur Daube, the country nearly as before; but after that, to Baume les Dames, it is all mountainous and rock, much wood, and many pleaſing ſcenes of the river flowing beneath. The whole country is in the greateſt agitation; at one of the little towns I paſſed, I was queſtioned for not having a cockade of the *tiers etat*. They ſaid it was ordained by the *tiers*, and, if I was not a Seigneur, I ought to obey. *But ſuppoſe I am a Seigneur, what then, my friends?*—What then? they replied ſternly, why, be hanged; for that moſt likely is what you deſerve. It was plain this was no moment for joking, the boys and girls began to gather, whoſe aſſembling has every where been the preliminaries of miſchief; and, if I had not declared myſelf an Engliſhman, and ignorant of the ordinance, I had not eſcaped very well. I immediately bought a cockade, but the huſſey pinned it into my hat ſo looſely, that before I got to Liſle it blew into the river, and I was again in the ſame danger. My aſſertion of being Engliſh would not do. I was a Seigneur, perhaps in diſguiſe, and without doubt a great rogue. At this moment a prieſt came into the ſtreet with a letter in his hand: the people immediately collected around him, and he then read aloud a detail from Befort, giving an account of M. Necker's paſſing, with ſome general features of news from Paris, and aſſurances that the condition of the people would be improved. When he had finiſhed, he exhorted them to abſtain from all violence; and aſſured them, they muſt not indulge themſelves with any ideas of impoſitions being aboliſhed; which he touched on as if he knew that they had got ſuch notions. When he retired, they again ſurrounded me, who had attended to the letter like others; were very menacing in their manner; and expreſſed many ſuſpicions: I did not like my ſituation at all, eſpecially on hearing one of them ſay that I ought to be ſecured till ſomebody would give an account of me. I was on the ſteps of the inn, and begged they would permit me a few words; I aſſured them, that I was an Engliſh traveller, and to prove it, I deſired to explain to them a circumſtance in Engliſh taxation, which would be a ſatisfactory comment on what Monſ. l'Abbé had told them, to the purport of which I could not agree. He had aſſerted, that the impoſitions muſt and would be paid as heretofore: that the impoſitions muſt be paid was certain, but not as heretofore, as they might be paid as they were in England. Gentlemen, we have a great number of taxes in England, which you know nothing of in France; but the *tiers etat*, the poor do not pay them; they are laid on the rich; every window in a man's houſe pays; but if he has no more than ſix windows, he pays nothing; a Seigneur, with a great eſtate, pays the *vingtiemes* and *tailles*, but the little proprietor of a garden pays nothing; the rich for their horſes, their voitures, their ſervants, and even for liberty to kill their own partridges, but the poor farmer nothing of all this: and what is more, we have in England a tax paid by the rich for the relief of the poor; hence the aſſertion of Monſ. l'Abbé, that becauſe taxes exiſted before they muſt exiſt again, did not at all prove that they muſt be levied in the ſame manner; our Engliſh method ſeemed much better. There was not a word of this diſcourſe, they did not approve of; they ſeemed to think that I might be an honeſt fellow, which I confirmed, by crying, *vive le tiers, ſans impoſitions,* when they gave me a bit of a huzza, and I had no more interruption from them. My miſerable French was pretty much on a par with their own *patois.* I got, however, another cockade, which I took care to have ſo faſtened as to loſe it no more. I do not half like travelling in ſuch an unquiet and fermenting moment; one is not ſecure for an hour beforehand.——35 miles.

The 27th. To Beſançon; the country mountain, rock, and wood, above the river; ſome ſcenes are fine. I had not arrived an hour before I ſaw a peaſant paſs the inn on horſeback, followed by an officer of the *guard bourgeois,* of which there are 1200 here, and 200 under arms, and his party-coloured detachment, and theſe by ſome infantry and cavalry. I aſked, why the militia took the *pas* of the King's troops? *For a very good reaſon,* they replied, *the troops would be attacked and knocked on the head, but the populace will not reſiſt the milice.* This peaſant, who is a rich proprietor, applied for a guard to protect his houſe, in a village where there is much plundering and burning. The miſchiefs which have been perpetrated in the country, towards the mountains and Veſoul, are numerous and ſhocking. Many chateaus have been burnt, others plundered, the ſeigneurs hunted down like wild beaſts, their wives and daughters raviſhed, their papers and titles burnt, and all their property deſtroyed: and theſe abominations not inflicted on marked perſons, who were odious for their former conduct or principles, but an indiſcriminating blind rage for the love of plunder. Robbers, galley-ſlaves, and villains of all denominations, have collected and inſtigated the peaſants to commit all ſorts of outrages. Some gentlemen at the table d'hôte informed me, that letters were received from the Maconois, the Lyonois, Auvergne, Dauphiné, &c. and that ſimilar commotions and miſchiefs were perpetrating every where; and that it was expected they would pervade the whole kingdom. The backwardneſs of France is beyond credibility in every thing that pertains to intelligence. From Straſbourg hither, I have not been able to ſee a newſpaper. Here I aſked for the *Cabinet Literaire?* None. The gazettes? At the coffee-houſe. Very eaſily replied; but not ſo eaſily found. Nothing but the *Gazette de France*; for which, at this period, a man of common ſenſe would not give one *ſol.* To four other coffee-houſes; at ſome no paper at all, not even the *Mercure*; at the *Caffè Militaire,* the *Courier de l'Europe* a fortnight old; and well dreſſed people are now talking of the news of two or three weeks paſt, and plainly by their diſcourſe know nothing of what is paſſing. The whole town of Beſançon has not been able to afford me a ſight of the *Journal de Paris,* nor of any paper that gives a detail of the tranſactions of the ſtates; yet it is the capital of a province, large as half a dozen Engliſh counties, and containing 25,000 ſouls,—with, ſtrange to ſay! the poſt coming in but three times a week. At this eventful moment, with no licence, nor even the leaſt reſtraint on the preſs, not one paper eſtabliſhed at Paris for circulation in the provinces, with the neceſſary ſteps taken by *affiche*, or *placard*, to inform the people in all the towns of its eſtabliſhment. For what the country knows to the contrary, their deputies are in the Baſtile, inſtead of the Baſtile being razed; ſo the mob plunder, burn, and deſtroy, in complete ignorance: and yet, with all theſe ſhades of darkneſs, theſe clouds of tenebrity, this univerſal maſs of ignorance, there are men every day in the ſtates, who are puffing themſelves off for the FIRST NATION IN EUROPE! the GREATEST PEOPLE IN THE UNIVERSE! as if the political juntos, or literary circles of a capital conſtituted a people; inſtead of the univerſal illumination of knowledge, acting by rapid intelligence on minds prepared by habitual energy of reaſoning to receive, combine, and comprehend it. That this dreadful ignorance of the maſs of the people, of the events that moſt intimately concern them, is owing to the old government, no one can doubt; it is however curious to remark, that if the nobility of other provinces are hunted like thoſe of Franche Compté, of which there is little reaſon to doubt, that whole order of men undergo a proſcription, and ſuffer like ſheep, without making the leaſt effort to reſiſt the attack. This appears marvellous, with a body that have an army of 150,000 men in their hands; for though a part of thoſe troops would certainly diſobey their leaders, yet let it be remembered, that out of the 40,000, or poſſibly 100,000 nobleſſe of France, they might, if they had intelligence and union amongſt themſelves, fill half the ranks of more than half the regiments of the kingdom, with men who have fellow-feelings and fellow-ſufferings with themſelves; but no meetings, no aſſociations among them; no union with military men; no taking refuge in the ranks of regiments to defend or avenge their cauſe; fortunately for France they fall without a ſtruggle, and die without a blow. That univerſal circulation of intelligence, which in England tranſmits the leaſt vibration of feeling or alarm, with electric ſenſibility, from one end of the kingdom to another, and which unites in bands of connection men of ſimilar intereſts and ſituations, has no exiſtence in France. Thus it may be ſaid, perhaps with truth, that the fall of the King, court, lords, nobles, army, church, and parliaments is owing to a want of intelligence being quickly circulated, conſequently is owing to the very effects of that thraldom in which they held the people: it is therefore a retribution rather than a puniſhment.—— 18 miles.

The 28th. At the table d'hôte laſt night a perſon gave an account of being ſtopped at Salins for want of a paſſport, and ſuffering the greateſt inconveniences;

I found it neceſſary, therefore, to demand one for myſelf, and went accordingly to the *Bureau*; this was the houſe of a Monſ. Bellamy, an attorney; with whom the following dialogue enſued:

Mais, Monſieur, qui me repondra de vous? Eſt ce que perſonne vous connoit? Connoiſſez vous quelqun a Beſançon?

Non perſonne, mon deſſein etoit d'aller a Veſoul d'oü j'aurois eu des lettres, mais j'ai changé de route a cauſe de ces tumultes.

Monſieur je ne vous connois pas, & ſi vous etes inconnu a Beſançon vous ne pouvez avoir de paſſport.

Mais voui mes lettres j'en ai pluſieurs pour d'autres villes en France, il y a en même d'adreſſées a Veſoul e a Arbois, ouvrez & liſez les, & vous trouverez que je ne ſuis pas inconnu ailleurs quoique je le ſois a Beſançon.

N'importe; je ne vous connois pas, il n'y a perſonne ici qui vous connoiſſe ainſi vous n'aurez point de paſſport.

Je vous dit Monſieur que ces lettres vous expliqueront.

Il me faut des gens, et non pas des lettres pour m'expliquer qui vous etes; ces lettres ne me valent rien.

Cette façon d'agir me parôit aſſez ſinguliere; apparaement que vous la croyez tres honnête; pour moi, Monſieur, j'en penſe bien autrement.

Eh Monſieur je ne m'en ſoucie de ce que vous en penſez.

En verité voici ce qui ſ appelle, avoir des manieres gracieuſes envers un etranger; c'eſt la premiere, fois que j'ai eu a faire avec ces Meſſieurs du tiers etat, & vous m'avourez qu'il n'y a rien ici qui puiſſe me donner une haute idée du caracteré de ces Meſſieurs là.

Monſieur, cela m'eſt forté gal.

Je donnerai a mon retour en Angleterre le detail de mon voyage au publique, & aſſurement Monſieur je n'oublirai pas d'enregiſtrer ce trait de vôtre politeſſe, il vous fait tant d'honneur, & à ceux pour qui vous agiſſez.

Monſieur je regarde tout cela avec la derniere indifference.

My gentleman's manner was more offenſive than his words; he walked backward and forward among his parchments, with an air *veritablement d'un commis de bureau.*—Theſe paſſports are new things from new men, in new power, and ſhew that they do not bear their new honours too meekly. Thus it is impoſſible for me, without running my head againſt a wall, to go ſee the Salins, or to Arbois, where I have a letter from M. de Brouſſonet, but I muſt take my chance and get to Dijon as faſt as I can, where the preſident de Virly knows me, having ſpent ſome days at Bradfield, unleſs indeed being a preſident and a nobleman he has got knocked on the head by the *tiers etat*. At night to the play; miſerable performers; the theatre, which has not been built many years, is heavy; the arch that parts the ſtage from the houſe is like the entrance of a cavern, and the line of the amphitheatre, that of a wounded eel; I do not like the air and manners of the people here—and I would ſee Beſançon ſwallowed up by an earthquake before I would live in it. The muſic, and bawling, and ſqueaking of *l'Epreuve Villageoiſe* of Gretry, which is wretched, had no power to put me in better humour. I will not take leave of this place, to which I never deſire to come again, without ſaying that they have a fine promenade; and that Monſ. Arthaud, the arpenteur, to whom I applied for information, without any letter of recommendation was liberal and polite, and anſwered my enquiries ſatisfactorily.

The 29th. To Orechamp the country is bold and rocky, with fine woods, and yet it is not agreeable; it is like many men that have eſtimable points in their characters, and yet we cannot love them. Poorly cultivated too. Coming out of St. Veté, a pretty riant landſkip of the river doubling through the vale, enlivened by a village and ſome ſcattered houſes: the moſt pleaſing view I have ſeen in Franche Compté.——23 miles.

The 30th. The mayor of Dole is made of as good ſtuff as the notary of Beſançon; he would give no paſſport; but as he accompanied his refuſal with neither airs nor graces, I let him paſs. To avoid the centinels, I went round the town. The country to Auxonne is chearful. Croſs the Soane at Auxonne; it is a fine river, through a region of flat meadow of beautiful verdure; commons for great herds of cattle; vaſtly flooded, and the hay-cocks under water. To Dijon is a fine country, but wants wood. My paſſport demanded at the gate: and as I had none, two *bourgeois* muſqueteers conducted me to the *hotel de ville*, where I was queſtioned, but finding that I was known at Dijon, they let me go to my inn. Out of luck: Monſ. de Virly, on whom I moſt depended for Dijon, is at Bourbon le Bains, and Monſ. de Morveau, the celebrated chymiſt, who I expected would have had letters for me, had none, and though he received me very politely, when I was forced to announce myſelf as his brother in the royal ſociety of London, yet I felt very awkwardly; however, he deſired to ſee me again next morning. They tell me here, that the intendant is fled; and that the prince of Condé, who is governor of Burgundy, is in Germany: they poſitively aſſert, and with very little ceremony, that they would both be hanged, if they were to come here at preſent; ſuch ideas do not mark too much authority in the *milice burgeoiſe*, as they have been inſtituted to ſtop and prevent hanging and plundering. They are too weak, however, to keep the peace: the licence and ſpirit of depredation, of which I heard ſo much in croſſing Franche Compté, has taken place, but not equally in Burgundy. In this inn, *la Ville de Lyon*, there is at preſent a gentleman, unfortunately a ſeigneur, his wife, family, three ſervants, an infant but a few months old, who eſcaped from their flaming chateau half naked in the night; all their property loſt except the land itſelf; and this family valued and eſteemed by the neighbours, with many virtues to command the love of the poor, and no oppreſſions to provoke their enmity. Such abominable actions muſt bring the more deteſtation to the cauſe from being unneceſſary; the kingdom might have been ſettled in a real ſyſtem of liberty, without the *regeneration* of fire and ſword, plunder, and bloodſhed. Three hundred *bourgeois* mount guard every day at Dijon, armed, but not paid at the expence of the town: they have alſo ſix pieces of cannon. The nobleſſe of the place, as the only means of ſafety, have joined them—ſo that there are croix de St. Louis in the ranks. The *palais des etats* here, is a large and ſplendid building, but not ſtriking proportionably to the maſs and expence. The arms of the prince of Condé are predominant; and the great ſalon is called the *Salle a manger de Prince*. A Dijon artiſt has painted the battle of Seniff, and the Grande Condé thrown from his horſe, and a cieling, both well executed. Tomb of the duke of Bourgogne, 1404. A picture by Rubens at the Chartreuſe. They talk of the houſe of Monſ. de Montigny, but his ſiſter being in it, not ſhewn. Dijon, on the whole, is a handſome town; the ſtreets, though old built, are wide, and very well paved, with the addition, uncommon in France, of *trotoirs*.——28 miles.

The 31ſt. Waited on Monſ. de Morveau, who has, moſt fortnuately for me, received, only this morning, from Monſ. de Virly, a recommendation of me, with four letters from Monſ. de Brouſſonet; but Monſ. Vaudrey, of this place, to whom one of them is addreſſed, is abſent. We had ſome converſation on the intereſting topic to all philoſophers, phlogiſton; Monſ. de Morveau contends vehemently for its non-exiſtence; treats Dr. Prieſtley's laſt publication as wide of the queſtion; and declared, that he conſiders the controverſy as much decided as the queſtion of liberty is in France. He ſhewed me part of the article *air* in the New Encyclopædia by him, to be publiſhed ſoon; in which work, he thinks he has, beyond controverſy, eſtabliſhed the truth of the doctrine of the French chymiſts of its non-exiſtence. Monſ. de Morveau requeſted me to call on him in the evening to introduce me to a learned and agreeable lady; and engaged me to dine with him to-morrow. On leaving him, I went to ſearch coffee-houſes; but will it be credited, that I could find but one in this capital of Burgundy, where I could read the newſpapers?—At a poor little one in the ſquare, I read a paper, after waiting an hour to get it. The people I have found every where deſirous of reading newſpapers; but it is rare that they can gratify themſelves: and the general ignorance of what is paſſing may be collected from this, that I found nobody at Dijon had heard of the riot at the town-houſe of Straſbourg; I deſcribed it to a gentleman, and a party collected around me to hear it; not one of them had heard a ſyllable of it, yet it is nine days ſince it happened; had it been nineteen, I queſtion whether they would more than have received the intelligence; but, though they are ſlow in knowing what has really happened, they are very quick in hearing what is impoſſible to happen. The current report at preſent, to which all poſſible credit is given, is, that the Queen has been convicted of a plot to poiſon the King and Monſieur, and give the regency to the count d'Artois; to ſet fire to Paris, and blow up the *Palais Royale* by a mine!—Why do not the ſeveral parties in the ſtates cauſe papers to be printed, that ſhall tranſmit only their own ſentiments and opinions? In order that no man in the nation, arranged under the ſame ſtandard of reaſoning, may want the facts that are neceſſary to govern his arguments, and the concluſions that great talents have drawn from thoſe facts. The King has been adviſed to take ſeveral ſteps of authority againſt the ſtates, but none of his miniſters have adviſed the eſtabliſhment of journals, and their ſpeedy circulation, that ſhould undeceive the people in thoſe points his enemies have miſrepreſented. When numerous papers are publiſhed in oppoſition to each other, the people take pains to ſift into and examine the truth; and that inquiſitiveneſs alone—the very act of ſearching, enlightens them; they become informed, and it is no longer eaſy to deceive them. At the table d'hôte only three, myſelf, and two noblemen, driven from their eſtates, as I conjecture by their converſation, but they did not hint at any thing like their houſes being burnt. Their deſcription of the ſtate of that part of the province they come from, in the road from Langres to Gray, is terrible; the number of chateaus burnt not conſiderable, but three in five plundered, and the poſſeſſors driven out of the country, and glad to ſave their lives. One of theſe gentlemen is a very ſenſible well informed man; he conſiders all rank, and all the rights annexed to rank, as deſtroyed in fact in France; and that the leaders of the National Aſſembly having no property, or very little themſelves, are determined to attack that alſo, and attempt an equal diviſion. The expectation is got among many of the people; but whether it takes place or not, he conſiders France as *abſolutely ruined*. That, I replied, was going too far, for the deſtruction of rank did not imply *ruin*. "I call nothing ruin," he replied, "but a general and confirmed civil war, or diſmemberment of the kingdom; in my opinion, both are inevitable; not perhaps this year, or the next, or the year after that, but whatever government is built on the foundation now laying in France, cannot ſtand any rude ſhocks; an unſucceſsful or a ſucceſsful war will equally deſtroy it."—He ſpoke with great knowledge of hiſtorical events, and drew his political concluſions with much acumen. I have met very few ſuch men at table d'hôtes. It may be believed, I did not forget M. de Morveau's appointment. He was as good as his word; Madame Picardet is as agreeable in converſation as ſhe is learned in the cloſet; a very pleaſing unaffected woman; ſhe has tranſlated Scheele from the

German, and a part of Mr. Kirwan from the Engliſh; a treaſure to M. de Morveau, for ſhe is able and willing to converſe with him on chymical ſubjects, and on any others that tend either to inſtruct or pleaſe. I accompanied them in their evening's promenade. She told me, that her brother, Monſ. de Poule, was a great farmer, who had ſowed large quantities of ſainfoin, which he uſed for fattening oxen; ſhe was ſorry he was engaged ſo cloſely in the municipal buſineſs at preſent, that he could not attend me to his farm.

AUGUST 1. Dined with Monſ. de Morveau by appointment; Monſ. Profeſſeur Chauſée, and Monſ. Picardet of the party. It was a rich day to me; the great and juſt reputation of Monſ. de Morveau, for being not only the firſt chymiſt of France, but one of the greateſt that Europe has to boaſt, was alone ſufficient to render his company intereſting; but to find ſuch a man void of affectation; free from thoſe airs of ſuperiority which are ſometimes found in celebrated characters, and that reſerve which oftener throws a veil over their talents, as well as conceals their deficiencies for which it is intended—was very pleaſing. Monſ. de Morveau is a lively, converſable, eloquent man, who, in any ſtation of life, would be ſought as an agreeable companion. Even in this eventful moment of revolution, the converſation turned almoſt entirely on chymical ſubjects. I urged him, as I have done Dr. Prieſtley more than once, and Monſ. La Voiſier alſo, to turn his enquiries a little to the application of his ſcience to agriculture; that there was a fine field for experiments in that line, which could ſcarcely fail of making diſcoveries; to which he aſſented; but added, that he had no time for ſuch enquiries: it is clear, from his converſation, that his views are entirely occupied by the non-exiſtence of phlogiſton, except a little on the means of eſtabliſhing and enforcing the new nomenclature. While we were at dinner a proof of the New Encyclopædia was brought him, the chymical part of which work is printed at Dijon, for the convenience of Monſ. de Morveau. I took the liberty of telling him, that a man who can deviſe the experiments which ſhall be moſt concluſive in aſcertaining the queſtions of a ſcience, and has talents to draw all the uſeful concluſions from them, ſhould be entirely employed in experiments, and their regiſter; and if I was King, or miniſter of France, I would make that employment ſo profitable to him, that he ſhould do nothing elſe. He laughed, and aſked me, if I was ſuch an advocate for working, and ſuch an enemy to writing what I thought of my friend Dr. Prieſtley? And he then explained to the two other gentlemen, that great philoſopher's attention to metaphyſics, and polemic divinity. If an hundred had been at table, the ſentiment would have been the ſame in every boſom. Monſ. M. ſpoke, however, with great regard for the experimental talents of the Doctor, as indeed who in Europe does not?—I afterwards reflected on Monſ. de Morveau's not having time to make experiments that ſhould apply chymiſtry to agriculture, yet have plenty for writing in ſo voluminous a work as Pankouck's. I lay it down as a maxim, that no man can eſtabliſh or ſupport a reputation in any branch of experimental philoſophy, ſuch as ſhall really deſcend to poſterity, otherwiſe than by experiment; and that commonly the more a man works, and the leſs he writes the better, at leaſt the more valuable will be his reputation. The profit of writing has ruined that of many (thoſe who know Monſ. de Morveau will be very ſure I am far enough from having him in my eye; his ſituation in life puts it out of the queſtion); that compreſſion of materials, which is luminous; that brevity which appropriates facts to their deſtined points, are alike inconſiſtent with the principles that govern all compilations; there are able and reſpectable men now in every country for compiling; experimenters of genius ſhould range themſelves in another claſs. If I were a ſovereign, and capable conſequently of rewarding merit, the moment I heard of a man of real genius engaged in ſuch a work, I would give him double the bookſeller's price to let it alone, and to employ himſelf in paths that did not admit a rival at every door. There are who will think that this opinion comes oddly from one who has publiſhed ſo many books as I have; but I hope it will be admitted, to come naturally at leaſt from one who is writing a work from which he does not expect to make one penny, who, therefore, has ſtronger motives to brevity than temptations to prolixity. The view of this great chymiſt's laboratory will ſhew that he is not idle:—it conſiſts of two large rooms, admirably furniſhed indeed. There are ſix or ſeven different furnaces (of which Macquer's is the moſt powerful), and ſuch a variety and extent of apparatus, as I have ſeen no where elſe, with a furniture of ſpecimens from the three kingdoms, as looks truly like buſineſs. There are little writing deſks, with pens and paper, ſcattered every where, and in his library alſo, which is convenient. He has a large courſe of eudiometrical experiments going on at preſent, particularly with Fontana's and Volta's eudiometers. He ſeems to think, that eudiometrical trials are to be depended on: keeps his nitrous air in quart bottles, ſtopped with common corks, but reverſed; and that the air is always the ſame, if made from the ſame materials. A very ſimple and elegant method of aſcertaining the proportion of vital air, he explained to us, by making the experiment; putting a morſel of phoſphorus into a glaſs retort, confined by water or mercury, and inflaming it, by holding a bougie under it. The diminution of air marks the quantity that was vital on the antiphlogiſtic doctrine. After one extinction, it will boil, but not in flame. He has a pair of ſcales made at Paris, which, when loaded with 3000 grains, will turn with the twentieth part of one grain; an air pump, with glaſs barrels, but one of them broken and repaired; the count de Buffon's ſyſtem of burning lens; an abſorber; a reſpirator, with vital air in a jar on one ſide, and lime-water in another; and abundance of new and moſt ingenious inventions for facilitating enquiries in the new philoſophy of air. Theſe are ſo various, and at the ſame time ſo well contrived to anſwer the purpoſe intended, that this ſpecies of invention ſeems to be one very great and eſſential part of Monſ. de Morveau's merit; I wiſh he would follow Dr. Prieſtley's idea of *publiſhing his tools*, it would add not inconſiderably to his great and well earned reputation, and at the ſame time promote the enquiries he engages in amongſt all other experimenters. M. de Morveau had the goodneſs to accompany me in the afternoon to the academy of ſciences: they have a very handſome ſalon, ornamented with the buſts of Dijon worthies; of ſuch eminent men as this city has produced, Boſſuet—Fevret—De Broſſes—De Crebillon—Pyron—Bonhier—Rameau—and laſtly, Buffon; and ſome future traveller will doubtleſs ſee here, that of a man inferior to none of theſe, Monſ. de Morveau, by whom I had now the honour of being conducted. In the evening we repaired again to Madame Picardet, and accompanied her promenade: I was pleaſed, in converſation on the preſent diſturbances of France, to hear Monſ. de Morveau remark, that the outrages committed by the peaſants aroſe from their defects of *lumieres*. In Dijon it had been publicly recommended to the *curées* to enlighten them ſomewhat politically in their ſermons, but all in vain, not one would go out of the uſual routine of his preaching.—*Quere*, Would not one newſpaper enlighten them more than a ſcore of prieſts? I aſked Monſ. de Morveau, how far it was true that the chateaus had been plundered and burnt by the peaſants alone; or whether by thoſe troops of *brigands*, reported to be formidable? He aſſured me, that he has made ſtrict enquiries to aſcertain this matter, and is of opinion, that all the violences in this province, that have come to his knowledge, have been committed by the peaſants only; much has been reported of *brigands*, but nothing proved. At Beſançon I heard of 800; but how could a troop of 800 banditti march through a country, and leave their exiſtence the leaſt queſtionable?—as ridiculous as Mr. Bayes's army *incog*.

The 2d. To Beaune; a range of hills to the right under vines, and a flat plain to the left, all open, and too naked. At the little inſignificant town of Nuys, forty men mount guard every day, and a large corps at Beaune. I am provided with a paſſport from the mayor of Dijon, and a flaming cockade of the *tiers etat*, and therefore hope to avoid difficulties; though the reports of the riots of the peaſants are ſo formidable, that it ſeems impoſſible to travel in ſafety. Stop at Nuys for intelligence concerning the vineyards of this country, ſo famous in France, and indeed in all Europe; and examine the *Clos de Veaugeau*, of 100 *journaux*, walled in, and belonging to a convent of Bernardine Monks.—When are we to find theſe fellows chuſing badly? The ſpots they appropriate ſhew what a righteous attention they give to things of the ſpirit.——22 miles.

The 3d. Going out of Chagnie, where I quitted the great Lyons road, paſs by the canal of Chaulais, which goes on very poorly; it is a truly uſeful undertaking, and therefore left undone; had it been for boring cannon, or coppering men of war, it would have been finiſhed long ago. To Montcenis a diſagreeable country; ſingular in its features. It is the ſeat of one Monſ. *Weelkainſong's* eſtabliſhments for caſting and boring cannon: I have already deſcribed one near Nantes. The French ſay, that this active Engliſhman is brother-in-law of Dr. Prieſtley, and therefore a friend of mankind; and that he taught them to bore cannon, in order to give liberty to America. The eſtabliſhment is very conſiderable; there are from 500 to 600 men employed, beſides colliers; five ſteam engines are erected for giving the blaſts, and for boring; and a new one building. I converſed with an Engliſhman who works in the glaſs-houſe, in the cryſtal branch; there were once many, but only two are left at preſent: he complained of the country, ſaying there was nothing good in it but wine and brandy; of which things I queſtion not but he makes a ſufficient uſe.——25 miles.

The 4th. By a miſerable country moſt of the way, and through hideous roads to Autun. The firſt ſeven or eight miles the agriculture quite contemptible. From thence to Autun all, or nearly all, incloſed, and the firſt ſo for many miles. From the hill before Autun an immenſe view down on that town, and the flat country of the Bourbonnois for a great extent.—View at Autun the temple of Janus—the walls—the cathedral—the abbey. The reports here of *brigands*, and burning and plundering, are as numerous as before; and when it was known in the inn that I came from Burgundy and Franche Compté, I had eight or ten people introducing themſelves, in order to aſk for news. The rumour of *brigands* here had got to 1600 ſtrong. They were much ſurprized to find, that I gave no credit to the exiſtencee of *brigands*, as I was well perſuaded, that all the outrages that had been committed, were the work of the peaſants only, for the ſake of plundering. This they had no conception of, and quoted a liſt of chateaus burnt by them; but on analyſing theſe reports, they plainly appeared to be ill founded.——20 miles.

The 5th. The extreme heat of yeſterday made me feveriſh; and this morning I waked with a ſore throat. I was inclined to waſte a day here for the ſecurity of my health; but we are all fools in trifling with the things moſt valuable to us. Loſs of time, and vain expence, are always in the head of a man who travels as much *en philoſophe* as I am forced to do. To Maiſon de Bourgogne, I thought myſelf in a new world; the road is not only excellent, of gravel, but the country is incloſed and wooded. There are many gentle inequalities, and ſeveral ponds that decorate them. The weather, ſince the commencement of Auguſt, has been clear, bright, and burning; too hot to be perfectly agreeable in the middle of the day, but no flies, and therefore I do not regard the heat. This circumſtance may, I think, be fixed on as the teſt. In Languedoc, &c. theſe heats, as I have experienced, are attended by myriads, and conſequently they are tormenting. One had need be ſick at this *Maiſon de Bourgogne*; a healthy ſtomach would not be eaſily filled; yet it is the poſt-houſe. In the evening to Luſy, another miſerable poſt-houſe. Note, through all Burgundy the women wear flapped men's hats, which have not nearly ſo good an effect as the ſtraw ones of Alſace.——22 miles.

The 6th. To eſcape the heat, out at four in the morning, to Bourbon Lancy, through the ſame country incloſed, but villainouſly cultivated, and all amazingingly improveable. If I had a large tract in this country, I think I ſhould not be long in making a fortune; climate, prices, roads, incloſures, and every advantage, except government. All from Autun to the Loire is a noble field for improvement, not by expenſive operations of manuring and draining, but merely by ſubſtituting crops adapted to the ſoil. When I ſee ſuch a country thus managed, and in the hands of ſtarving *metayers*, inſtead of fat farmers, I know not how to pity the ſeigneurs, great as their preſent ſufferings are. I met one of them, to whom I opened my mind:—he pretended to talk of agriculture, finding I attended to it; and aſſured me, that he had Abbé Roziere's *corps complete*, and he believed, from his accounts, that this country would not do for any thing but rye. I aſked him, whether he or Abbé Roziere knew the right end of a plough? He aſſured me, that he was *un homme de grand merite, beaucoup d'agriculteur*. Croſs the Loire by a ferry; it is here the ſame naſty ſcene of ſhingle, as in Touraine. Enter the Bourbonnois; the ſame incloſed country, and a beautiful gravel road. At *Chavanne le Roi*, Monſ. Joly, the *aubergiſte*, informed me of three domains (farms) to be ſold, adjoining almoſt to his houſe, which is new and well built. I was for appropriating his inn at once in my imagination for a farm-houſe, and had got hard at work on turnips and clover, when he told me, that if I would walk behind his ſtable, I might ſee, at a ſmall diſtance, two of the houſes; he ſaid the price would be about 50 or 60,000 liv. (2,625l.), and would altogether make a noble farm. If I were twenty years younger, I ſhould think ſeriouſly of ſuch a ſpeculation; but there again is the folly and deficiency of life; twenty years ago, ſuch a thing would, for want of experience, have been my ruin; and, now I have the experience, I am too old for the undertaking.——27 miles.

The 7th. Moulins appears to be but a poor ill built town. I went to the *Belle Image*, but found it ſo bad, that I left it, and went to the *Lyon d'Or*, which is worſe. This capital of the Bourbonnois, and on the great poſt road to Italy, has not an inn equal to the little village of Chavanne. To read the papers, I went to the coffee-houſe of Madame Bourgeau, the beſt in the town, where I found near twenty tables ſet for company, but, as to a newſpaper, I might have as well have demanded an elephant. Here is a feature of national backwardneſs, ignorance, ſtupidity, and poverty! In the capital of a great province, the ſeat of an intendant, at a moment like the preſent, with a National Aſſembly voting a revolution, and not a newſpaper to inform the people whether Fayette, Mirabeau, or Louis XVI. is on the throne. Companies at a coffee-houſe, numerous enough to fill twenty tables, and curioſity not active enough to command one paper. What impudence and folly!—Folly in the cuſtomers of ſuch a houſe not to inſiſt on half a dozen papers, and all the journals of the aſſembly; and impudence of the woman not to provide them! Could ſuch a people as this ever have made a revolution, or become free? Never, in a thouſand centuries: The enlightened mob of Paris, amidſt hundreds of papers and publications, have done the whole. I demanded why they had no papers? *They are too dear*; but ſhe made me pay 24*ſ.* for one diſh of coffee, with milk, and a piece of butter about the ſize of a walnut. It is a great pity there is not a camp of *brigands* in your coffee-room, Madame Bourgeau. Among the many letters for which I am indebted to Monſ. Brouſſonet, few have proved more valuable than one I had for Monſ. l'Abbé de Barnt, principal of the college of Moulins, who entered with intelligence and animation into the object of my journey, and took every ſtep that was poſſible to get me well informed. He carried me to Monſ. le count de Grimau, lieutenant general of the Balliage, and director of the ſociety of agriculture at Moulins, who kept us to dinner. He appears to be a man of conſiderable fortune, of information, and knowledge, agreeable and polite. He diſcourſed with me on the ſtate of the Bourbonnois; and aſſured me, that eſtates were rather given away than ſold: that the *metayers* were ſo miſerably poor, it was impoſſible for them to cultivate well. I ſtarted ſome obſervations on the modes which ought to be purſued; but all converſation of that ſort is time loſt in France. After dinner, M. Grimau carried me to his villa, at a ſmall diſtance from the town, which is very prettily ſituated, commanding a view of the vale of the Allier. Letters from Paris, which contain nothing but accounts truly alarming, of the violences committed all over the kingdom, and particularly at and in the neighbourhood of the capital. M. Necker's return, which it was expected would have calmed every thing, has no effect at all; and it is particularly noted in the National Aſſembly, that there is a violent party evidently bent on driving things to extremity: men who, from the violence and conflicts of the moment, find themſelves in a poſition, and of an importance that reſults merely from public confuſion, will take effectual care to prevent the ſettlement, order, and peace, which, if eſtabliſhed, would be a mortal blow to their conſequence: they mount by the ſtorm, and would ſink in a calm. Among other perſons to whom Monſ. l'Abbé Barnt introduced me, was the marquis de Goutte, *chef d'eſcadre* of the French fleet, who was taken by admiral Boſcawen at Louiſbourg, in 1758, and carried to England, where he learned Engliſh, of which he yet retains ſomething. I had mentioned to Monſ. l'Abbé Barnt, that I had a commiſſion from a perſon of fortune in England, to look out for a good purchaſe in France; and knowing that the marquis would ſell one of his eſtates, he mentioned it to him. Monſ. de Goutte gave me ſuch a deſcription of it, that I thought, though my time was ſhort, that it would be very well worth beſtowing one day to view it, as it was no more than eight miles from Moulins, and, propoſing to take me to it the next day in his coach, I readily conſented. At the time appointed, I attended the marquis, with M. l'Abbé Barnt, to his chateau of Riaux, which is in the midſt of the eſtate he would ſell on ſuch terms, that I never was more tempted to ſpeculate: I have very little doubt but that the perſon who gave me a commiſſion to look out for a purchaſe, is long ſince ſickened of the ſcheme, which was that of a reſidence for pleaſure, by the diſturbances that have broken out here: ſo that I ſhould clearly have the refuſal of it myſelf. It would be upon the whole a more beneficial purchaſe than I had any conception of, and confirms Monſ. de Grimau's aſſertion, that eſtates here are rather given away than ſold. The chateau is large and very well built, containing two good rooms, either of which would hold a company of thirty people, with three ſmaller ones on the ground floor; on the ſecond ten bedchambers, and over them good garrets, ſome of which are well fitted up; all ſorts of offices ſubſtantially erected, and on a plan proportioned to a large family, including barns new built, for holding half the corn of the eſtate in the ſtraw, and granaries to contain it when threſhed. Alſo a wine preſs and ample cellaring, for keeping the produce of the vineyards in the moſt plentiful years. The ſituation is on the ſide of an agreeable riſing, with views not extenſive, but pleaſing, and all the country round of the ſame features I have deſcribed, being one of the fineſt provinces in France. Adjoining the chateau is a field of five or ſix arpents, well walled in, about half of which is in culture as a garden, and thoroughly planted with all ſorts of fruits. There are twelve ponds, through which a ſmall ſtream runs, ſufficient to turn two mills, that let at 1000 liv. (43l. 15s.) a-year. The ponds ſupply the proprietor's table amply with fine carp, tench, perch, and eels; and yield beſides a regular revenue of 1000 liv. There are 20 arpents of vines that yield excellent white and red wine, with houſes for the vignerons; woods more than ſufficient to ſupply the chateau with fuel; and laſtly, nine domains or farms let to *metayers*, tenants at will, at half produce, producing, in caſh, 10,500 liv. (459l. 7s. 6d.) conſequently, the groſs produce, farms, mills, and fiſh, is 12,500 liv. The quantity of land, I conjecture from viewing it, as well as from notes taken, may be above 3000 arpents or acres, lying all contiguous and near the chateau. The outgoings for thoſe taxes paid by the landlord; repairs, *guard de chaſſe*, game-keeper (for here are all the ſeigneural rights, *haut juſtice*, &c.), ſteward, expences on wine, &c. amount to about 4400 liv. (192l. 10s.) It yields therefore net ſomething more than 800 liv. (350l.) a year. The price aſked is 300,000 liv. (13,125l.); but for this price is given in the furniture complete of the chateau, all the timber, amounting, by valuation of oak only, to 40,000 liv. (1750l.) and all the cattle on the eſtate, viz. 1000 ſheep, 60 cows, 72 oxen, 9 mares, and many hogs. Knowing, as I did, that I could, on the ſecurity of this eſtate, borrow the whole of the purchaſe-money, I withſtood no trifling temptation when I turned my back on it. The fineſt climate in France, perhaps in Europe; a beautiful and healthy country; excellent roads; a navigation to Paris; wine, game, fiſh, and every thing that ever appears on a table, except the produce of the tropics; a good houſe, a fine garden, ready markets for every ſort of produce; and, above all the reſt, 3000 acres of incloſed land, capable in a very little time of being, without expence, quadrupled in its produce, altogether formed a picture ſufficient to tempt a man who had been five-and-twenty years in the conſtant practice of the huſbandry adapted to this ſoil. But the ſtate of government—the poſſibility that the leaders of the Paris democracy might in their wiſdom aboliſh property as well as rank; and that in buying an eſtate I might be purchaſing my ſhare in a civil war—deterred me from engaging at preſent, and induced me only to requeſt that the marquis would give me the refuſal of it, before he ſold it to any body elſe. When I have to connect with a perſon for a purchaſe, I ſhall wiſh to deal with ſuch an one as the marquis de Goutte. He has a phyſiognomy that pleaſes me; the eaſe and politeneſs of his nation is mixed with great probity and honour; and is not rendered leſs amiable by an appearance of dignity that flows from an ancient and reſpectable family. To me he ſeems a man in whom one might, in any tranſaction, place implicit confidence. I could have ſpent a month in the Bourbonnois, looking at eſtates to be ſold; adjoining to that of M. de Goutte's is another of 270,000 liv. purchaſe, Ballain; Monſ. l'Abbé Barnt having made an appointment with the proprietor, carried me in the afternoon to ſee the chateau and a part of the lands; all the country is the ſame ſoil, and in the ſame management. It conſiſts of eight farms, ſtocked with cattle and ſheep by the landlord; and here too the ponds yield a regular revenue. Income at preſent 10,000 liv. (437l. 10s.) a year; price 260,000 liv. (11,375l.) and 10,000 liv. for wood—twenty-five years purchaſe. Alſo near St. Poncin another of 400,000 liv. (17,500l.), the woods of which, 450 acres, produce 5000 liv. a year; 80 acres of vines, the wine ſo good as to be ſent to Paris; good land for wheat, and much ſown; a modern chateau, *avec toutes les aiſances*, &c.

And I heard of many others. I conjecture that one of the fineſt contiguous eſtates in Europe might at preſent be laid together in the Bourbonnois. And I am further informed, that there are at preſent 6000 eſtates to be ſold in France; if things go on as they do at preſent, it will not be a queſtion of buying eſtates, but kingdoms, and France itſelf will be under the hammer. I love a ſyſtem of policy that inſpires ſuch confidence as to give a value to land, and that renders men ſo comfortable on their eſtates as to make the ſale of them the laſt of their ideas. Return to Moulins.——30 miles.

The 10th. Took my leave of Moulins, where eſtates and farming have driven even Maria and the poplar from my head, and left me no room for the tombeau de Montmorenci; having paid extravagantly for the mud walls, cobweb tapeſtry, and unſavoury ſcents of the *Lyon d'Or* I turned my mare towards Chateauneuf, on the road to Auvergne. The accompanyment of the river makes the country pleaſant. I found the inn full, buſy, and buſtling. Monſeigneur, the biſhop, coming to the fete of St. Laurence, patron of the pariſh here, aſking for the *commodité*, I was deſired to walk into the garden. This has happened twice or thrice to me in France; I did not before find out that they were ſuch good cultivators in this country; I am not well made for diſpenſing this ſort of fertility; but my lord the biſhop and thirty fat prieſts will, after a dinner that has employed all the cooks of the vicinity, doubtleſs coutribute amply to the amelioration of the lettuces and onions of Monſ. le Maitre de la Poſte. To St. Poncin.——30 miles.

The 11th. Early to Riom, in Auvergne. Near that town the country is intereſting; a fine wooded vale to the left, every where bounded by mountains; and thoſe nearer to the right of an intereſting outline. Riom, part of which is pretty enough, is all volcanic; it is built of lava from the quarries of volvic, which are highly curious to a naturaliſt. The level plain, which I paſſed in going to Clermont, is the commencement of the famous Limagne of Auvergne, aſſerted to be the moſt fertile of all France; but that is an error, I have ſeen richer land in both Flanders and Normandy. This plain is as level as a ſtill lake; the mountains are all volcanic, and conſequently intereſting.—Paſs a ſcene of very fine irrigation, that will ſtrike a farming eye, to Mont Ferrand, and after that to Clermont. Riom, Ferrand, and Clermont, are all built, or rather perched, on the tops of rocks. Clermont is in the midſt of a moſt curious country, all volcanic; and is built and paved with lava: much of it forms one of the worſt built, dirtieſt, and moſt ſtinking places I have met with. There are many ſtreets that can, for blackneſs, dirt, and ill ſcents, only be repreſented by narrow channels cut in a night dunghill. The contention of nauſeous ſavours, with which the air is impregnated, when briſk mountain gales do not ventilate theſe excrementitious lanes, made me envy the nerves of the good people, who, for what I know, may be happy in them. It is the fair, the town full, and the table d'hôtes crouded.——25 miles.

The 12th. Clermont is partly free from the reproach I threw on Moulins and Beſançon, for there is a *ſalle a lecture* at a Monſ. Bovares, a bookſeller, where I found ſeveral newſpapers and journals; but at the coffee-houſe, I enquired for them in vain:—they tell me alſo, that the people here are great politicians, and attend the arrival of the courier with impatience. The conſequence is, there have been no riots; the moſt ignorant will always be the readieſt for miſchief. The great news juſt arrived from Paris, of the utter abolition of tythes, feudal rights, game, warrens, pidgeons, &c. has been received with the greateſt joy by the maſs of the people, and by all not immediately intereſted; and ſome even of the latter approve highly of the declaration: but I have had much converſation with two or three very ſenſible people, who complain bitterly of the groſs injuſtice and cruelty of any ſuch declarations of what will be done, but is not effected and regulated at the moment of declaring. Monſ. l'Abbé Arbre, to whom Monſ. de Brouſſonet's letter introduced me, had the goodneſs not only to give me all the information relative to the curious country around Clermont, which particularly depended on his enquiries as a naturaliſt, but alſo introduced me to Monſ. Chabrol, as a gentleman who has attended much to agriculture, and who anſwered my enquiries in that line with great readineſs.

The 13th. At Roya, near Clermont, a village in the volcanic mountains, which are ſo curious, and of late years ſo celebrated, are ſome ſprings, reported by philoſophical travellers to be the fineſt and moſt abundant in France; to view theſe objects, and more ſtill, a very fine irrigation, ſaid alſo to be practiſed there, I engaged a guide. Report, when it ſpeaks of things of which the reporter is ignorant, is ſure to magnify; the irrigation is nothing more than a mountain ſide converted by water to ſome tolerable meadow, but done coarſely, and not well underſtood. That in the vale, between Riom and Ferrand, far exceeds it. The ſprings are curious and powerful: they guſh, or rather burſt from the rock, in four or five ſtreams, each powerful enough to turn a mill, into a cave a little below the village. About half a league higher there are many others; they are indeed ſo numerous, that ſcarcely a projection of the rocks or hills is without them. At the village, I found that my guide, inſtead of knowing the country perfectly, was in reality ignorant; I therefore took a woman to conduct me to the ſprings higher up the mountain; on my return, ſhe was arreſted by a ſoldier of the *guarde bourgeois* (for even this wretched village is not without its national militia), for having, without permiſſion, become the guide of a ſtranger. She was conducted to a heap of ſtones, they call the chateau. They told me they had nothing to do with me;

but

but as to the woman, ſhe ſhould be taught more prudence for the future: as the poor devil was in jeopardy on my account, I determined at once to accompany them for the chance of getting her cleared, by atteſting her innocence. We were followed by a mob of all the village, with the woman's children crying bitterly, for fear their mother ſhould be impriſoned. At the caſtle, we waited ſome time, and were then ſhewn into another apartment, where the town committee was aſſembled; the accuſation was heard; and it was wiſely remarked by all, that, in ſuch dangerous times as theſe, when all the world knew that ſo great and powerful a perſon as the Queen was conſpiring againſt France in the moſt alarming manner, for a woman to become the conducter of a ſtranger—and of a ſtranger who had been making ſo many ſuſpicious enquiries as I had, was a high offence. It was immediately agreed, that ſhe ought to be impriſoned. I aſſured them ſhe was perfectly innocent; for it was impoſſible that any guilty motive ſhould be her inducement; finding me curious to ſee the ſprings, having viewed the lower ones, and wanting a guide for ſeeing thoſe higher in the mountain, ſhe offered herſelf: that ſhe certainly had no other than the induſtrious view of getting a few *ſols* for her poor family. They then turned their enquiries againſt myſelf, that if I wanted to ſee ſprings only, what induced me to aſk a multitude of queſtions concerning the price, value, and product of the lands? What had ſuch enquiries to do with ſprings and volcanoes? I told them, that cultivating ſome land in England, rendered ſuch things intereſting to me perſonally: and laſtly, that if they would ſend to Clermont, they might know, from ſeveral reſpectable perſons, the truth of all I aſſerted; and therefore I hoped, as it was the woman's firſt indiſcretion, for I could not call it offence, they would diſmiſs her. This was refuſed at firſt, but aſſented to at laſt, on my declaring, that if they impriſoned her, they ſhould do the ſame by me, and anſwer it as they could. They conſented to let her go, with a reprimand, and I departed; *not* marvelling, for I have done with that, at their ignorance, in imagining that the Queen ſhould conſpire ſo dangerouſly againſt their rocks and mountains. I found my guide in the midſt of the mob, who had been very buſy in putting as many queſtions about me, as I had done about their crops.—There were two opinions, one party thought I was a *commiſſaire*, come to aſcertain the damage done by the hail: the other, that I was an agent of the Queen's, who intended to blow the town up with a mine, and ſend all that eſcaped to the gallies. The care that muſt have been taken to render the character of that princeſs deteſted among the people, is incredible; and there ſeems every where to be no abſurdities too groſs, nor circumſtances too impoſſible for their faith. In the evening to the theatre, the *Optimiſt* well acted. Before I leave Clermont, I muſt remark, that I dined, or ſupped, five times at the table d'hôte, with from twenty to thirty merchants and tradeſmen, officers, &c.; and it is not eaſy for me to expreſs the inſignificance,—the inanity of the converſation. Scarcely any politics, at a moment when every boſom ought to beat with none but political ſenſations. The ignorance or the ſtupidity of theſe people muſt be abſolutely incredible; not a week paſſes without their country abounding with events that are analyzed and debated by the carpenters and blackſmiths of England. The abolition of tythes, the deſtruction of the *gabelle*, game made property, and feudal rights deſtroyed, are French topics, that are tranſlated into Engliſh within ſix days after they happen, and their conſequences, combinations, reſults, and modifications, become the diſquiſition and entertainment of the grocers, chandlers, drapers, and ſhoemakers, of all the towns of England; yet the ſame people in France do not think them worth their converſation, except in private. Why? becauſe converſation in private wants little knowledge; but in public, it demands more, and therefore I ſuppoſe, for I confeſs there are a thouſand difficulties attending the ſolution, they are ſilent. But how many people, and how many ſubjects, on which volubility is proportioned to ignorance? Account for the fact as you pleaſe, but it is confirmed with me, and admits no doubt.

The 14th. To Izoire, the country all intereſting, from the number of conic mountains that riſe in every quarter; ſome are crowned with towns;—on others are Roman caſtles, and the knowledge that the whole is the work of ſubterranean fire, though in ages far too remote for any record to announce, keeps the attention perpetually alive. Monſ. de l'Arbre had given me a letter to Monſ. Brés, doctor of phyſic, at Izoire: I found him, with all the townſmen, collected at the *hotel de ville*, to hear a newſpaper read. He conducted me to the upper end of the room, and ſeated me by himſelf: the ſubject of the paper was the ſuppreſſion of the religious houſes, and the commutation of tythes. I obſerved that the auditors, among whom were ſome of the lower claſs, were very attentive; and the whole company ſeemed well pleaſed with whatever concerned the tythes and the monks. Monſ. Brés, who is a ſenſible and intelligent gentleman, walked with me to his farm, about half a league from the town, on a ſoil of ſuperior richneſs; like all other farms, this is in the hands of a *metayer*. Supped at his houſe afterwards, in an agreeable company, with much animated political converſation. We diſcuſſed the news of the day; they were inclined to approve of it very warmly; but I contended, that the National Aſſembly did not proceed on any regular well digeſted ſyſtem: that they ſeemed to have a rage for pulling down, but no taſte for rebuilding: that if they proceeded much further in ſuch a plan, deſtroying every thing, but eſtabliſhing nothing, they would at laſt bring the kingdom into ſuch confuſion, that they would even themſelves be without power to reſtore it to peace and order; and that ſuch a ſituation would, in its nature, be on the brink of the precipice of bankruptcy and civil war.—I ventured further, to declare it as my idea, that without an upper houſe, they never could have either a good or a durable conſtitution. We had a difference of opinion on theſe points; but I was glad to find, that there could be a fair diſcuſſion,—and that, in a company of ſix or ſeven gentlemen, two would venture to agree with a ſyſtem ſo unfaſhionable as mine.——17 miles.

The 15th. The country continues intereſting to Brioud. On the tops of the mountains of Auvergne are many old caſtles, and towns, and villages. Paſs the river, by a bridge of one great arch, to the village of Lampdes. At that place, wait on Monſ. Greyffier de Talairat, *avocat* and *ſubdelegé*, to whom I had a letter; and who was ſo obliging as to anſwer, with attention, all my enquiries into the agriculture of the neighbourhood. He enquired much after lord Briſtol; and was not the worſt pleaſed with me, when he heard that I came from the ſame province in England. We drank his lordſhip's health, in the ſtrong white wine, kept four years in the ſun, which lord Briſtol had much commended. ——18 miles.

The 16th. Early in the morning, to avoid the heat, which has rather incommoded me, to Fix. Croſs the river by a ford, near the ſpot where a bridge is building, and mount gradually into a country, which continues intereſting to a naturaliſt, from its volcanic origin; for all has been either overturned, or formed by fire. Paſs Chomet; and, deſcending, remark a heap of baſaltic columns by the road, to the right; they are ſmall, but regular ſexagons. Poulaget appears in the plain to the left. Stopped at St. George, where I procured mules, and a guide, to ſee the baſaltic columns at Chilliac, which, however, are hardly ſtriking enough to reward the trouble. At Fix, I ſaw a field of fine clover; a ſight that I have not been regaled with, I think, ſince Alſace. I deſired to know to whom it belonged? to Monſ. Coffier, doctor of medicine. I went to his houſe to make enquiries, which he was obliging enough to gratify, and indulged me in a walk over the principal part of his farm. He gave me a bottle of excellent *vin blanc mouſſeux*, made in Auvergne. I enquired of him the means of going to the mine of antimony, four leagues from hence; but he ſaid the country was ſo *enragè* in that part, and had lately been miſchievous, that he adviſed me by all means to give up the project. This country, from climate, as well as pines, muſt be very high. I have been for three days paſt melted with heat; but to day, though the ſun is bright, the heat has been quite moderate, like an Engliſh ſummer's day, and I am aſſured that they never have it hotter; but complain of the winter's cold being very ſevere,—and that the ſnow in the laſt was ſixteen inches deep on the level. The intereſting circumſtance of the whole is the volcanic origin: all buildings and walls are of lava: the roads are mended with lava, pozzolana, and baſaltes; and the face of the country every where exhibits the origin in ſubterranean fire. The fertility, however, is not apparent, without reflection. The crops are not extraordinary, and many bad; but then the height is to be conſidered. In no other country that I have ſeen are ſuch great mountains as theſe, cultivated ſo high; here corn is ſeen every where, even to their tops, at heights where it is uſual to find rock, wood, or ling *(erica vulgaris)*.—42 miles.

The 17th. The whole range of the fifteen miles to Le Puy en Velay, is wonderfully intereſting. Nature, in the production of this country, ſuch as we ſee it at preſent, muſt have proceeded by means not common elſewhere. It is all in its form tempeſtuous as the billowy ocean. Mountain riſes beyond mountain, with endleſs variety: not dark and dreary, like thoſe of equal height in other countries, but ſpread with cultivation (feeble indeed) to the very tops. Some vales ſunk among them, of beautiful verdure, pleaſe the eye. Towards Le Puy the ſcenery is ſtill more ſtriking, from the addition of ſome of the moſt ſingular rocks any where to be ſeen. The caſtle of Polignac, from which the duke takes his title, is built on a bold and enormous one; it is almoſt of a cubical form, and towers perpendicularly above the town, which ſurrounds it at its foot. The family of Polignac claim an origin of great antiquity; they have pretenſions that go back, I forget whether to Hector or Achilles; but I never found any one in converſation inclined to allow them more than being in the firſt claſs of French families, which they undoubtedly are. Perhaps there is no where to be met with a caſtle more formed to give a *local* pride of family than this of Polignac: the man hardly exiſts that would not feel a certain vanity, at having given his own name, from remote antiquity, to ſo ſingular and ſo commanding a rock; but if, with the name, it belonged to me, I would ſcarcely ſell it for a province. The building is of ſuch antiquity, and the ſituation ſo romantic, that all the feudal ages paſs in review in one's imagination, by a ſort of magic influence; you recognize it for the reſidence of a lordly baron, who, in an age more diſtant and more reſpectable, though perhaps equally barbarous, was the patriot defender of his country againſt the invaſion and tyranny of Rome. In every age, ſince the horrible combuſtions of nature which produced it, ſuch a ſpot would be choſen for ſecurity and defence. To have given one's name to a caſtle, without any lofty pre-eminence or ſingularity of nature, in the midſt, for inſtance, of a rich plain, is not equally flattering to our feelings: all antiquity of family derives from ages of great barbarity, when civil commotions and wars ſwept away and confounded the inhabitants of ſuch ſituations. The Bretons of the plains of England, were driven to Bretagne; but the ſame people, in the mountains of Wales, ſtuck ſecure, and remain there to this day. About a gun-ſhot from Polignac is another rock, not ſo large, but equally remarkable; and in the town of Le Puy, another commanding one riſes to a vaſt height; with another more ſingular for its tower-like form,—on the top of which St. Michael's church is built. Gypſum and lime-ſtone abound; and the whole country is volcanic; the very meadows are on lava: every thing, in a word, is either the product of fire, or has been diſturbed or toſſed about by it. At Le Puy, fair day, and a table d'hôte, with ignorance, as uſual. Many coffee-houſes, and even conſiderable ones, but not a ſingle newſpaper to be found in any.——15 miles.

The 18th. Leaving Puy, the hill which the road mounts on the way to Coſterous, for four or five miles, commands a view of the town far more pictureſque than that of Clermont. The mountain, covered with its conical town, crowned by a vaſt rock, with thoſe of St. Michael and of Polignac, form a moſt ſingular ſcene. The road is a noble one, formed of lava and pozzolana. The adjacent declivities have a ſtrong diſpoſition to run into baſaltic pentagons and ſexagons; the ſtones put up in the road, by way of poſts, are parts of baſaltic columns. The inn at Pradelles, kept by three ſiſters, Pichots, is one of the worſt I have met with in France. Contraction, poverty, dirt, and darkneſs.——20 miles.

The 19th. To Thuytz; pine woods abound; there are ſaw-mills, and with ratchet wheels to bring the tree to the ſaw, without the conſtant attention of a man, as in the Pyrenees; a great improvement. Paſs by a new and beautiful road, along the ſide of immenſe mountains of granite; cheſnut trees ſpread in every quarter, and cover with luxuriance of vegetation rocks apparently ſo naked, that earth ſeems a ſtranger. This beautiful tree is known to delight in volcanic ſoils and ſituations: many are very large; I meaſured one fifteen feet in circumference, at five from the ground; and many are nine to ten feet, and fifty to ſixty high. At Maiſſe the fine road ends, and then a rocky, almoſt natural one for ſome miles; but for half a mile before Thuytz recover the new one again, which is here equal to the fineſt to be ſeen, formed of volcanic materials, forty feet broad, without the leaſt ſtone, a firm and naturally level cemented ſurface. They tell me that 1800 toiſes of it, or about 2¼ miles, coſt 180,000 liv. (8250l.) It conducts, according to cuſtom, to a miſerable inn, but with a large ſtable; and in every reſpect Monſieur Grenadier excels the Demoiſelles Pichots. Here mulberries firſt appear, and with them flies; for this is the firſt day I have been incommoded. At Thuytz I had an object which I ſuppoſed would demand a whole day: it is within four hours ride of the *Montagne de la coup au Colet d'Aiſa*, of which M. Faujas de St. Fond has given a plate, in his *Reſearches ſur les volcanoes eteints*, that ſhews it to be a remarkable object: I began to make enquiries, and arrangements for having a mule and a guide to go thither the next morning; the man and his wife attended me at dinner, and did not ſeem, from the difficulties they raiſed at every moment, to approve my plan: having aſked them ſome queſtions about the price of proviſions, and other things, I ſuppoſe they regarded me with ſuſpicious eyes, and thought that I had no good intentions. I deſired, however, to have the mule—ſome difficulties were made——I muſt have two mules—Very well, get me two. Then returning, a man was not to be had; with freſh expreſſions of ſurpriſe, that I ſhould be eager to ſee mountains that did not concern me. After raiſing freſh difficulties to every thing I ſaid, they at laſt plainly told me, that I ſhould have neither mule nor man; and this with an air that evidently made the caſe hopeleſs. About an hour after, I received a polite meſſage from the marquis Deblou, ſeigneur of the pariſh, who hearing that an inquiſitive Engliſhman was at the inn, enquiring after volcanoes, propoſed the pleaſure of taking a walk with me. I accepted the offer with alacrity, and going directly towards his houſe met him in the road. I explained to him my motives and my difficulties; he ſaid, the people had got ſome abſurd ſuſpicions of me from my queſtions, and that the preſent time was ſo dangerous and critical to all travellers, that he would adviſe me by no means to think of any ſuch excurſions from the great road, unleſs I found much readineſs in the people to conduct me: that at any other moment than the preſent, he ſhould be happy to do it himſelf, but that at preſent it was impoſſible for any perſon to be too cautious. There was no reſiſting this reaſoning, and yet to loſe the moſt curious volcanic remains in the country, for the crater of the mountain is as diſtinct in the print of Monſ. de St. Fond, as if the lava was now running from it, was a mortifying circumſtance. The marquis then ſhewed me his garden and his chateau, amidſt the mountains; behind it is that of Gravene, which is an extinguiſhed volcano likewiſe, but the crater not diſcernible without difficulty. In converſation with him and another gentleman, on agriculture, particularly the produce of mulberries, they mentioned a ſmall piece of land that produced, by ſilk only, 120 liv. (5l. 5s.) a year, and being contiguous to the road we walked to it. Appearing very ſmall for ſuch a produce, I ſtepped it to aſcertain the contents, and minuted them in my pocket-book. Soon after, growing dark, I took my leave of the gentlemen, and retired to my inn. What I had done had more witneſſes than I dreamt of; for at eleven o'clock at night, a full hour after I had been aſleep, the commander of a file of twenty *milice bourgeois*, with their muſquets, or ſwords, or ſabres, or pikes, entered my chamber, ſurrounded my bed, and demanded my paſſport. A dialogue enſued, too long to minute; I was forced firſt to give them my paſſport, and, that not ſatisfying them, my papers. They told me that I was undoubtedly a conſpirator with the Queen, the count d'Artois, and the count d'Entragues (who has property here), who had employed me as an *arpenteur*, to meaſure their fields, in order to double their taxes. My papers being in Engliſh ſaved me. They had taken it into their heads that I was not an Engliſhman—only a pretended one; for they ſpeak ſuch a jargon themſelves, that their ears were not good enough to diſcover by my language that I was an undoubted foreigner. Their finding no maps, or plans, nor any thing that they could convert by ſuppoſition to a *cadaſtre* of their pariſh, had its effect, as I could ſee by their manner, for they converſed entirely in Patois. Perceiving, however, that they were not ſatisfied, and talked much of the count d'Entragues, I opened a bundle of letters that were ſealed—theſe, gentlemen, are my letters of recommendation to various cities of France and Italy, open which you pleaſe, and you will find, for they are written in French, that I am an honeſt Engliſhman, and not the rogue you take me for. On this they held a freſh conſultation and debate, which ended in my favour; they refuſed to open the letters, prepared to leave me, ſaying, that my numerous queſtions about lands, and meaſuring a field, while I pretended to come after volcanoes, had raiſed great ſuſpicions, which they obſerved were natural at a time when it was known to a certainty that the Queen, the count d'Artois, and the count d'Entragues were in a conſpiracy againſt the Vivarais. And thus, to my entire ſatisfaction, they wiſhed me good night, and left me to the bugs, which ſwarmed in the bed like flies in a honey-pot. I had a narrow eſcape—it would have been a delicate ſituation to have been kept priſoner probably in ſome common goal, or, if not, guarded at my own expence, while they ſent a courier to Paris for orders, and me to pay the piper.——20 miles.

The 20th. The ſame impoſing mountain features continue to Villeneuve de Berg. The road, for half a mile, leads under an immenſe maſs of baſaltic lava, run into configurations of various forms, and reſting on regular columns; this vaſt range bulges in the centre into a ſort of promontory. The heighth, form, and figures, and the deciſive volcanic character the whole maſs has taken, render it a moſt intereſting ſpectacle to the learned and unlearned eye. Juſt before Aubenas, miſtaking the road, which is not half finiſhed, I had to turn; it was on the ſlope of the declivity, and very rare that any wall or defence is found againſt the precipices. My French mare has an ill talent of backing too freely when ſhe begins: unfortunately ſhe exerciſed it at a moment of imminent danger, and backed the chaiſe, me, and herſelf down the precipice; by great good luck, there was at the ſpot a ſort of ſhelf of rock, that made the immediate fall not more than five feet direct. I leaped out of the chaiſe in the moment, and fell unhurt: the chaiſe was overthrown and the mare on her ſide, entangled in the harneſs, which kept the carriage from tumbling down a precipice of ſixty feet. Fortunately ſhe lay quietly, for had ſhe ſtruggled both muſt have fallen. I called ſome lime-burners to my aſſiſtance, who were with great difficulty brought to ſubmit to directions, and not each purſue his own idea to the certain precipitation of both mare and chaiſe. We extricated her unhurt, ſecured the chaiſe, and, then with ſtill greater difficulty, regained the road with both. This was, by far the narroweſt eſcape I have had. A bleſſed country for a broken limb—confinement for ſix weeks or two months at the *Cheval Blanc*, at Aubenas, an inn that would have been purgatory to one of my hogs:—alone,—without relation, friend, or ſervant, and not one perſon in ſixty that ſpeaks French.—Thanks to the good providence that preſerved me! What a ſituation—I ſhudder at the reflection more than I did falling in the jaws of the precipice. Before I got from the place there were ſeven men about me, I gave them a 3 liv. piece to drink, which for ſometime they refuſed to accept, thinking, with unaffected modeſty, that it was too much. At Aubenas repaired the harneſs, and leaving that place viewed the ſilk mills, which are conſiderable. Reach Villeneuve de Berg. I was immediately hunted out by the *milice bourgeoiſe*. *Where is your certificate?* Here again the old objection that my features and perſon were not deſcribed.—*Your papers?* The importance of the caſe, they ſaid, was great: and looked as big as if a marſhal's batton was in hand. They tormented me with an hundred queſtions; and then pronounced that I was a ſuſpicious looking perſon. They could not conceive why a Suffolk farmer could travel into the Vivarais? Never had they heard of any perſon travelling for agriculture! They would take my paſſport to the *hotel de ville*—have the permanent council aſſembled—and place a centinel at my door. I told them they might do what they pleaſed, provided they did not prohibit my dinner, as I was hungry; they then departed. In about half an hour a gentleman-like man, a *Croix de St. Louis* came, aſked me ſome queſtions very politely, and ſeemed not to conclude that Maria Antonietta and Arthur Young were at this moment in any very dangerous conſpiracy. He retired, ſaying, he hoped I ſhould not meet with any difficulties. In another half hour a ſoldier came to conduct me to the *hotel de ville*; where I found the council aſſembled; I had a good many queſtions aſked; and ſome expreſſions of ſurpriſe that an Engliſh farmer ſhould travel ſo far for agriculture—they had never heard of ſuch a thing;—but all was in a polite liberal manner; and though travelling for agriculture was as new to them, as if it had been like the antient philoſopher's tour of the world on a cow's back, and living on the milk,—yet they did not deem any thing in my recital improbable, ſigned my paſſport very readily, aſſured me of every aſſiſtance and civility I might want, and diſmiſſed me with the politeneſs of gentlemen. I deſcribed my treatment at Thuytz, which they loudly condemned. I took this opportunity to beg to know where that Pradel was to be found in this country, of which Oliver de Serres was ſeigneur, the well known French writer on agriculture in the reign of Henry IV. They at once pointed out of the window of the room we were in to the houſe, which in this town belonged to him, and informed me that Pradel was within a league. As this was an object I had noted before I came to France, the information gave me no ſlight ſatisfaction. The mayor, in the courſe of the examination, preſented me to a gentleman who had tranſlated Sterne into French, but who did not ſpeak Engliſh; on my return to the auberge I found that this was Monſ. de Boiſſiere, *avocat general* of the parliament of Grenoble. I did not care to leave the place without knowing ſomething more of one who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his attention to Engliſh literature; and I wrote to him a note, begging permiſſion to have the pleaſure of ſome converſation with a gentlemen who had made our inimitable author ſpeak the language of a people he loved ſo well. Monſ. de Boiſſiere came to me immediately, conducted me to his houſe, introduced me to his lady and ſome friends, and as I was much intereſted concerning Oliver de Serres, he offered to take a walk with me to Pradel. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed that this was too much to my mind to be refuſed, and few evenings have been more agreeably ſpent. I regarded the reſidence of the great parent of French agriculture, and who was undoubtedly one of the firſt writers on the ſubject that had then appeared in the world, with that ſort of veneration, which thoſe only can feel who have addicted themſelves ſtrongly to ſome predominant purſuit, and find it in ſuch moments indulged in its moſt exquiſite feelings. Two hundred years after his exertions, let me do honour to his memory, he was an excellent farmer and a true patriot, and would not have been fixed on by Henry IV. as his chief agent in the great project of introducing the culture of ſilk in France, if he had not poſſeſſed a conſiderable reputation; a reputation well earned, ſince poſterity has confirmed it. The period of his practice is too remote to gain any thing more than a general outline of what may now be ſuppoſed to have been his farm. The baſis of it is limeſtone; there is a great oak wood near the chateau, and many vines, with plenty of mulberries, ſome apparently old enough to have been planted by the hand of the venerable genius that has rendered the ground claſſic. The eſtate of Pradel, which is about 5000 liv. (218l. 15s.) a year, belongs at preſent to the marquis of Mirabel, who inherits it in right of his wife, as the deſcendant of De Serres. I hope it is exempted for ever from all taxes; he whoſe writings laid the foundation for the improvement of a kingdom, ſhould leave to his poſterity ſome marks of his countrymen's gratitude. When the preſent biſhop of Siſteron was ſhewn, like me, the farm of De Serres, he remarked, that the nation ought to erect a ſtatue to his memory. The ſentiment is not without merit, though no more than common ſnuff-box chat; but if this biſhop has a well cultivated farm in his hands it does him honour. Supped with Monſ. and Madame de Boiſſiere, &c. and had the pleaſure of an agreeable and intereſting converſation.——21 miles.

The 21ſt. Monſ. de Boiſſiere, wiſhing to take my advice in the improvement of a farm, which he has taken into his hands, ſix or ſeven miles from Berg, in my road to Viviers, accompanied me thither. I adviſed him to form one well executed and well improved incloſure every year—to finiſh as he advances, and to do well what he attempts to do at all; and I cautioned him againſt the common abuſe of that excellent huſbandry, paring and burning. I ſuſpect, however, that his *homme d'affaire* will be too potent for the Engliſh traveller.—I hope he has received the turnip-ſeed I ſent him. Dine at Viviers, and paſs the Rhone. After the wretched inns of the Vivarais, dirt, filth, bugs, and ſtarving, to arrive at the *hotel de Monſieur*, at Montilimart, a great and excellent inn, was ſomething like the arrival in France from Spain: the contraſt is ſtriking; and I ſeemed to hug myſelf, that I was again in a chriſtian country among the Milors Ninchitreas, and my Ladi Bettis, of Monſ. Chabot.——23 miles.

The 22d. Having a letter to Monſ. Faujas de St. Fond, the celebrated naturaliſt, who has favoured the world with many important works on volcanoes, aeroſtation, and various other branches of natural hiſtory, I had the ſatisfaction, on enquiring, to find that he was at Montilimart; and, waiting on him—to perceive, that a man of diſtinguiſhed merit was handſomely lodged, with every thing about him that indicated an eaſy fortune. He received me with the frank politeneſs inherent in his character; introduced me, on the ſpot, to a Monſ. l'Abbé Berenger, who reſided near his country-ſeat, and was, he ſaid, an excellent cultivator; and likewiſe to another gentleman, whoſe taſte had taken the ſame good direction. In the evening Monſ. Faujas took me to call on a female friend, who was engaged in the ſame enquiries, Madame Cheinet, whoſe huſband is a member of the National Aſſembly; if he has the good luck to find at Verſailles ſome other lady as agreeable as her he has left at Montilimart, his miſſion will not be a barren one; and he may perhaps be better employed than in voting regenerations. This lady accompanied us in a walk for viewing the environs of Montilimart; and it gave me no ſmall pleaſure to find, that ſhe was an excellent farmereſs, practiſes conſiderably, and had the goodneſs to anſwer many of my enquiries, particularly in the culture of ſilk. I was ſo charmed with the *naiveté* of character, and pleaſing converſation of this very agreeable lady, that a longer ſtay here would have been delicious——but the plough!

The 23d. By appointment, accompanied Monſ. Faujas to his country-ſeat and farm at l'Oriol, fifteen miles north of Montilimart, where he is building a good houſe. I was pleaſed to find his farm amount to 280 ſepterés of land: I ſhould have liked it better, had it not been in the hands of a *metayer*. Monſ. Faujas pleaſes me much; the liveline ſs, vivacity, *phlogiſton* of his character, do

not

not run into pertneſs, foppery, or affectation; he adheres ſteadily to a ſubject; and ſhews, that to clear up any dubious point, by the attrition of different ideas in converſation, gives him pleaſure; not through a vain fluency of colloquial powers, but for better underſtanding a ſubject. The next day, Monſ. Abbé Berenger, and another gentleman, paſſed it at Monſ. Faujas': we walked to the Abbé's farm. He is of the good order of beings, and pleaſes me much; *curé* of the pariſh, and preſident of the permanent council. He is at preſent warm on a project of re-uniting the proteſtants to the church; ſpoke, with great pleaſure, of having perſuaded them, on occaſion of the general thankſgiving for the eſtabliſhment of liberty, to return thanks to God, and ſing the *Te Deum* in the catholic church, in common as brethren, which, from confidence in his character, they did. He is firmly perſuaded, that, by both parties giving way a little, and ſoftening or retrenching reciprocally ſomewhat in points that are diſagreeable, they may be brought together. The idea is ſo liberal, that I queſtion it for the multitude, who are never governed by reaſon, but by trifles and ceremonies,—and who are uſually attached to their religion, in proportion to the abſurdities it abounds with. I have not the leaſt doubt but the mob in England would be much more ſcandalized at parting with the creed of St. Athanaſius, than the whole bench of biſhops, whoſe illumination would perhaps reflect correctly that of the throne. Monſ. l'Abbé Berenger has prepared a memorial, which is ready to be preſented to the National Aſſembly, propoſing and explaining this ideal union of the two religions; and he had the plan of adding a clauſe, propoſing that the clergy ſhould have permiſſion to marry. He was convinced, that it would be for the intereſt of morals, and much for that of the nation, that the clergy ſhould not be an inſulated body, but holding by the ſame intereſts and connections as other people. He remarked, that the life of a *curé*, and eſpecially in the country is melancholy; and, knowing my paſſion, obſerved, that a man never could be ſo good a farmer, on any poſſeſſion he might have, excluded from being ſucceeded by his children. He ſhewed me his memoir, and I was pleaſed to find that there is at preſent great harmony between the two religions, owing certainly to ſuch good *curés*. The number of proteſtants is very conſiderable in this neighbourhood. I ſtrenuouſly contended for the inſertion of the clauſe reſpecting marriage; aſſured him, that at ſuch a moment as this, it would do all who were concerned in this memorial the greateſt credit; and that they ought to conſider it as a demand of the rights of humanity, violently, injuriouſly, and, relative to the nation, impolitically, with-held. Yeſterday, in going with Monſ. Faujas, we paſſed a congregation of proteſtants, aſſembled, Druid-like, under five or ſix ſpreading oaks, to offer their thankſgiving ro the great Parent of their happineſs and hope.—In ſuch a climate as this, is it not a worthier temple, built by the great hand they revere,

vere, than one of brick and mortar?—This was one of the richeſt days I have enjoyed in France; we had a long and truly farming dinner; drank a l'Anglois ſucceſs to THE PLOUGH! and had ſo much agricultural converſation, that I wiſhed for my farming friends in Suffolk to partake my ſatisfaction. If Monſ. Faujus de St. Fond comes to England, as he gives me hope, I ſhall introduce him to them with pleaſure. In the evening return to Montilimart.——30 miles.

The 25th. To Chateau Rochemaur, acroſs the Rhone. It is ſituated on a baſaltic rock, nearly perpendicular, with every columnar proof of its volcanic origin. See Monſ. de Faujas' *Recherches*. In the afternoon to Piere Latte, through a country ſteril, unintereſting, and far inferior to the environs of Montilimart.——22 miles.

The 26th. To Orange, the country not much better; a range of mountains to the left: ſee nothing of the Rhone. At that town there are remains of a large Roman building, ſeventy or eighty feet high, called a circus, of a triumphal arch, which, though a good deal decayed, manifeſts, in its remains, no ordinary decoration, and a pavement in the houſe of a poor perſon, which is very perfect and beautiful, but much inferior to that of Niſmes. The *vent de bize* has blown ſtrongly for ſeveral days, with a clear ſky, tempering the heats, which are ſometimes ſultry and oppreſſive; it may, for what I know, be wholeſome to French conſtitutions, but it is diabolical to mine; I found myſelf very indifferent, and as if I was going to be ill, a new and unuſual ſenſation over my whole body: never dreaming of the wind, I knew not what to attribute it to, but my complaint coming at the ſame time, puts it out of doubt; beſides, inſtinct now, much more than reaſon, makes me guard as much as I can againſt it. At four or five in the morning it is ſo cold that no traveller ventures out. It is more penetratingly drying than I had any conception of; other winds ſtop the cutaneous perſpiration; but this piercing through the body ſeems, by its ſenſation, to deſiccate all the interior humidity.——20 miles.

The 27th. To Avignon.—Whether it was becauſe I had read much of this town in the hiſtory of the middle ages, or becauſe it had been the reſidence of the Popes, or more probably from the ſtill more intereſting memoirs which Petrarch has left concerning it, in poems that will laſt as long as Italian elegance and human feelings ſhall exiſt, I know not—but I approached the place with a ſort of intereſt, attention, and expectancy, that few towns have kindled. Laura's tomb, is in the church of the Cordeliers; it is nothing but a ſtone in the pavement, with a figure engraven on it partly effaced, ſurrounded by an inſcription in Gothic letters, and another in the wall adjoining, with the armorial of the family of Sade. How incredible is the power of great talents, when employed in delineating paſſions common to the human race. How many millions of women, fair as Laura, have been beloved as tenderly—but, wanting a

Petrarch to illuſtrate the paſſion, have lived and died in oblivion! whilſt his lines, not written to die, conduct thouſands under the impulſe of feelings, which genius only can excite, to mingle in idea their melancholy ſighs with thoſe of the poet who conſecrated theſe remains to immortality!—There is a monument of the brave Crillon in the ſame church; and I ſaw other churches and pictures—but Petrarch and Laura are predominant at Avignon.——19 miles.

The 28th. Wait upon Pere Brouillony, provincial viſitor, who, with great politeneſs, procured me the information I wiſhed, by introducing me to ſome gentlemen underſtanding in agriculture. From the rock of the legates palace, there is one of the fineſt views of the windings of the Rhone that is to be ſeen: it forms two conſiderable iſlands, which, with the reſt of the plain, richly watered, cultivated, and covered with mulberries, olives, and fruit-trees, have a fine boundary in the mountains of Provence, Dauphiné, and Languedoc.—The circular road fine. I was ſtruck with the reſemblance between the women here and in England. It did not at once occur in what it conſiſted; but it is their caps; they dreſs their heads quite different from the French women. A better particularity, is their being no wooden ſhoes here, nor, as I have ſeen, in Provence *.——I have often complained of the ſtupid ignorance I met with at table d'hôtes. Here, if poſſible, it has been worſe than common. The politeneſs of the French is proverbial, but it never could ariſe from the manners of the claſſes that frequent theſe tables. Not one time in forty will a foreigner, as ſuch, receive the leaſt mark of attention. The only political idea here is, that if the Engliſh ſhould attack France, they have a million of men in arms to receive them; and their ignorance ſeems to know no diſtinction between men in arms in their towns and villages, or in action without the kingdom. They conceive, as Sterne obſerves, much better than they combine: I put ſome queſtions to them, but in vain: I aſked, if the union of a ruſty firelock and a *bourgeois* made a ſoldier?—I aſked them, in which of their wars they had wanted men? I demanded, whether they had ever felt any other want than that of money? And whether the converſion of a million of men, into the bearers of muſquets, would make money more plentiful? I aſked, if perſonal ſervice was not a tax? And whether paying the tax of the ſervice of a million of men increaſed their faculties of paying other and more uſeful taxes? I begged them to inform me, if the regeneration of the kingdom, which had put arms into the hands of a million of mob, had rendered induſtry more productive, internal peace more ſecure, confidence more enlarged, or credit more ſtable? And laſtly, I aſſured them, that ſhould the Engliſh attack them at preſent, they would probably make the weakeſt figure they had done from the foundation of their monarchy: but, gentlemen, the Engliſh, in ſpite of the example you ſet them in the American war, will diſdain ſuch a conduct; they regret the conſtitution you are forming, becauſe they think it a bad one—but whatever you may eſtabliſh, you will have no interruption, but many good wiſhes from your neighbour. It was all in vain; they were well perſuaded their government was the beſt in the world; that it was a monarchy, and no republic, which I contended; and that the Engliſh thought it good, becauſe they would unqueſtionably aboliſh their houſe of lords, in the enjoyment of which accurate idea I left them.—In the evening to Lille, a town which has loſt its name in the world, in the more ſplendid fame of Vaucluſe. There can hardly be met with a richer, or better cultivated ſixteen miles; the irrigation is ſuperb. Lille is moſt agreeably ſituated. On coming to the verge of it I found fine plantations of elms, with delicious ſtreams, bubbling over pebbles on either ſide; well dreſſed people were enjoying the evening at a ſpot, I had conceived to be only a mountain village. It was a ſort of fairy ſcene to me. Now, thought I, how deteſtable to leave all this fine wood and water, and enter a naſty, beggarly, walled, hot, ſtinking town; one of the contraſts moſt offenſive to my feelings. What an agreeable ſurpriſe, to find the inn without the town, in the midſt of the ſcenery I had admired! and more, a good and civil inn. I walked on the banks of this claſſic ſtream for an hour, with the moon gazing on the waters, that will run for ever in mellifluous poetry: retired to ſup on the moſt exquiſite trout and craw fiſh in the world. To-morrow to the famed origin.——16 miles.

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* We were, like you, ſtruck with the reſemblance of the women at Avignon to thoſe of England, but not for the reaſon you give; it appeared to us to originate from their complexions being *naturally* ſo much better than that of the other French women, more than their head-dreſs, which differs as much from ours, as it does from the French: *Note by a female friend.*

The 29th. I am delighted with the environs of Lille; beautiful roads, well planted, ſurround and paſs off in different directions, as if from a capital town, umbrageous enough to form promenades againſt a hot ſun, and the river ſplits and divides into ſo many ſtreams, and is conducted with ſo much attention that it has a delicious effect, eſpecially to an eye that recogniſes all the fertility of irrigation. To the fountain of Vaucluſe, which is juſtly ſaid to be as celebrated almoſt as that of Helicon. Croſſing a plain, which is not ſo beautiful as one's idea of Tempe; the mountain preſents an almoſt perpendicular rock, at the foot of which is an immenſe and very fine cavern, half filled with a pool of ſtagnant, but clear water, this is the famous fountain; at other ſeaſons it fills the whole cavern, and boils over in a vaſt ſtream among rocks; its bed now marked by vegetation. At preſent the water guſhes out 200 yards lower down, from beneath maſſes of rock, and in a very ſmall diſtance forms a conſiderable river,

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which almoſt immediately receives deviations by art for mills and irrigation. On the ſummit of a rock above the village, but much below the mountain, is a ruin, called, by the poor people here, the chateau of Petrarch—who tell you it was inhabited by Monſ. Petrarch and Madame Laura. The ſcene is ſublime; but what renders it truly intereſting to our feelings, is the celebrity which great talents have given it. The power of rocks, and water, and mountains, even in their boldeſt features, to arreſt attention, and fill the boſom with ſenſations that baniſh the inſipid feelings of common life—holds not of inanimate nature. To give energy to ſuch ſenſations, it muſt receive animation from the creative touch of a vivid fancy: deſcribed by the poet, or connected with the reſidence, actions, purſuits, or paſſions of great geniuſſes; it lives, as it were, perſonified by talents, and commands the intereſt that breathes around whatever is conſecrated by fame. To Orgon. Quit the Pope's territory, by croſſing the Durance; there view the ſkeleton of the navigation of Boiſgelin, the work of the archbiſhop of Aix, a noble project, and, where finiſhed, perfectly well executed; a hill is pierced by it for a quarter of a mile, a work that rivals the greateſt ſimilar exertions. It has, however, ſtood ſtill many years for want of money. The *vent de bize* gone, and the heat increaſed, the wind now S. W. my health better to a moment, which proves how pernicious it is, even in Auguſt.——20 miles.

The 30th. I forgot to obſerve that, for a few days paſt, I have been peſtered with all the mob of the country ſhooting: one would think that every ruſty gun in Provence is at work, killing all ſorts of birds; the ſhot has fallen five or ſix times in my chaiſe and about my ears. The National Aſſembly has declared that every man has a right to kill game on his own land; and advancing this maxim ſo abſurd as a declaration, though ſo wiſe as a law, without any ſtatute or proviſion to ſecure the right of the game to the poſſeſſor of the ſoil, according to the tenor of the vote, has, as I am every where informed, filled all the fields of France with ſportſmen to an utter nuiſance. The ſame effects have flowed from declarations of right relative to tythes, taxes, feudal rights, &c. In the declarations, conditions and compenſations are talked of; but an unruly ungovernable multitude ſeize the benefit of the abolition, and laugh at the obligations or recompenſe. Out by day break for Salon, in order to view the Crau, one of the moſt ſingular diſtricts in France for its ſoil, or rather want of ſoil, being apparently a region of ſea flints, yet feeding great herds of ſheep: View the improvement of Monſieur Paſquali, who is doing great things, but roughly: I wiſhed to ſee and converſe with him, but unfortunately he was abſent from Salon. At night to St. Canat.——46 miles.

The 31ſt. To Aix. Many houſes without glaſs windows. The women with men's hats, and no wooden ſhoes. At Aix waited on Monſ. Gibelin, celebrated for his tranſlations of the works of Dr. Prieſtley, and of the Philoſophical Tranſactions. He received me with that eaſy and agreeable politeneſs natural to his character, being apparently a friendly man. He took every method in his power to procure me the information I wanted, and engaged to go with me the next day to Tour D'Aigues to wait on the baron of that name, preſident of the parliament of Aix, to whom alſo I had letters; and whoſe eſſays, in the *Trimeſtres* of the Paris ſociety of agriculture, are among the moſt valuable on rural œconomics in that work.——12 miles.

SEPTEMBER 1ſt. Tour d'Aigues is twenty miles north of Aix, on the other ſide of the Durance, which we croſſed at a ferry. The country about the chateau is bold and hilly, and ſwells in four or five miles into rocky mountains. The preſident received me in a very friendly manner, with a ſimplicity of manners that gives a dignity to his character, void of affectation; he is very fond of agriculture and planting. The afternoon was paſſed in viewing his home-farm, and his noble woods, which are uncommon in this naked province. The chateau of Tour d'Aigues, before much of it was accidentally conſumed by fire, muſt have been one of the moſt conſiderable in France; but at preſent a melancholy ſpectacle is left. The baron is an enormous ſufferer by the revolution; a great extent of country, which belonged in abſolute right to his anceſtors, has been granted for quit rents, *cens*, and other feudal payments, ſo that there is no compariſon between the lands retained and thoſe thus granted by his family. The loſs of the *droits honorifiques* is much more than has been apparent, and is an utter loſs of all influence; it was natural to look for ſome plain and ſimple mode of compenſation; but the declaration of the National Aſſembly allows none; and it is feelingly known in this chateau, that the ſolid payments which the Aſſembly have declared to be *rachetable* are every hour falling to nothing, without a ſhadow of recompenſe. The people are in arms, and at this moment very unquiet. The ſituation of the nobility in this country is pitiable; they are under apprehenſions that nothing will be left them, but ſimply ſuch houſes as the mob allows to ſtand unburnt; that the *metayers* will retain their farms without paying the landlord his half of the produce; and that, in caſe of ſuch a refuſal, there is actually neither law nor authority in the country to prevent it. Here is, however, in this houſe, a large and an agreeable ſociety, and cheerful to a miracle, conſidering the times, and what ſuch a great baron is loſing, who has inherited from his anceſtors immenſe poſſeſſions, now frittering to nothing by the revolution. This chateau, ſplendid even in ruins, the venerable woods, park, and all the enſigns of family and command, with the fortune, and even the lives of the owners at the mercy, and trampled on by an armed rabble. What a ſpectacle! The baron has a very fine and well filled library, and one part of it totally with books and tracts on agriculture, in all the languages of Europe. His collection of theſe is nearly as numerous as my own.——20 miles.

The 2d. Monſ. Le Preſident dedicated this day for an excurſion to his mountain-farm, five miles off, where he has a great range, and one of the fineſt lakes in Provence, two thouſand toiſes round, and forty feet deep. Directly from it riſes a fine mountain, conſiſting of a maſs of ſhell agglutinated into ſtone; it is a pity this hill is not planted, as the water wants the immediate accompanyment of wood. Carp riſe to 25lb. and eels to 12lb. (Note, there are carp in the lake Bourgeat, in Savoy, of 60lb.) A neighbouring gentleman, Monſ. Jouvent, well acquainted with the agriculture of this country, accompanied us, and ſpent the reſt of the day at the caſtle. I had much valuable information from the baron de Tour d'Aigues, this gentleman, and from Monſ. l'Abbé de ——, I forget his name. In the evening I had ſome converſation on houſe-keeping with one of the ladies, and found, among other articles, that the wages of a gardener are 300 liv. (13l. 2s. 6d.); a common man-ſervant, 150 liv. (7l.); a bourgeois cook, 75 to 90 liv. (90 liv. are 3l. 18s. 9d.); a houſemaid, 60 to 70 liv. (3l. 1s. 3d.) Rent of a good houſe for a Bourgeois 700 or 800 liv. (35l.)——10 miles.

The 3d. Took my leave of Monſ. Tour d'Aigues' hoſpitable chateau, and returned with Monſ. Gibelin to Aix.——20 miles.

The 4th. The country to Marſeilles is all mountainous, but much cultivated with vines and olives; it is, however, naked and unintereſting; and much of the road is left in a ſcandalous condition, for one of the greateſt in France, not wide enough, at places, for two carriages to paſs with convenience. What a deceiving painter is the imagination!——I had read I know not what lying exaggerations of the *baſtides* about Marſeilles, being counted not by hundreds, but by thouſands, with anecdotes of Louis XIV. adding one to the number by a citadel.—I have ſeen other towns in France, where they are more numerous; and the environs of Montpellier, without external commerce, are as highly decorated as thoſe of Marſeilles; yet Montpellier is not ſingular. The view of Marſeilles, in the approach, is not ſtriking. It is well built in the new quarter, but, like all others, in the old, cloſe, ill built, and dirty; the population, if we may judge from the throng in the ſtreets, is very great; I have met with none that exceeds it in this reſpect. I went in the evening to the theatre, which is new, but not ſtriking; and not in any reſpect to be named with that of Bourdeaux, or even Nantes; nor is the general magnificence of the town at all equal to Bourdeaux; the new buildings are neither ſo extenſive, nor ſo good—the number of ſhips in the port not to be compared, and the port itſelf is a horſe-pond, compared with the Garonne.—20 miles.

The 5th. Marſeilles is abſolutely exempt from the reproaches I have ſo often caſt on others far want of newſpapers. I breakfaſted at the *Caſé d'Acajon* amidſt many. Deliver my letters, and receive information concerning commerce; but I am diſappointed of one I expected for Monſ. l'Abbé Raynal, the celebrated author. At the table d'hôte, the count de Mirabeau, both here and at Aix, a topic of converſation; I expected to have found him more popular, from the extravagancies committed in his favour in Provence and at Marſeilles; they conſider him merely as a politician of great abilities, whoſe principles are favourable to theirs: as to his private character, they think they have nothing to do with it; and aſſert, that they had much rather truſt to a rogue of abilities, than put any confidence in an honeſt man of no talents; not, however, meaning to aſſert, that Monſ. de Mirabeau deſerved any ſuch appellation. They ſay he has an eſtate in Provence. I obſerved, that I was glad to hear he had property; for, in ſuch revolutions, it was a neceſſary hold on a man, that he will not drive every thing to confuſion, in order to poſſeſs a conſequence and importance which cannot attend him in peaceable and quiet times. But to be at Marſeilles without ſeeing Abbé Raynal, one of the undoubted precurſors of the preſent revolution in France, would be mortifying. Having no time to wait longer for letters, I took the reſolution to introduce myſelf. He was at the houſe of his friend Monſ. Bertrand. I told him my ſituation: and, with that eaſe and politeneſs which flows from a man's knowledge of the world, he replied, that he was always happy to be of uſe to any gentleman of my nation; and, turning to his friend, ſaid, here alſo is one, Sir, who loves the Engliſh, and underſtands their language. In converſing on agriculture, which I had mentioned as the object of my journey, they both expreſſed their ſurprize to find, by accounts apparently authentic, that we imported great quantities of wheat, inſtead of exporting, as we formerly did; and deſired to know, if this was really the caſe, to what it was owing? and recurring, at the ſame time, to the *Mercure de France* for a ſtatement of the export and import of corn, he read it as a quotation from Mr. Arthur Young. This gave me the opportunity of ſaying, that I was the perſon, and it proved a lucky introduction; for it was not poſſible to be received with more politeneſs, or with more offers of ſervice and aſſiſtance. I explained, that the change had taken place in conſequence of a vaſt increaſe of population, a cauſe ſtill increaſing more rapidly than ever.— We had an intereſting converſation on the agriculture of France, and on the preſent ſituation of affairs, which they both think going on badly; are convinced of the neceſſity of an upper houſe in the legiſlature, and dread nothing more than a mere democratical government, which they think a ſpecies of republic, ridiculous for ſuch a kingdom as France. I remarked, that I had often reflected, with amazement, that Monſ. Necker did not aſſemble the

ſtates

ſtates in ſuch a form, and under ſuch regulations, as would have naturally led to adopt the conſtitution of England, free from the few faults which time has diſcovered in it. On which Monſ. Bertrand gave me a pamphlet he had publiſhed, addreſſed to his friend Abbé Raynal, propoſing ſeveral circumſtances in the Engliſh conſtitution to be adopted in that of France. Monſ. l'Abbé Raynal remarked, that the American revolution had brought the French one in its train: I obſerved, that if the reſult in France ſhould be liberty, that revolution had proved a bleſſing to the world, but much more ſo to England than to America. This they both thought ſuch a paradox, that I explained it by remarking, that I believed the proſperity which England had enjoyed ſince the peace, not only much exceeded that of any other ſimilar period, but alſo that of any other country, in any period ſince the eſtabliſhment of the European monarchies: a fact that was ſupported by the increaſe of population, of conſumption, of induſtry, of navigation, ſhipping, and ſailors: by the augmentation and improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and in a peculiar maſs and aggregate, flowing from the whole, the riſing eaſe and felicity of the people. I mentioned the authentic documents and public regiſters which ſupported ſuch a repreſentation; and I remarked, that Abbé Raynal, who attended cloſely to what I ſaid, had not ſeen or heard of theſe circumſtances, in which he is not ſingular, for I have not met with a ſingle perſon in France acquainted with them; yet they unqueſtionably form one of the moſt remarkable and ſingular experiments in the ſcience of politics that the world has ſeen; for a people to loſe an empire—thirteen provinces, and to GAIN by that *loſs*, an increaſe of wealth, felicity, and power! When will the obvious concluſions, to be drawn from that prodigious event, be adopted? that all tranſmarine, or diſtant dominions, are ſources of weakneſs: and that to renounce them would be wiſdom. Apply this in France to St. Domingo, in Spain to Peru, or in England to Bengal, and mark the ideas and the replies that are excited. I have no doubt, however, of the fact. I complimented him on his generous gift to the ſociety of agriculture at Paris of 1200 liv. for a premium; he ſaid they had thanked him, not in the uſual form, by the ſecretary ſigning alone, but had every one preſent ſigned it. He ſaid, that he ſhould do the ſame by the academies of ſciences and belles lettres; and he has given the ſame ſum to the academy at Marſeilles, for a premium relative to their commerce. He ſaid alſo, that he had formed a plan which he ſhould execute when he has ſaved money enough, which is to expend, by means of the ſociety of agriculture, 1200 liv. a year in purchaſing models of all the uſeful implements of huſbandry to be found in other countries, eſpecially in England, and to ſpread them over France. The idea is an excellent one, and merits great praiſe; yet it is to be queſtioned, whether the effect would anſwer the expence. Give the tool itſelf to a farmer, and he will not know how to uſe it, or will be too much prejudiced to like it; a model he will ſtill leſs take the trouble to copy. Gentlemen farming every where their own lands, with enthuſiaſm and paſſion for the art, would apply and uſe thoſe models; but I fear that none ſuch are to be found in France. The ſpirit and purſuits of gentlemen muſt be changed from their preſent frivolous turns, before any ſuch thing could be effected. He approved of my recommending turnips and potatoes; but ſaid, that good ſorts were wanting; and mentioned a trial he had made himſelf, a compariſon of the Engliſh and Provençal potatoes in making bread, and the Engliſh produced one-third more flour than the French.—Among other cauſes of bad huſbandry in France, he named the illegality of uſury; at preſent moneyed people in the country locked it up, inſtead of lending it for improvement. Theſe ſentiments of an illuſtrious writer do him honour; and it was pleaſing to me to find, that he gave attention to objects which have almoſt monopolized mine; and yet more ſo to find, that this juſtly celebrated writer, though not young, is in good ſpirits; and that he may live many years to enlighten the world by the productions of a pen that has never been employed but for the benefit of the human ſpecies.

The 8th. To Cuges. For three or four miles the road leads through rows of *baſtides* and walls; it is made of powdered white ſtone, and, without exception, the moſt duſty I ever ſaw; the vines, for twenty rods on each ſide, were like a dreſſed head: the country all mountains of rock, with poor pines.—Unintereſting and ugly; the plains, of no great breadth, are covered with vines and olives. Meet capers firſt at Cuges. At Aubagne, I dined on ſix diſhes, not bad, a deſſert, and a bottle of wine, for 24*ſ.* and by myſelf too, for no table d'hôte. What Monſ. Dutens could mean by calling the poſt-houſe at Cuges a good *auberge,* is inexplicable; it is a miſerable hole, in which I have one of the beſt rooms, without glaſs to the windows.——21 miles.

The 9th. The country to Toulon is more intereſting; the mountains are bolder; the ſea adds to the view; and there is one paſſage among the rocks, where are ſublime features. Nine-tenths are waſte mountain, and a wretched country of pines, box, and miſerable aromatics, in ſpite of the climate. Near Toulon, eſpecially at Olioules, there are pomegranates in the hedges, with fruit as large as nonpareils; they have a few oranges alſo. The baſon of Toulon, with ranges of three deckers, and other large men of war, with a quay of life and buſineſs, are fine. The town has nothing that deſerves deſcription; the great and only thing that is worth ſeeing, the dock-yard, I could not ſee, yet I had letters; but the regulation forbidding it, as at Breſt, all applications were vain.—25 miles.

The 10th. Lady Craven has ſent me upon a wild-gooſe chaſe to Hyeres—one would think this country, from her's and many other deſcriptions, was all a garden;

but it has been praiſed much beyond its merit. The vale is every where richly cultivated, and planted with olives and vines, with a mixture of ſome mulberries, figs, and other fruit trees. The hills are either rocks, or ſpread with a poor vegetation of evergreens, pines, lentiſcus, &c. The vale, though ſcattered with white *baſtides* which animate the ſcene, yet betrays that poverty in the robe of nature, which always offends the eye where olives and fruits form the principal cloathing. Every view is meagre, on compariſon with the rich foliage of our northern foreſts. The only ſingular features are the orange and lemon trees; they here thrive in the open air, are of a great ſize, and render every garden intereſting to eyes that travel to the ſouth; but laſt winter's froſt has ſhorn them of their glory. They are all ſo nearly deſtroyed as to be cut almoſt to the root, or to the trunk, but are in general ſhooting again. I conjecture that theſe trees, even when in health and foliage, however they may be ſeparately taken, add but little to the general effect of a view. They are all in gardens, mixed with walls and houſes, and conſequently loſe much beauty as the part of a landſcape. Lady Craven's Tour ſent me to the chapel of *Notre Dame de conſolation*, and to the hills leading to Monſ. Glapiere de St. Tropes; and I aſked for father Laurent, who was, however, very little ſenſible of the honour ſhe had done him. The views from the hills on both ſides of the town are moderate. The iſlands Portecroix, Pourcurolle, and Levant (the neareſt joined to the continent by a cauſeway and ſaltmarſh, which they call a pond), the hills, mounts, rocks, all are naked. The pines that ſpread on ſome of them have not a much better effect than gorſe. The verdure of the vale is hurt by the hue of the olives. There is a fine outline to the views; but for a climate, where vegetation is the chief glory, it is poor and meagre; and does not refreſh the imagination with the idea of a thick ſhade againſt the rays of an ardent ſun. I can hear of no cotton in Provence, which has been reported in ſeveral books; but the date and piſtachio ſucceed: the myrtle is indigenous every where, and the *jaſminum, commune*, and *fruticans*. In l'Iſle de Levant is the *geniſta candeſcens*, and the *teucrium herba poma*. Returning from my ride to the *hotel de Necker*, the landlord worried me with a liſt of Engliſh that paſs the winter at Hyeres; there are many houſes built for letting, from two to ſix louis a month, including all the furniture, linen, neceſſary plate, &c. Moſt of theſe houſes command the proſpect of the vale and the ſea; and if they do not feel the *vent de bize*, I ſhould ſuppoſe it muſt be a fine winter climate. In December, January, and February perhaps it may not incommode them, but does it not in March and April? There is a table d'hôte, very well ſerved, at the *hotel de Necker* in winter, at 4 liv. a-head each meal. View the King's garden here, which may be 10 or 12 acres, and nobly productive in all the fruits of the climate, its crop of oranges only laſt year was 21,000 liv. (918l. 15s.) Oranges at Hyeres have produced as far as two louis each tree. Dine with Monſ. de St. Cæſaire, who has a pretty new built houſe, a noble garden walled in, and an eſtate around it, which he would ſell or let. He was ſo obliging as to give me, with Doctor Battaile, much uſeful information concerning the agriculture and produce of this country. In the evening return to Toulon.——34 miles.

The 11th. The arrangement of my journey in Italy occupied ſome attention. I had been often informed, and by men that have travelled much in Italy, that I muſt not think of going thither with my one-horſe chaiſe. To watch my horſe being fed would, they aſſured me, take up abundantly too much time, and if it was omitted, with reſpect to hay, as well as oats, both would be equally ſtolen. There are alſo parts of Italy where travelling alone, as I did, would be very unſafe, from the number of robbers that infeſt the roads. Perſuaded by the opinions of perſons, who I ſuppoſe muſt know much better than myſelf, I had determined to ſell my mare and chaiſe, and travel in Italy by the *veturini*, who are to be had it ſeems every where, and at a cheap rate. At Aix they offered me for both 20 louis; at Mairſeilles, 18; ſo the further I went I expected the price would ſink; but to get out of the hands of the *aubergiſtes*, and the *garçons d'écuries*, who expected every where to make a property of me, I had it drawn into the ſtreet at Toulon, with a large label, written *a vendre*, and the price 25 louis: they had coſt me at Paris 32. My plan took, and I ſold them for 22; they had brought me above twelve hundred miles, but yet were a cheap bargain to an officer that was the purchaſer. I had next to conſider the method to get to Nice; and will it be believed, that from Marſeilles with 100,000 ſouls, and Toulon with 30,000, lying in the great road to Antibes, Nice, and Italy, there is no diligence or regular voiture. A gentleman at the table d'hôte aſſured me, they aſked him 3 louis for a place in a voiture to Antibes, and to wait till ſome other perſon would give 3 more for another ſeat. To a perſon accuſtomed to the infinity of machines that fly about England, in all directions, this muſt appear hardly credible. Such great cities in France have not the hundredth part of connection and communication with each other that much inferior places enjoy with us: a ſure proof of their deficiency in conſumption, activity, and animation. A gentleman, who knew every part of Provence well, and had been from Nice to Toulon by ſea, adviſed me to take the common barque, for one day, from Toulon, that I might at leaſt paſs the the iſles of Hyeres: I told him I had been at Hyeres, and ſeen the coaſt. I had ſeen nothing, he ſaid, if I had not ſeen them, and the coaſt from the ſea, which was the fineſt object in all Provence; that it would be only one day at ſea, as I might land at Cavalero, and take mules for Frejus; and that I ſhould loſe nothing, as the common route was the ſame as what I had ſeen, mountains, vines, and olives. His opinion prevailed, and I ſpoke to the captain of the barque for my paſſage to Cavalero.

The 12th. At ſix in the morning, on board the barque, captain Jaſſoirs, of Antibes; the weather was delicious; and the paſſage, out of the harbour of Toulon, and its great baſon, beautiful and intereſting. Apparently it is impoſſible to imagine a harbour more completely ſecure and land-locked. The inner one, contiguous to the quay, is large, and ſeems formed by art; a range of mole, which it is built on, ſeparating it from the great baſon. Only one ſhip can enter at a time, but it could contain a fleet. There are now lying, moored, in two ranges, one ſhip, the Commerce of Marſeilles, of 130 guns, the fineſt ſhip in the French navy, and ſeventeen others of 90 guns each, with ſeveral ſmaller: When in the great baſon, which is two or three miles acroſs, you ſeem abſolutely incloſed by high lands, and it is only on the moment of quitting it, that you can gueſs where the outlet is, by which you are connected with the ſea. The town, the ſhipping, the high mountain, which riſes immediately above it, the hills, covered with plantations, and ſpread every where with *baſtides*, unite to form, a ſtriking *coup d'œil.* But as to the Iſles of Hyeres and the fine views of the coaſt, which I was to enjoy, my informant could have no eyes, or abſolutely without taſte: they are, as well as all the coaſt, miſerably barren rocks and hills, with only pines to give any idea of vegetation. If it was not for a few ſolitary houſes, with here and there a ſquare patch of cultivation to change the colour of the mountains, I ſhould have imagined that this coaſt muſt have borne a near reſemblance to thoſe of New Zealand, or New Holland—dark, gloomy, and ſilent;—a ſavage *ſombre* air ſpread over the whole. The pines, and evergreen ſhrubs, that cover the greateſt part, cover it with more gloom than verdure. Landed at night at Cavalero, which I expected to have found a little town; but it conſiſts only of three houſes, and a more wretched place not to be imagined. They ſpread a mattreſs on a ſtone floor for me, for bed they had none; after ſtarving all day, they had nothing but ſtale eggs, bad bread, and worſe wine; and as to the mules which were to take me to Frejus, there was neither horſe, aſs, nor mule in the place, and only four oxen for ploughing the ground. I was thus in a pretty ſituation, and muſt have gone on by ſea to Antibes, for which alſo the wind gave tokens of being contrary, if the captain had not promiſed me two of his men to carry my baggage to a village two leagues off, where mules were certainly to be had, with which comfort I betook myſelf to my mattreſs.——24 miles.

The 13th. The captain ſent three ſailors;—one a Corſican, another a mongrel Italian, and the third a Provençal: among the three, there was not French enough for half an hour's converſation. We croſſed the mountains, and wandered by crooked unknown paths, and beds of torrents, and then found the village of Gaſſang on the top of a mountain, which, however, was more than a league from that to which we intended to go. Here the ſailors refreſhed themſelves, two with wine, but the third never drank any thing except water. I aſked if he had equal ſtrength with the others that drank wine? Yes, they replied, as ſtrong for his ſize as any other man: I rather think, that I ſhall not ſoon find an Engliſh ſailor who will make the experiment. No milk; I breakfaſted on grapes, rye bread, and bad wine. Mules were reported to abound at this village, or rather that which we miſſed; but the maſter of the only two we could hear of being abſent, I had no other reſource, than agreeing with a man to take my baggage on an aſs, and myſelf to walk a league further, to St. Tropes, for which he demanded 3 liv. In two hours reached that town, which is prettily ſituated, and tolerably well built, on the banks of a noble inlet of the ſea. From Cavalero hither, the country is all mountain, eighteen-twentieths of it covered with pines, or a poor wilderneſs of evergreen ſhrubs, rocky and miſerable. Croſs the inlet, which is more than a league wide; the ferrymen had been on board a King's ſhip, and complained heavily of their treatment—but ſaid, that now they were free men, they ſhould be well treated; and, in caſe of a war, they ſhould pay the Engliſh by a different account—it would now be man to man; before it was free men fighting with ſlaves. Land at St. Maxime, and there hire two mules and a guide to Frejus. The country the ſame mountainous and rocky deſert of pines and lentiſcus; but, towards Frejus, ſome arbutus. Very little culture before the plain near Frejus. I paſſed to-day thirty miles, of which five are not cultivated. The whole coaſt of Provence is nearly the ſame deſert; yet the climate would give, on all theſe mountains, productions valuable for feeding ſheep and cattle; but they are incumbered with ſhrubs abſolutely worthleſs. The effect of liberty had better appear in their cultivation, than on the decks of a man of war.——30 miles.

The 14th. Staid at Frejus to reſt myſelf;—to examine the neighbourhood, which, however, contains nothing—and to arrange my journey to Nice. Here are remains of an amphitheatre and aqueduct. On enquiring for a voiture to go poſt, I found there was no ſuch thing to be had; ſo I had no reſource but mules. I employed the *garçon d'écurie* (for a poſtmaſter thinks himſelf of too much conſequence to take the leaſt trouble), and he reported, that I ſhould be well ſerved for 12 liv. to Eſtrelles: this price, for ten miles, on a miſerable mule, was a very entertaining idea; I bid him half the money; he aſſured me he had named the loweſt price, and left me, certainly thinking me ſafe in his clutches. I took a walk round the town, to gather ſome plants that were in bloſſom, and, meeting a woman with an aſs-load of grapes, I aſked her employment; and found, by help of an interpreter, that ſhe carried grapes from vineyards for hire. I propoſed loading her aſs to Eſtrelles with my baggage—

and demanded her price.—40 *ſols*. I will give it. Break of day appointed; and I returned to the inn, at leaſt an œconomiſt, ſaving 10 liv. by my walk.

The 15th. Myſelf, my female, and her aſs jogged merrily over the mountains; the only misfortune was, we did not know one word of each others language; I could juſt diſcover that ſhe had a huſband and three children. I tried to know if he was a good huſband, and if ſhe loved him very much; but our language failed in ſuch explanations;——it was no matter; her aſs was to do my buſineſs, and not her tongue. At Eſtrelles I took poſt-horſes; it is a ſingle houſe, and no women with aſſes to be had, or I ſhould have preferred them. It is not eaſy for me to deſcribe, how agreeable a walk of ten or fifteen miles is to a man who walks well, after ſitting a thouſand in a carriage. To-day's journey all through the ſame bad country, mountain beyond mountain, incumbered with worthleſs evergreens, and not one mile in twenty cultivated. The only relief is the gardens at Graſſe, where very great exertions are made, but of a ſingular kind. Roſes are a great article for the famous *otter*, all of which is commonly ſuppoſed to come from Bengal. They ſay, that 1500 flowers go to a ſingle drop; twenty flowers ſell for 1 *ſol*, and an ounce of the *otter* 400 liv. (17l. 10s.). Tuberoſes, &c. are alſo cultivated for perfumes in immenſe quantities, for Paris and London. Roſemary, lavender, bergamot, and oranges, are here capital articles of culture. Half Europe is ſupplied with eſſences from hence. Cannes is prettily ſituated, cloſe on the ſhore, with the iſles of St. Marguerite, where is a deteſtable ſtate priſon, about two miles off, and a diſtant boundary of the Eſtrelles mountains, with a bold broken outline. Theſe mountains are barren to exceſs. At all the villages, ſince Toulon, at Frejus, Eſtrelles, &c. I aſked for milk, but no ſuch thing to be had, not even of goats or ſheep: the cows are all in the higher mountains; and as to butter, the landlord at Eſtrelles told me, it was a contraband commodity that came from Nice. Good heaven!—what an idea northern people have, like myſelf, before I knew better, of a fine ſun and a delicious climate, as it is called, that gives myrtles, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, jaſmins, and aloes, in the hedges; yet are ſuch countries, if irrigation be wanted, the verieſt deſerts in the world. On the moſt miſerable tracts of our heaths and moors, you will find butter, milk, and cream; give me that which will feed a cow, and let oranges remain to Provence. The fault, however, is in the people more than the climate; and as the people have never any faults *(till they become the maſters)* all is the effect of government. The arbutus, lauruſtinus, ciſtus, and Spaniſh broom, are found ſcattered about the waſtes. Nobody in the inn but a merchant of Bourdeaux returning home from Italy; we ſupped together, and had a good deal of converſation, not unintereſting; he was melancholy to think, he ſaid, what a ſad reputation the French revolution has wherever he has been in Italy. Unhappy France! was his frequent ejaculation. He made many enquiries of me, and ſaid, his letters confirmed my accounts; the Italians ſeemed all convinced that the rivalry of France and England was at an end, and that the Engliſh would now have it in their power amply to revenge the American war, by ſeizing St. Domingo, and indeed all the poſſeſſions the French have out of France itſelf. I ſaid the idea was a pernicious one, and ſo contrary to the perſonal intereſts of the men who governed England, that it was not to be thought of. He replied, that if we did not do it, we ſhould be marvelouſly forbearing, and ſet an example of political purity ſufficient to eternize that part of our national character, in which the world thought us moſt deficient, *moderation*. He complained bitterly of the conduct of certain leaders of the National Aſſembly, who ſeemed to be determined on a bankruptcy, and perhaps a civil war.——22 miles.

The 16th. At Cannes, I was quite without a choice; no poſt-houſe, carriage, nor horſes, nor mules to let; I was therefore forced again to take refuge in a woman and her aſs. At five in the morning I walked to Antibes. This line of nine miles is chiefly cultivated, but the mountains riſe ſo immediately, that, in a general idea, all is waſte. Antibes being a frontier town, is regularly fortified; the mole is pretty, and the view from it pleaſing Take a poſt-chaiſe to Nice; croſs the Var, and bid adieu for the preſent to France. The approach to Nice is pleaſing. The firſt approach to that country ſo long and juſtly celebrated, that has produced thoſe who have conquered, and thoſe who have decorated the world, fills the boſom with too many throbbing feelings to permit a buſh, a ſtone, a clod to be unintereſting. Our percipient faculties are expanded; we wiſh to enjoy; and then all is attention, and willingneſs to be pleaſed. The approach marks a flouriſhing town; new buildings, the never-failing mark of proſperity, are numerous. Paſs many gardens full of oranges. Arrive in time for dinner at the table d'hôte, *hotel de quatre nations*, and agree with the maſter of it for my apartment, which is exceedingly good, and dinner and ſupper at five Piedmonteſe livres a-day, that is five ſhillings. Here I am, then, in the midſt of another people, language, ſovereignty, and country,—one of the moments of a man's life that will always be intereſting, becauſe all the ſprings of curioſity and attention are on the ſtretch. Several Frenchmen, but more Italians, at the table d'hôte; and the French revolution only talked of. The Frenchmen all in favour of it, and the Italians all againſt it, and abſolute victors in the argument. ——25 miles.

The 17th. I have no letters for Nice; and therefore, knowing nothing of the inſides of the houſes, I muſt be content with what meets the eye. The new part of the town is very well built; the ſtreets ſtrait and broad. The ſea-view is fine, and, for enjoying it in greater perfection, they have an admirable contrivance, which I have ſeen no where elſe. A row of low houſes forming one ſide of a ſtreet, a quarter of a mile long, has flat roofs, which are covered with a ſtucco floor, forming a noble terrace, opens immediately to the ſea, raiſed above the dirt and annoyance of a ſtreet, and equally free from the ſand and ſhingle of a beach. At one end ſome finely ſituated lodging-houſes open directly on to it. The walk this terrace affords is, in fine weather, delicious. The ſquare is handſome, and the works which form the port are well built, but it is ſmall and difficult to enter, except in favourable weather; admits ſhips of near three hundred tons; yet, though free, has but an inconſiderable trade.—The number of new ſtreets and houſes building at preſent is an unequivocal proof that the place is flouriſhing; owing very much to the reſort of foreigners, principally Engliſh, who paſs the winter here, for the benefit and pleaſure of the climate. They are diſmally alarmed at preſent, with the news that the diſturbances in France will prevent many of the Engliſh from coming this winter; but they have ſome conſolation in expecting a great reſort of French. Laſt winter, there were fifty-ſeven Engliſh, and nine French; this winter, they think it will be nine Engliſh, and fifty-ſeven French. At the table d'hote informed, that I muſt have a paſſport for travelling in Italy; and that the Engliſh conſul is the proper perſon to apply to. I went to Mr. Conſul Green, who informed me that it was a miſtake, there was no want of any paſſport; but if I wiſhed to have one, he would very readily give it. My name occurring to him, he took the opportunity to be very polite to me, and offered any thing in his power to aſſiſt me. On my telling him the object of my travels, he remarked, that the gardens here, and mixture of half garden half farm, were rather ſingular, and if I called on him in the evening, he would walk and ſhew me ſome. I accepted his obliging invitation, and when I went again, met a Colonel Roſs, a gentleman from Scotland, ſecond in command in the King of Sardinia's marine, and at preſent in chief: having been much in Sardinia, I made ſome enquiries of him concerning that iſland, and the circumſtances he inſtanced were curious. The *intemperia* is ſo prevalent in ſummer, from the quantity of evaporating water leaving mud expoſed to the ſun, as to be death to a ſtranger: but in winter it is a good climate. The ſoil wonderfully rich and fertile, but vaſt plains that would produce any thing are uncultivated. He has paſt one line of fifty miles by thirty, all plain and the land good, yet without one houſe, and moſtly a neglected deſert. The people are wretched, and deplorably ignorant: there are diſtricts, he has been informed, where there are olives, and the fruit left rotting under the trees, for want of knowing how to make oil. In general, there are no roads, and no inns.

When a traveller, or other perſon, goes into the iſland, he is recommended from convent to convent, or *curé* to *curé*, ſome of whom are at their eaſe; you are ſure to be well entertained,—and at no other expence than a trifle to the ſervants. The plenty of game and wild-fowl great. The horſes are ſmall, but excellent; all ſtallions. One has been known to be rode four-and-twenty hours without drawing bit. I demanded to what could be attributed ſuch a neglected ſtate of the iſland? to government, I ſuppoſe? By no means; government has manifeſted every diſpoſition to ſet things on a better footing. It certainly is owing to the feudal rights of the nobility, keeping the people in a ſtate of comparative ſlavery. They are too wretched to have the inducement to induſtry. Such is the caſe at preſent in many other countries beſides Sardinia. When I ſee and hear of the abominable depredations and enormities committed by the French peaſants, I deteſt the democratical principles; when I ſee or hear of ſuch waſtes as are found in Sardinia, I abhor the ariſtocratical ones. Accompany Mr. Green to view ſome gardens, which have a luxuriance of vegetation, by means of watering, that makes them objects worth attention; but the great product, and a moſt valuable one it is, are oranges and lemons; chiefly the former, and a few bergamots for curioſity. We examined the garden of a nobleman, ſomething under two acres of land, that produces 30 louis d'or a-year in oranges only, beſides all the crops of common vegetables. The great value of theſe products, ſuch is the perverſity of human life, is the exact reaſon why ſuch gardens would be deteſtable to me, if under the œconomical management of the gentry of Nice. An acre of garden, forms an object of ſome conſequence in the income of a nobleman who, in point of fortune, is reckoned in good circumſtances, if he has 150l. to 200l. a-year. Thus the garden, which with us is an object of pleaſure, is here one of œconomy and income, circumſtances that are incompatible. It is like a well furniſhed room in a man's houſe, which he lets to a lodger. —They ſell their oranges ſo ſtrictly, that they cannot gather one to eat. A certain momentary and careleſs conſumption is a part of the convenience and agreeableneſs of a garden; a ſyſtem which thus conſtrains the conſumption, deſtroys all the pleaſure. Oranges may certainly be ſold with as much propriety as corn or timber, but then let them grow at a diſtance from the houſe; that open apartment of a reſidence, which we call a garden, ſhould be free from the ſhackle of a contract, and the ſcene of pleaſure, not profit.

The 18th. Walked to Villa Franche, another little ſea-port of the King of Sardinia's, on the other ſide of the mountain, to the eaſt of Nice. Call on Mr. Green, the conſul, who has given me letters to Genoa, Alexandria, and Padoua: he has behaved with ſo friendly an attention, that I cannot omit acknowledging warmly his civilities. Learn this morning from him that lord Briſtol is ſomewhere in Italy, and that lady Erne is probably at Turin, my ſtars will not be propitious if I do not ſee them both.

The 19th. I have now waited two days merely for the means of getting away; I can go either by a *felucca* to Genoa, or with a *vetturino* to Turin; and there is ſo much for and againſt both ſchemes, that priority of departure is as good a motive for a preference as any other. If I go by Genoa to Milan, I ſee Genoa and a part of its territory, which is much, but I loſe ſixty miles of ſuperb irrigation, from Coni to Turin, and I loſe the line of country between Turin and Milan, which I am told is better than that between Genoa and Milan; as to Turin itſelf, I ſhould ſee it in my return. But here is Luigi Tonini, a *vetturino*, from Coni, who ſets out on Monday morning for Turin, which decides me; ſo with Mr. Green's kind aſſiſtance I have bargained with him to take me thither for ſeven French crowns. He has got two officers in the Sardinian ſervice, and is not to wait longer for filling the third place. We have every day, at the table d'hôte, a Florentine Abbé, who has been a marvellous traveller—no man names a country in which he has not travelled; and he is ſingular in never having made a note, making rather a boaſt that his memory retains every particular he would wiſh to know, even to numbers correctly. The heighth and meaſures of the pyramids of Egypt, of St. Peter's church at Rome, and St. Paul's at London, &c. with the exact length and breadth of every fine ſtreet in Europe, he has at his tongue's end. He is a great critic in the beauty of cities; and he claſſes the four fineſt in the world thus, 1. Rome.—2. Naples.—3. Venice.—4. London. Being a little inclined to the marvellous, in the idea of an old Piedmonteſe colonel, a knight of St. Maurice, a plain and unaffected character, and apparently a very worthy man, he pecks at the authority of Signore Abbate, and has afforded ſome amuſement to the company.

The 20th, Sunday. Mr. Conſul Green continues his friendly attentions to the laſt; I dined, by invitation, with him to-day; and, for the honour of Piedmonteſe grazing, ate as fine, ſweet, and fat a piece of roaſt beef as I would ever wiſh to do in England, and ſuch as would not be ſeen at the table d'hôte at the *quatre nations*, in ſeven years—if in ſeven ages. An Engliſh maſter and miſtreſs of the table, with roaſt beef, plumb pudding, and porter, made me drop for a moment the idea of the formidable diſtance that ſeparated me from England. Unknown and unrecommended at Nice, I expected nothing but what could be ſhot flying in any town; but I found in Mr. Green both hoſpitality, and ſomething too friendly to call politeneſs. In the evening we had another walk among gardens, and converſed with ſome of the proprietors on prices, products, &c. The deſcription Mr. Green gives me of the climate of Nice in the winter is the moſt inviting that can be imagined; a clear blue expanſe is conſtantly over head, and a ſun warm enough to be exhilerating, but not hot enough to be diſagreeable. *But, Sir, the vent de bize!* We are ſheltered from it by the mountains; and as a proof that this climate is vaſtly more mild than where you have felt that wind, the oranges and lemons which we have in ſuch profuſion will not thrive either in Genoa or Provence, except in a very few ſpots, ſingularly ſheltered like this. He remarked, that Dr. Smollet, in his deſcription, has done great injuſtice to the climate, and even againſt the feelings of his own crazy conſtitution; for he never was ſo well after he left Nice as he had been at it, and made much intereſt with Lord Shelburne to be appointed conſul, who told him, and not without ſome foundation, that he would on no account be ſuch an enemy to a man of genius;—that he had libelled the climate of Nice ſo ſeverely, that if he were to go again thither the Niſſards would certainly knock him on the head. Mr. Green has ſeen hay made, and well made, at Chriſtmas.

The 21ſt. Commenced my firſt Italian journey; of my two military companions, one was as ſtupid as a brick-bat, and the other too lively for me:—there are few things more repugnant to my nerves than the vivacity of inanity; I am not young enough for it. Here was alſo a friar, who made no compenſation for the deficiencies of his countrymen:—low, vulgar, and ignorant; could ſpeak no French, and but little Italian: I looked in vain for ſo many of his Piedmonteſe words in my dictionary, that I was ſoon tired of following him. We dined at Scareno, and ſlept at Soſpello, at both which places we joined the company of another *vetturino*, conſiſting of the Piedmonteſe colonel I had met at the table d'hôte, his brother an abbé, and another abbé a friend, all well bred polite men, who were very attentive to me as a foreigner, and had great readineſs to anſwer all my enquiries: I reaped a good deal of information from their converſation. The three firſt days of this journey are employed in croſſing three mountains; to-day we paſſed the Col de Pruſs. The features in the heights are intereſting, wild, and great. The deſcent to Soſpello is pictureſque.—26 miles.

The 22d. My friend, the old Piedmonteſe colonel, commends the Engliſh character greatly, when it is truly Engliſh; that is, as I gueſſed by his explanations, when it is not a hurrying, buſtling, expenſive young man of great fortune, againſt whom he threw out ſome ſevere reflexions. He deſired my name, and where I lived in England, which he begged me to write down for him; and commended very much the object of my journey, which appeared ſo extraordinary to him, that he could not help putting many queſtions. The mountain we croſſed to-day is yet more ſavage than that of yeſterday; much of it wild, and even ſublime. The little town of Saorgio and its caſtle are ſituated moſt romantically, ſtuck againſt the ſide of a mountain, like a ſwallow's neſt againſt the ſide of a houſe. I had no opportunity of aſking how many necks are broken in a year, in going peaceably to and fro; but the blackneſs of this town, and the total want of glaſs, make it gloomy as well as romantic; indeed the view of all theſe mountain-towns, where there may be ſo much happineſs with ſo little appearance of it, is forbidding. Tende, which is the capital of a diſtrict, and gives name to this great ridge of mountain *(Col de Tende)*, is a horrid place of this ſort, with a vile inn; all black, dirty, ſtinking, and no glaſs.——30 miles.

The 23d. Out by four in the morning, in the dark, in order to croſs the Col de Tende as ſoon after break of day as poſſible, a neceſſary precaution they ſay, as the wind is then moſt quiet; if there is any ſtorm, the paſſage is dangerous, and even impracticable; not ſo much from heighth as from ſituation, in a draught of wind between Piedmont and the ſea. The paſs in the rocks, for ſome diſtance before mounting the hill, is ſublime; hemmed in among ſuch enormous mountains and rocks, that they reminded me a little of the amazing paſs in the Pyrenees, but are much inferior to it. In the face of one of them is a long inſcription to the honour of Victor Amadeus III. for making the road; and near it an old one, purporting that the eleventh duke of Savoy made the old road, to connect Piedmont and Nice, *a proprie ſpeſe con tutta diligenza*. This old road is paſſable only by mules, and is that by which Mr. Dutens paſſed the Col de Tende. I ſhall obſerve once for all, that the new one is a moſt uſeful and princely undertaking. From within a few miles of Nice, where it is not finiſhed, to Limon coſt 3,500,000 liv. (175,000l.) It winds prodigiouſly, in order to paſs the ſteepeſt mountains, in ſuch angles as to admit carriages without difficulty. The worſt part is that which goes up to the Col de Tende; this has not been made with equal attention as the reſt, perhaps becauſe they have begun to execute a vaſt deſign of perforating the mountain. At preſent, notwithſtanding the goodneſs of the road in ſummer, it is abſolutely impaſſable in winter for carriages, and with difficulty ſometimes even with mules, owing to the immenſe falls of ſnow. They have opened a cavern like a vault of rock, about thirty *trebulchi* long, and wide enough for carriages to paſs, but it ſoon divides into two paſſages, one for going and another for returning, which is found cheaper than one large enough for both; the whole will be above five hundred *trebulchi*, and will demand ſuch an expenſe as leaves little hope of ſeeing it executed in this century. Take the new road, however, for all in all, and it is a work that does honour to the king and country. Deſcend into the rich and beautiful vale of Piedmont, a few miles before Coni, and between the Alps and Appenines, which here ſeparate, one range running from hence to Calabria, I believe uninterruptedly, and the other to Conſtantinople. Amongſt the maps never made, but much wanted, is one of the mountains of Europe, to ſhew at one *coup d'œil* which are connected, and which ſeparate: this ſeparation of the Alps and Appenines is ſo narrow, that they would, on a map on any ſcale, appear as one range; they connect with all the mountains of France, by Dauphiné, Vivais, and Auvergne, but not with the Pyrenees; I have myſelf travelled the whole range of thoſe from ſea to ſea. *Quere*, Do they connect with Germany, Poland, &c.? Perhaps they may with thoſe of the heriditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria. This would make only two ranges of mountains on the continent of Europe, the Alps and the Pyrenees; for all the Spaniſh connect with the latter, unleſs thoſe of Norway and Sweden do not join the Ruſſian, Poliſh, &c.——Reach Coni, which is ſtrongly fortified, and well ſituated; but as for inns, the *croce bianca*, which they ſpeak of as being excellent, afforded me a good room enough, but without a ſingle pane of glaſs in the windows, only ragged paper— and ſuch a neceſſary-houſe!——let me drive the recollection from my memory! Here we loſt the company of the old colonel, his brother, and friend; they went five miles further, to the eſtate of one of them at Centalle. Sup at at the table d'hote. Our landlady is a tall well looking *virago*; the officers made love to her with one hand, while they ſupped with the other. They then aſked me a thouſand queſtions about Engliſh duelling. Was it in a circle? At what diſtance? On horſeback? With what piſtols? &c.——37 miles.

The 24th. The friar and one of the officers proceeded no further; the other and myſelf for Turin. Leaving Coni, the view from the fortifications of the Alps is very fine; a range of them, capped with ſnow, is now ſeen by us to the left; Mont Viſo among them very high. At Centalle we were ſtopped by the ſervant of my friend, the colonel, who had orders to conduct us to the houſe of the *curé*, to take chocolate. The brother of the colonel is, it ſeems, *curé* and *archpretre* of the pariſh. It was impoſſible to be received with more kindneſs and hoſpitality than I was here. The colonel ſtarted a plan for keeping us to dinner, and his brother immediately begged we would change our intention of ſleeping at Carignan for Racconis, which would enable us to dine with him. To this we readily aſſented. I now found, that the colonel was the Chevalier Brun, on a viſit to his brother, who has built an excellent parſonage-houſe, as we ſhould call it, at his own expence, and has two *curées* under him as *archpretre*; he has arch-hoſpitality alſo; gave us an admirable dinner, well ſerved, and excellent wine, and wiſhed I would make a longer ſtay. As this was the firſt Italian houſe I had been in, except inns, it was intereſting enough to me to excite all my curioſity and attention. Expreſſing a wiſh to have ſome converſation with a practical cultivator, they had the goodneſs to walk with me to the count de Boniſante, who lives on his own eſtate here, and farms it. I ſoon found that this nobleman loved the ſubject; for he ſeemed to take a pleaſure in anſwering my enquiries. We walked over his, and ſome of his neighbours farms for more than two hours; and though my queſtions were pretty numerous, he was ſo kind as to meet them with the utmoſt willingneſs of explanation. If I have many ſuch days as this in Italy, I ſhall be equally well pleaſed and informed. Centalle was the reſidence of the marquis de Suza. Take my leave of this agreeable and hoſpitable family, which I ſhall long remember with pleaſure. Paſs Savignan, a conſiderable and pretty town; and what is much better to my eyes, a fine range of level plain, all rich and much watered. The ſcene in ſome places is charming: the road is like a fine alley, paſſing through a new mown garden; the meadows are as level as a die, without a mole-caſt, or ant-hill: thanks to watering! The mowing neat; the hay now cocking; rows of trees every where, and not being in ſtrait lines, the appearance is pleaſing. It is an obſervation I have more than once made, and it is no where ſo exemplified as in this country, that there are beauties reſulting from extreme fertility, that belong to a flat which would be hurt by inequalities of ſoil. The approach to Racconis is by a double row of trees on each ſide of the road, with two ſhady paths, very pleaſing even by moon-light; but my fellow-traveller, with his drawn ſword, ready to paſs at the breaſt of a robber, ſhould any attack us, did not people theſe ſhades with the moſt agreeable figures of the fancy. He ſays there are many in Piedmont; and that travelling in the dark is always dangerous. Such things are to be laid to the account of government; and a pretty ſatire it is on deſpotiſm, not to be able to keep its roads clear from robbers. At Racconis, a great trade in winding ſilk: a beggarly inn—paper windows, &c.——27 miles.

The 25th. Purſuing our road, paſs a country-ſeat of the prince of Carignan, with a great incloſure of plantation, and many Lombardy poplars. Croſs the Po by a moſt commodious ferry; a platform on two boats; the coach drove on and off without our moving. Why have we not ſuch ferries in England? All a rich level country till we come near the mountain of Turin, and paſs the chateau of Moncaglia, the preſent reſidence of the count d'Artois. Reach Turin; drive to the *hotel royal*; all full. To the *hotel d'Angleterre*; all taken for the prince of Condé. To the *bonne femme*, which good woman received me. I was in time for the table d'hôte, at which were ſeveral French refugees, whoſe accounts of affairs in France are dreadful. Theſe were driven from their chateaus, ſome of them in flames; it gave me an opportunity of enquiring by whom ſuch enormities were committed; by the peaſants, or wandering *brigands?* they ſaid, by peaſants, undoubtedly; but that the great and indiſputable origin of moſt of thoſe villanies, was the ſettled plan and conduct of ſome leaders in the National Aſſembly, in union with, and by the money of *one other perſon of great rank*, who would deſerve the eternal execrations and reproaches of all true Frenchmen and every honeſt man: that when the aſſembly had rejected the propoſal of the count de Mirabeau, to addreſs the King to eſtabliſh the *milice bourgeoiſe*, couriers were ſoon after ſent to all quarters of the kingdom, to give an univerſal alarm of great troops of *brigands* being on the actual march, plundering and burning every where, at the inſtigation of ariſtocrats, and calling on the people to arm immediately in their defence: that by intelligence afterwards, received from different parts of the kingdom, it was found, that theſe couriers muſt have been diſpatched from Paris at the ſame time*. Forged orders of the King in Council were likewiſe ſent, directing the people to burn the chateaus of the ariſtocratical party; and thus, as it were by magic, all France was armed at the ſame moment, and the peaſants inſtigated to commit the enormities which have ſince diſgraced the kingdom. —22 miles.

The 26th. This being the firſt Italian city of renown for beauty that I have ſeen, I have been all eyes to-day. Some travellers have repreſented it as the prettieſt town in Europe, and the Strada di Po the fineſt ſtreet. I hurried to it with eagerneſs. I was in the middle of it, aſking for it. *Queſta, queſta!* replied an officer, holding up his hands, as if to point out an object of great beauty which I did not ſee, and in truth I ſaw it not. It is ſtrait and broad, and nearly regular. Two rows of brick barns might be ſo equally. The houſes are of an ugly obfuſcated brick; a few have ſtucco, and that old and dirty; the ſcaffold holes in the walls of all the reſt are left unfilled; ſome of them are enlarged by time, and ſeveral courſes of bricks between thoſe holes, not pointed, which has as bad an effect; the windows are narrow and poor; ſome with iron balconies—ſome without; the arcades, for there is a row on each ſide of the ſtreet, would be deſtructive of beauty, if it was here: the arches are plaiſtered, which patches the line with white: and through them are exhibited nothing but poor ſhops that incumber their ſpans with all ſorts of lumber; the lamps are fifty or ſixty yards aſunder. In a word, there are fifty ſtreets at London to which this cannot be compared. If thoſe who have travelled in Italy think this ſtreet fine, what am I to meet with in other towns?—The Strada della Dora Groſſa is by far a finer ſtreet than that of the Po, but the houſes are greatly too high. There is a beautiful arcade entrance to the herb-market, which ſeems to have furniſhed the idea of that at the new buildings of Somerſet-houſe. The ſtreets are almoſt all quite regular, and at right angles. I expected that this circumſtance would have been attended with much more beauty than it is. It gives too great a ſameneſs; the conſtant return of the ſame angles tires the eye; and I am convinced, that a city would be much more ſtriking, and more admired, that had varied lines inſtead of uniform ones. Circles, ſemi-circles, creſcents, ſemi-elipſes, ſquares, ſemi-ſquares, and compounds, compoſed of theſe, mixed with the common oblongs, would give a greater air of grandeur and magnificence. The moſt ſplendid object I have ſeen at Turin is the ſtair-caſe and ſaloon in the chateau contiguous to the royal palace. There is nothing at Verſailles, except the gallery, to be compared with it. The front of this edifice is fine, and the whole does honour to Juvara. This morning I ſhould have delivered my letters, but am unlucky. The Marcheſe de Palavicino, preſident of the agrarian ſociety, and Signore Biſſatti, the ſecretary of it, are both in the country. Signore Capriata, the *preſident en ſecond*, I met with, but he is no practical farmer; he has been obliging enough, however, to promiſe me an introduction to ſome perſons who are converſant with agriculture. Meeting with theſe diſappointments, I began to fear I might want the intelligence that was neceſſary to my deſign; and be in that ineligible ſituation of ſeeing only the outſides of houſes, and knowing nothing of the perſons within. With time thus on my hands, I enquired for a bookſeller, and was directed to Signore Briolo, who prints the memoirs of all the learned bodies here; among others, thoſe of the agrarian ſociety, which I bought, and afterwards turning over, found that I made a pretty conſpicuous figure in one written by the Cavaliere di Capra, colonel of the regiment of Tortona, on the ſize of farms. He is a bitter enemy to large ones; not content with ſtrictures on Piedmont, he preſſes England into his ſervice, and finds it neceſſary to refute me, as I appear in the tranſlation of Monſ. Freville, from which he quotes paſſages which I never wrote. I wiſhed to aſſure the author that it was the French tranſlator, and not the Engliſh farmer that he had refuted. I laughed very heartily with Signore Capriata at this adventure of the memoirs. In the evening to the opera; the theatre is a fine one, though not the principal; the houſe nearly full, yet all the world is in the country.

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* Afterwards at Paris this fact was confirmed to me.

The 27th. The Cavaliere Capra having ſeen Signore Capriata, I this morning received a viſit from him: I was glad of an opportunity to remark to him that he had quoted paſſages erroneouſly from my Political Arithmetic. He ſaid, he was ſorry he ſhould miſunderſtand me; and beginning at once to declaim againſt great farms, I begged to remark, that my opinion was exactly the ſame at preſent as it had always been, that the ſize of farms ſhould be left abſolutely free. He was violent againſt great ones in Piedmont, which he ſaid ruined and depopulated the country, as I ſhould find when I came among the rice-grounds in my way to Milan. Signore Capra was polite, tendered me every ſervice in his power, and expreſſed the utmoſt readineſs to aſſiſt my enquiries. Signore Briolo, as ſoon as he underſtood who I was, ſhewed me every attention in his power; and that I might have the benefit of converſing with ſuch perſons as he thought moſt ſuitable to my enquiries, he made known my arrival to Signore Fontana, a practical chemiſt and deputy ſecretary to the agrarian ſociety; to Signore Gio. Piet. Mariadana, profeſſor of botany in the univerſity; to Signore il Dottore Buniva, his aſſiſtant, who travelled in France and England as a naturaliſt. From theſe gentlemen I had this morning a viſit, and an intereſting converſation on the preſent agricultural ſtate of Italy. To Signore Briolo I was alſo indebted for an introduction to Signore Giobert, academician, and of the agrarian ſociety, who has gained a prize by a memoir on the quality of earths and manures. Viewed the King's palace, ſenſibly built, not ſo ſplendid as to raiſe diſagreeable emotions in the breaſt of a philoſophical ſpectator; and no marks of provinces having been oppreſſed to raiſe it. Of the pictures, which are numerous, thoſe which pleaſed me beſt, are a virgin, child, and St. John, by Lorenzo Sabattini; Apollo flaying Marſias, by Guido; a Venus, by Carlo Cignani; a ſick woman, by Gerard Dow; a virgin and child after Raphael, by Saſſa Ferrata. Vandyke ſhines greatly in this collection; there are the children of Charles I. finely done; a man and woman ſitting; but above all, prince Tomaraſo di Carignano on horſeback, which for life and force of expreſſion is admirable. In the evening to the opera, and being Sunday the houſe was full. The *Laſca Fiera*; there is a pretty duet, between Contini and Gaſpara, in the firſt act.

The 28th. Walked to Moncaglia early in the morning. The palace is boldly ſituated on a hill, the Windſor of Piedmont:—commands noble views of the Po, and a rich ſcene of culture. After dinner, on horſe-back to Superga, the burying place of the royal family; where the bodies of theſe princes repoſe more magnificently than the Bourbons at St. Denis. The view from the tower is, I ſuppoſe, the fineſt *farmer's* proſpect in Europe. You look down on much the greater part of Piedmont as on a map, and the eye takes in Milan at eighty miles diſtance; the whole, with ſuch an horizon of mountains, as is no where elſe to be found,—for the enormous maſſes of ſnow, which the Alps preſent, are eaſier conceived than deſcribed.

The 29th. Signore Briolo was this morning my conductor to Gruliaſcho, to view the farm, by appointment of Signore Bracco, to whom Signore Capriata had ſpoken for that purpoſe; we walked by the nobly planted road that leads to Suza, and I was glad to find, that my Turin bookſeller was a farmer, though *a la meta*, and anſwered thoſe uſeful enquiries, which I have long found abundantly convenient, always to have ready arranged in my head, and adapted to the people into whoſe hands chance may throw me. We dined together at the village, in a villainous hole, much better adapted to offend the ſenſes than to gratify them. Our repaſt finiſhed, we ſallied forth to find Signore Bracco; he ſhewed us ſeveral watered meadows, and explained all the particulars;

lars; after which, coming to the houſe, lo! inſtead of a farmer or *metayer*, as I expected, I found a large houſe, in a ſtyle ſuperior to any farm one, and that he was a bailiff to a Signore, I do not know whom, jeweller to the King and court; an awkward explanation of this came on, and then I found this perſon knew of my coming two days before:—to mend the matter, after making us wait ſome time he ſhewed himſelf. I was preſſed to enter:—whether it was, that a hot walk, or a bad dinner had fretted me, or, in fine, that I did not like the jeweller's phyſiognomy, I know not, but I begged to be excuſed, and perſiſted in my refuſal. A rich citizen, at his country villa, is to me a formidable animal.—Had he ſaid he was a farmer, and would converſe on the ſubject, or any thing of that tendency, it had been otherwiſe; but I departed *bruſqument*, with a character, I believe, *molto ſelvaggio*. In the evening, ſome beautiful paſſages in the *Paſtorella Nobile* brought me into better temper.

The 30th. The intendant Biſſati returned to Turin, and I had the pleaſure of a viſit from him; he carried me to the univerſity, and ſome other places which I had not ſeen before; Signore Capra alſo, and Dr. Buniva, favoured me with their company. The knight, I find, is as complete a croaker as could ever iſſue from the ſchool of Dr. Price himſelf. Piedmont furniſhes an inſtance, which, if I had touched upon to Signore Capra, he would have preſſed it into his ſervice on the queſtion of farms. But there are not many circumſtances more curious in politics than the contraſt between great and ſmall dominions. Here is a court ſufficiently ſplendid; a palace well kept; an army (not equally well kept) of 30,000 men; fortifications many, and among the firſt in the world, and a power of receiving with hoſpitality and ſplendour the princes of the blood of France; all this is done with thirty millions of French money: if the compariſon had been made in the late King's reign, the circumſtances would have been ſtronger. The King of France had ſix hundred millions; that is to ſay, twenty times as much: he could, therefore, with equal proportions, have twenty ſuch palaces, or more exactly an hundred, as there are five in Piedmont; twenty ſuch courts, and an army of 600,000 men. But inſtead of this, the difference between the palaces of the two Kings and their courts, their parade and their vanity, is not in the *ratio* of one-fourth of their revenue; and as to the army of the King of Sardinia (proportions preſerved) it is ſix times more powerful than that of the King of France: but the contraſt goes further; for, while the debts of this country are inconſiderable, thoſe of France are ſo great, that the *deficit* alone is more than five times the whole revenue of Sardinia.

OCTOBER 1ſt. The political ſtate of Piedmont at preſent holds almoſt entirely of the perſonal character of the King, who is eſteemed an eaſy good natured man, too much impoſed on by a ſet of people without merit. The conſequence of which is, that talents and all ſorts of abilities, inſtead of being in the poſts for which they are qualified, are found only in retirement. I am told, that he often takes bank-notes in his pocket-book, and at night if he has not given them away he expreſſes uneaſineſs; yet this is with an empty treaſury and an incomplete ill-paid army. This conduct is remarkably different from that of the princes his majeſty's predeceſſors, who, as all the world knows, were good œconomiſts, and kept themſelves ſo well prepared, that they were able to turn opportunities to their notable advantage, which muſt have paſſed barren of events under a different ſyſtem of government. The King's motives, however, are excellent, and no faults are found with his government that do not flow from that ſort of goodneſs of heart which better befits a private ſtation than a throne. Similar errors are not expected from the prince of Piedmont, who is repreſented as a man of good underſtanding, with, however, rather too great a tincture of religion. Nothing can be more regular and decent than the conduct of all the court; no licentious pleaſures are here countenanced; and very little that looks like diſſipation. How the count d'Artois paſſes his time is not eaſy to conceive; for a prince who was dying with *ennui* in the midſt of Verſailles, for want of pleaſures that had not loſt their luſtre, one would ſuppoſe that of all the courts of Europe there was ſcarcely one to be found leſs adapted than this to his feelings, whatever it might be to his convenience.

The 2d. To Verceil, by a *vetturino*; I find but one agreeable circumſtance in this way of travelling, which is their going as ſlow and ſtopping as often as you pleaſe: I walked moſt of the way, and generally out-walked the coach, except when there was any little deſcent. A gentleman, a proprietor and cultivator of rice near Verceil, ſupped with us, who was communicative.—45 miles.

The 3oth. To Novara, much rice; ſome yet uncut; they are threſhing it every where, and we meet gleaners loaded with it: a naſty country, as ill to the eye as to the health: there hang the limbs of a robber in the trees, in uniſon with the *ſombre* and peſtiferous aſpect of a flat woody region. Croſs the Teſino, deep, clear, and rapid. This river parts the dominions of the King of Sardinia from thoſe of the Emperor. At Buffalara croſs the *naviglio grande*, the greateſt canal for irrigation that was ever made. Sleep at Maſſenta.—30 miles.

The 4th, Sunday. Reach Milan in the forenoon. This great city ſtands in the midſt of a dead level country, ſo thickly planted that you ſee nothing of it till you are in the ſtreets. To the *Albergo del Pozzo*, in time to wait on the Abbate Amoretti, ſecretary of the patriotic ſociety, to whom I had letters from Monſ. Brouſſonet and Signore Songa of London: I found him admirably well lodged, in the *palazzo* of the marquis de Cuſina: this, ſaid I to myſelf, looks well, to find a man of letters in a ſplendid apartment, and not poked, like a piece of lumber, into a garret: it is a good feature in the Italian nobility,

lity. I entered his apartment, which is a cube of about thirty ſeet, from a great ſaloon of forty or fifty. He received me with eaſy and agreeable politeneſs which impreſſes one at firſt ſight in his favour. Soon after he returned my viſit. I find him an agreeable, well-informed, and intereſting character. Waited alſo on the Abbate Oriani, aſtronomer royal, who expreſſed every wiſh to be of uſe to me. At night to the opera; a moſt noble theatre; the largeſt as well as handſomeſt I have ſeen; the ſcenes and decorations beautiful. Though it is Sunday, I look with amazement at the houſe, for it is three parts full, even while much of the world are in the country:—how can ſuch a town as Milan do this? Here are ſix rows of boxes, thirty-ſix in a row; the three beſt rows let at 40 louis d'or a box. This is marvellous for an inland town, without commerce or great manufactures. It is the PLOUGH alone that can do it. I am delighted with the accommodation of the pit; one ſits on broad eaſy ſophas, with a good ſpace to ſtir one's legs in: young perſons may bear being truſſed and pinioned on a row of narrow benches, but I am old and lazy, and if I do not ſit at my eaſe, would not give a fig to ſit there at all.——10 miles.

The 5th. In the morning, deliver letters to Signore Vaſſari, and the Meſſ. Zappa's, gentlemen in commerce, from whom I might receive information relative to the exports, &c. of the Milaneſe. At noon, to the ſociety of agriculture (called the Patriotic Society), which fortunately for me, who am a member, had a meeting to-day: the Marcheſe di Viſconti in the chair, with ten or a dozen members preſent, to all of whom Signore Amoretti introduced me. I never expect much from ſocieties of this ſort; but this of Milan was to-day employed on a button and a pair of ſciſſors: it ſeems they want at this city to make the finer ſorts of hardware, in order to rival thoſe of England, and leſſen the import, which, in ſpite of every obſtacle, is very great: the idea originates with the government, and is worthy of its little ideas; a true peddling ſpirit at preſent throughout Europe. An artiſt in the town had made a button and half a pair of ſciſſors, one half Engliſh, and the other half of his own manufacture, for which he claimed and had a reward. Similar are the employments of ſocieties every where! In England, buſied about rhubarb, ſilk, and drill-ploughs:—at Paris, with fleas and butterflies;—and at Milan, with buttons and ſciſſors! I hope I ſhall find the *Georgofili*, at Florence, employed on a top-knot. I looked about to ſee a practical farmer enter the room, but looked in vain. A goodly company of i Marcheſi, i Conti, i Cavalieri, i Abbati, but not one cloſe clipped wig, or a dirty pair of breeches, to give authority to their proceedings. We met, in what was the jeſuit's college, in the Briare, a noble building, containing many apartments equally ſplendid and convenient. The Marcheſe Viſconti aſked me to his country-ſeat; and the Cavaliere Caſtiglioni, who has travelled in America with the views of a natural hiſtorian, and who intends to print the journal of his voyage, hopes to meet me ſoon at his brother the count's. Milan has been repreſented as very dear, and may be ſo when no thought is taken to ſave expence, ordering what you want, and leaving the bill to the hoſt; but as ſuch methods do not agree with my purſe, I pay, by agreement, for my room, dinner and ſupper ſerved in it, as there are no table d'hôtes in Italy, 6 liv. of Milan a-day, or an *ecu*, equal to 4s. Engliſh. The pit, at the opera, is 2 liv. 5 *ſ.* and coffee for breakfaſt 7 *ſ.* in all about 5s. 8d. a-day; but, ſeeing buildings, &c. adds ſomething. I am very well ſerved for this, except in ſoups, which are deteſtable, for I hate macaroni and abominate paſte. I have read ſo much of the horrors of Italian inns, that I am very agreeably ſurprized to find them in the great towns, Turin and Milan for inſtance, as good as in France; yet I am not at the beſt here,—for I underſtand the *alberghi reali* and *imperiali* are the firſt; and I was not at the beſt at Turin. But village ones between the great towns are bad enough. In France, one is rarely waited on at inns by men; in Italy hitherto never by women; I like the French cuſtom beſt. Ferret among the bookſellers, and find more tracts, in Italian, upon agriculture than I expected. At night to the opera; the pit is ſo commodious and agreeable, that it is a good lounge; the ſophas and chairs are numbered; they give you a ticket, which marks your ſeat; but the performers are poor. It was the *Impreſario in Auguſta*, by that beautiful compoſer, Cimaroſa; there is a quintetto in it, than which nothing could be more pleaſing, or repeated with more applauſe.

The 6th. Signore Amoretti, whoſe attentions and aſſiduity are ſuch as I ſhall not ſoon forget, this morning introduced me to Signore Beecken, a counſellor in the court of his imperial Majeſty; and then we went together into the country, ſix or ſeven miles, to a farm in the road to Pavia, belonging to the marquis Viſconti, to ſee the method of making the Lodeſan cheeſe; attended the whole operation, which is ſo totally different from what we uſe in England, that ſkill in making may have a great effect in rendering this product of Lombardy ſo ſuperior to all others. The cheeſe, and the enquiries, took up the whole day; ſo that it was five in the evening before we got back to Milan, where they dined with me at the *pozzo*; an itinerant band of muſic giving a ſerenade under the windows, to the *illuſtriſſimi, excellentiſſimi, nobili Signori Ingleſi.* This day has paſſed after my own heart, a long morning, active, and then a dinner, without one word of converſation but on agriculture. Signore Beecken is a ſenſible well informed German, who underſtands the importance of the plough; and Abbate Amoretti's converſation is that of a man who adds the powers of inſtruction, to the graces that enliven company.

The 7th. Attended the marquis de Viſconti, and Signore Amoretti to Mozzata, the country-ſeat of the count de Caſtiglione, about ſixteen miles north of Milan. Stop very near the city to view the *Chartreuſe*, which, ſince the emperor ſeized the revenues, and turned the monks out, has been converted into a powder magazine. View, in paſſing, the fine church of Ro, and the marquis of Lita's villa at Leinate, in which the gardens are conſpicuous. The Italian taſte was the undoubted origin of what we ſee in France; but decoration is carried much higher. Marble baſons, with fine ſtatues, too good for the ſituation: *jets d'eau*, temples, colonades, and buildings, without end, almoſt connected with the houſe; latticed, and clipped bowers and walks; miles of clipped hedges—terraces and gravel walks, never well kept, with abundance of orange-trees, are the features; and they are all in profuſion. The expence enormous, both to form and to keep. There is a pinery, and not more than five or ſix others in the whole dutchy of Milan. Reach Mozzata. The counteſs appeared what we call a genteel good ſort of woman, with nothing of that ſpecies of foppery and affectation that forms the *fine lady*. The moment I ſaw the count de Caſtiglione, I was prejudiced in his favour; his phyſiognomy is pleaſing; and the inſtantaneous eaſy affability, mixed with great quickneſs and vivacity, tells one in a moment, that time would not be loſt in his company. I was not deceived. He entered preſently on the object of my travels; and I was highly pleaſed to find, that he was a practical farmer. After dinner, we made an excurſion to a conſiderable plantation, he has executed with great judgment and ſpirit. The count ſhewed me alſo a part of his farm,——but this is not equally ſucceſsful. In the evening, while the reſt of the company were at cards, he ſatisfied my numerous enquiries concerning the huſbandry, &c. of the neighbourhood, in a manner that left me little to wiſh. After breakfaſt, the next morning, returned to Milan. The feature which ſtruck me moſt in this viſit to an Italian nobleman, at his country-ſeat, is the great ſimilarity of living, and of manners in different countries. There are few circumſtances in the table, attendance, houſe, and mode of living, that vary from a man of ſimilar rank and fortune in England or France. Only French cuſtoms, however, predominate. I ſuppoſe one muſt go for new manners to the Turks and Tartars; for Spain itſelf, among people of rank, has them not to give: and this circumſtance throws travellers, who regiſter their remarks, into a ſituation that ſhould meet with the candour of readers: thoſe who record faithfully, muſt note things that are common, and ſuch are not formed to gratify curioſity. Thoſe who deal much in adventures, ſo contrary to our own manners as to excite ſurprize, muſt be of queſtionable authority; for the ſimilarity of European manners, among people of rank or large fortune, can hardly be doubted: and the difference among their inferiors, is in many caſes more apparent than real. I am much pleaſed with this family: the counteſs is a good woman, for ſhe loves her children, her huſband, and the country. Her huſband has life, animation, quickneſs of conception, and that attention to agriculture, which made me wiſh him for a neighbour. In our return, ſtop at Deſio, the villa of the marquis of Cuſino, which is in a ſtyle that pleaſes me. The houſe is not upon too great a ſcale, and therefore finiſhed and furniſhed: the rooms are more elegant than ſplendid—and more comfortable than ſhewy. There is one apartment, in encauſtic painting, ſaid to be the firſt executed in Italy. The ſecond floor contains thirteen bed-chambers, with each a ſmall ſervant's-room, and light cloſet: and they have all ſuch a comfortable, clean, Engliſh air; and are ſo neat, without any finery, that, had the floors been deal, inſtead of brick, I ſhould have thought myſelf in my own country. I have read travels that would make us believe, that a clean houſe is not to be met with in Italy; if that was once true, things are abundantly changed. I like this villa much better than the maſter does, for he is rarely here for a fortnight at a time, and that not often. The gardens are ſplendid in their kind; lattice-frames of lemons twenty feet high, with eſpaliers of oranges, both full hung with fruit, have, to northern eyes, an uncommon effect; but they are all covered with glaſs in the winter. Here is a pinery alſo. Dine in the village on trout, freſh from the lake of Como, at 3 liv. the pound, of 28 ounces. In the evening returning to Milan, after an excurſion inſtructive in my principal object, and equally agreeable in the little circumſtances that have power ſufficient either to gild or ſhade every object, paſs the houſe of the Marcheſa di Fagnani, who has been much in England, and celebrated here for being the lady with whom our inimitable Sterne had the rencontre at Milan, which he has deſcribed ſo agreeably.——32 miles.

The 9th. This day was appointed for viſiting a few objects at Milan, for which Signore Beecken had the goodneſs to deſire to be my *cicerone*; his chariot was ready after breakfaſt, and we went from ſight to ſight till five o'clock. Buildings and pictures have been ſo often and ſo well deſcribed, that for modern travellers nothing is left, if they expatiate, but to talk of themſelves as much as of the objects. I ſhall note, in a few words, the things that ſtruck me moſt. I had read ſo much of the cathedral, and came to it with ſuch expectation, that its effect was nothing. There are comparative meaſurements given of it with St. Paul's and St. Peter's, that ſeem to rank it in the ſame claſs for magnitude: to the eye it is a child's play-thing compared to St. Paul's. Of the innumerable ſtatues, that of St. Laurence flayed is the fineſt. The architecture of the church of St. Fedele, by Pellegrino, is pleaſing; it contains ſix columns of granite; and there are other fine ones alſo in that of St. Aleſandro. But I found Padre Pini, profeſſor of natural hiſtory, a better object than his church; he has made a great and valuable collection of foſſils, and has taken the means neceſſary for ſelf-inſtruction, much travel, and much experiment. At St. Celſo, there are two ſtatues of Adam and Eve, by Lorenzi, that cannot be too much admired; and a Madonna, by Fontana. Here alſo are pictures that will detain your ſteps by the two Procacini's. The great hoſpital is a vaſt building, once the palace of the Sforza's, dukes of Milan, and given by duke Francis for this uſe. It has a net revenue of a million of livres, and has at preſent above one thouſand three hundred patients. At the Abbey of St. Ambroſe, built in the ninth century, and which has round arches, anteriour to gothic ones, they ſhewed us a MS. of Luitprandus, dated 721, and another of Lothaire, before Charlemagne. If they contained the regiſter of their ploughs, they would have been intereſting; but what to me are the records of gifts to convents, for ſaving ſouls that wanted probably too much cleaning for all the ſcrubbing-bruſhes of the monks to brighten? But unqueſtionably the moſt famous production of human genius at Milan is the laſt ſupper of Lionardo de Vinci, which ſhould be ſtudied by artiſts who underſtand its merit, as it is not a picture for thoſe who, with unlearned eyes, have only their feelings to direct them. View the Ambroſian library.

The 10th. The climate of Italy, I believe, is generally in extremes; it has rained almoſt inceſſantly for three days paſt, and to-day it pours. I have made a ſad blunder, I find more and more, in ſelling my French equipage; for the dependence on hiring, and on the *vetturini*, is odious. I want to go to-morrow to Lodi, &c, and I have loſt much time in finding a horſe and chaiſe; and after all can have only a miſerable thing, at 7½ liv. a day. In the evening, at the opera, Signore Beecken came to me in the pit, and aſked me if I would be introduced to one of the prettieſt ladies at Milan? *Senza dubio.* He conducted me to the box of Signora Lamberti, a young, lively, and beautiful woman, who converſed with an eaſy and unaffected gaiety, that would make even a farmer wiſh to be her *ciciſbeo*. The office, however, is in the hands of another, who was ſeated in his poſt of honour, in the front of the box, *vis-a-vis* the lady.—Refreſhments——ſuppers——magnificent ridotto. Having mentioned the *ciciſbei*, I may obſerve, that the cuſtom ſeems to flouriſh at Milan; few married ladies are without this neceſſary appendix to the ſtate: there were to night a great number of them, each attending his fair. I aſked an Italian gentleman why he was not in his poſt as a *ciciſbeo*? He replied, he was not one? How ſo? *If you have either buſineſs or other purſuit, it takes too much time.* They are changed at pleaſure, which the ladies defend, by ſaying, that when an extenſion of privileges not proper to give is expected, to part with is better than to retain them.

The 11th. To Lodi, through twenty miles of ſuch amazing exertions in irrigation, that we can have in England no idea of it. At that town I found myſelf in the midſt of the world; it was the night of terminating the opera ſeaſon of the fair: this had drawn ſo much company from the neighbouring towns, that the great inn of the *Columbina*, formed out of a monaſtery, was full in an hour. At night the opera houſe formed a gorgeous diſplay:—we waited half an hour for the arch-duke and arch-dutcheſs. The houſe was well lighted with wax; new to me, for in common their theatres have only darkneſs viſible. It is ſmall, but moſt elegant, new built this year: the decorations are neat; but the boxes, which are fitted up by the proprietors, are finiſhed with great ſhew and expence; as fine as glaſs, varniſh, and gilding can make them; and being lighted within made a blazing figure: the company crouded and well dreſſed; diamonds ſparkled in every part of the houſe, while the expectation of pleaſure, more animated in Italian than in French or Engliſh eyes, rendered the *coup d'œil* equally ſtriking and agreeable; the profuſion of dancers, dreſſes, ſcenes, &c. made me ſtare, for a little place of not more than ten or twelve thouſand ſouls. No evening could paſs with a more animated feſtivity; all the world appeared in good humour: the vibrations of pleaſurable emotions ſeemed more reſponſive than common, for expreſſion is one great feature in Italian phyſiognomy. I have dwelt the more on this ſpectacle, becauſe I conſider it in a political light, as deſerving ſome attention. Lodi is a little inſignificant place, without trade, and without manufactures.——It is the part of a dominion that may be ſaid to have neither, and cut off from all connection with the ſea: yet there is not a town in France or England, of double the population, that ever exhibited a theatre ſo built, decorated, filled, and furniſhed as this of Lodi.——Not all the pride and luxury of commerce and manufactures—not all the iron and ſteel—the woollen or linen—the ſilk, glaſſes, pots, or porcelain of ſuch a town as Lodi, ever yet equalled this exhibition of butter and cheeſe. Water, clover, cows, cheeſe, money, and muſic! Theſe are the combinations——that ſtring Italian nerves to enjoyment, and give leſſons of government to northern politicians. The evening would have been delicious to me, if I had had my little girl with me; I could not help picturing her by my ſide, ſuppoſing the expreſſions of her pleaſure, and giving an imaginary preſence to her ſmiles, her enquiries, and her enjoyment. In truth it was better adapted to her age than to mine.——20 miles.

The 12th. I had brought a letter to a Signore Mayer, lieutenant of dragoons, who yeſterday, when I waited on him, introduced me to the Cavaliere Don Baſſiano Bona Noma, who promiſed to find a perſon this morning for conducting me to a celebrated dairy of his near Lodi; he was as good as his word, and by his means I was introduced into two dairies, one of 90 cows, and aſſiſted in making the cheeſe. In the afternoon to Codogno, through fifteen miles of dead flat, of a ſingular aſpect; it is interſected by ditches, without hedges, but a row of pollard poplars and willows on each ſide. The heads of theſe trees form a woodland, as the fields are very ſmall, and looking through the ſtems under the covert of their heads, is ſomething like the prints I have ſeen of the foreſts of Taſſo, but without the wildneſs or enchantment. The inhabitants here are neither witches, nymphs, nor knights, but cows and frogs: the muſic of the latter not quite ſo agreeable as laſt night's warblings of Seneſino. In truth this country is better for theſe two animals than for man. The whole is a water ſpunge; the ditches innumerable; now water, now mud; the climate hot; and ventilation excluded by a croud of aquatics. I figured ſickneſs and diſeaſe in every quarter: and the want of ſcattered habitations, renders the whole ſilent and ſolitary, in ſpite of a conſiderable population, that is concealed by the endleſs pollards. Willows, ditches, mud, and frogs! theſe are features in perfect contraſt to the ſcenes of laſt night! yet they are attended by a fertility that gives warbling to the throat, and quivering to the fantaſtic toe of beauty. At Codogno waited on Signore Bignami, a conſiderable cheeſe-merchant. I was in luck; a numerous company ſpent the evening with him, from whom he ſelected a party that were well acquainted with graſs and cows; and retiring into another apartment, they had the goodneſs, with him and his ſon, to dedicate ſome time to the ſatisfying of my enquiries; and I ſhould be very backward if I did not obſerve that the free and agreeable manner in which they did it, proves equally their liberality and politeneſs. Codogno is a neat little town of about eight thouſand people. And note (for the thing is extraordinary), an opera here too; another new built theatre, of this year. It is not ſo large, or ſo much decorated as that of Lodi, but the form is more pleaſing and more commodious; it is more circular. There are apartments contiguous for the firſt ſingers and dancers, communicating with a noble inn, the *albergo del teatro*.——15 miles.

The 13th. This morning Signore Bignami had kindly appointed for examining one of the principal dairies in the country, noted for making good cheeſe; fortunately the farmer proved communicative and liberal,—conducted us to the ſcene of action very readily, and directed his dairy-man to anſwer my enquiries. We attended the making of a cheeſe, and then walked over the farm: the farmers ſeem much at their eaſe. Take leave of my very friendly conductors, and reach Crema, in the Venetian ſtate. Here alſo a new-built opera-houſe, and the Mara from London firſt ſinger; they did not appear to reliſh too much her altitudes of diviſion,—yet ſhe was conſiderably applauded. Great powers in ſinging, when much exerted in difficult paſſages, ſurprize much more than they pleaſe. The airs that touch the heart, are what the poet calls *lengthened ſweetneſs long drawn out*, that breathe a continuity of melody, flowing, not broken notes. The number of theatres in this part of Italy is aſtoniſhing: two great ones at Milan; in twenty miles, another, at Lodi; in fifteen, one way, Codogno; in ten, another, Crema; in ten, another, Plaiſance, &c.—yet trade and manufacture are very inconſiderable.——16 miles.

The 14th. To Lodi, through ten miles more of the ſame country; bad road through the ſtate of Venice; but the moment you enter the Milaneſe, you find an excellent one. Return to Milan.——30 miles.

The 15th. The country continues flat, much of it watered, but without ſuch exertions as to Lodi; all a crouded ſcene of willows. Vaprio, where we ſtopped, is a poor place, with a dirty, miſerable, wretched inn: here I am in a chamber, that ſinks my ſpirits as I ſit and look around me; my pen, ink, and tablets, are uſeleſs before me; I want them for two or three ſubjects that have paſſed acroſs my mind in the journey, but I can do nothing; to arrange ten words with propriety, is an inſurmountable effort. I never in my life wrote three lines to pleaſe myſelf, when the circumſtances around were untoward or diſagreeable; a clean, neat apartment, a good fire, ſomething to eat better than paſte-ſoup, with tolerable wine, give a lightneſs to the boſom, and a facility to the ideas. I have not yet read any of the Abbate Amoretti's pieces; but if he writes badly in that elegant apartment, and with all the circumſtances of eaſe and luxury around him, I ſhall not have ſo good opinion of his head, as I think I ſhall always have of his heart. This chamber of Vaprio is contraſt ſufficient to his in the Palazzo Cuſina. I cannot write, ſo muſt neſtle in this nidus of fleas and bugs, which they call a bed.——20 miles.

The 16th. So much rain has fallen in the night, that the Adda has riſen too much to permit a carriage to reach the ferry; we waited, therefore, four hours till the water ſunk. This is a circumſtance to which a traveller is liable every day in Italy; for the rivers are ſo little under command, that a night's heavy rain will ſtop him. An impatient traveller, waiting on the banks of a river for the water's flowing, might, by equal genius, be ſet off as well in poetry, as a patient one is repreſented expecting till all was paſſed.—The environs of the Adda here are fine; on the ſide of the Vaprio, high land, that commands the wooded vale. Arrive, at laſt, at Bergamo. I had a letter to Dr. Maironi da Poute, ſecretary of the academy of Bergamo, to whom I went directly. I mounted a ſteep hill into the city, which is on the top of it, and ſearched hard for the doctor; after examining ſeveral ſtreets, a lady from a window, who ſeemed to pity my perplexity, (for I had been conducted to three or four ſtreets in vain), informed me, that he was in the country,—but that if I returned in the morning, I ſhould have a chance of ſeeing him. What a black, dirty, ſtinking, diſmal place! I ſtared at ſome well dreſſed people I met, wondering what they had to do there; thanking my ſtars that I was not an inhabitant of Bergamo; fooliſhly enough, as if it were the brick and mortar of a a place that give felicity, and not the connexions formed from infancy and matured by habit.——12 miles.

The 17th. Mount the hill again, in ſearch for Signore Maironi; and hearing he has a brother, to find him, ſhould I fail. I repaired to the ſtreet where the lady gave me information the night before; ſhe was luckily at her window, but the intelligence croſs to my wiſhes, for both the brothers were in the country; I need not go to the door, ſhe ſaid, for there were no ſervants in the houſe. The duſk of the evening in this dark town, had laſt night veiled the fair *incognita*, but looking a ſecond time now, I found her extremely pretty, with a pair of eyes that ſhone in uniſon with ſomething better than a ſtreet of Bergamo. She aſked me kindly after my buſineſs, *Spero che non è un grande mancamento?* words of no import, but uttered with a ſweetneſs of voice that rendered the pooreſt monoſyllable intereſting. I told her, that the boſom muſt be cold, from which her preſence did not baniſh all feeling of diſappointment. It was impoſſible not to ſay ſomething a little beyond common thanks. She bowed in return; and I thought I read in her expreſſive eyes, that I had not offended; I was encouraged to aſk the favour of Signore Maironi's addreſs in the country—*Con gran piacere vi lo darò.*—I took a card from my pocket; but her window was rather too high to hand it. I looked at the door: *Forzi è aperta.*——*Credo che sì,* ſhe replied. If the reader is an electrician, and has flown a kite in a thunder-ſtorm, he will know, that when the atmoſphere around him becomes highly electric, and his danger increaſes, if he does not quickly remove, there is a cobweb ſenſation in the air, as if he was incloſed in an inviſible net of the filmieſt goſſimer. My atmoſphere, at this moment, had ſome reſemblance to it: I had taken two ſteps to the door, when a gentleman paſſing, opened it before me, and ſtood upon the threſhold. It was the lady's huſband; ſhe was in the paſſage behind, and I was in the ſtreet before him, ſhe ſaid, *Ecco un Signore Ingleſe che ha biſogno d'una dirizione a Sig. Mairioni.* The huſband anſwered politely, that he would give it, and, taking paper and pencil from his pocket, wrote and gave it me. Nothing was ever done ſo conciſely: I looked at him aſkance, and thought him one of the uglieſt fellows I had ever ſeen. An ill natured bye-ſtander would have ſaid, that his preſence prevented a farming from becoming a ſentimental traveller. Certain it is, one now and then meets with terrible eyes in Italy; in the north of Europe they have attractive powers, here they have every ſort of power; the ſphere of the activity of an eye beam is enlarged, and he who travels as I do for the plough, muſt take care, as I ſhall in future, to keep out of the reach of it. From the ramparts of the town, below the houſe of the count de Brembate, there is a proſpect of fertile land, hardly to be equalled. In front, to the ſouth, a range of Appenines riſes above the fog, that hangs over a part of the plain. To the weſt, an immenſe curve of the Alps, that bound the Milaneſe and Piedmont; their heads uninterruptedly in ſnow, form one of the fineſt mountain-barriers to be imagined. To the eaſt, the view an unbroken, unlimited level. This vaſt plain, at one's feet, ſeems a level wood, with towns, churches, towers, and houſes. Near Bergamo, the angle of viſion permits the fields to be ſeen, and therefore more pictureſque. Similar features muſt give ſimilar proſpects, this reſembles that of the Superga. It is as hot to-day, and every one of ſun-ſhine, as in England in June.

The 18th. Yeſterday I agreed with a *vetturino*, to take me this morning at ſix o'clock, to Breſcia; but not being perfectly well, I inſiſted that he ſhould not come for me without his *vettura*, nor before the time. The raſcal knocked me up at five, and then without the carriage; it was only four ſteps, he ſaid, and wanted to hurry away my trunk. I begin to know them, and therefore ſteadily refuſed to ſtir: after much vain perſuaſion, away they went, and in three quarters of an hour returned. The dog drove me a full mile and half, on the road to Breſcia, to an inn, where there was another *vetturino*, to whom he had ſold me; and there I found myſelf, packed with three other perſons, in the worſt place; to the contrary of all which, the ſcoundrel had ſigned an agreement. My expreſſions of anger only got me laughed at. The world has not ſuch a ſet of villains as theſe *vetturini*. I have read guides and directories, and travels, that ſpeak of this way of journeying as paſſable;—if not good, very bearable; but they muſt be very partial, or very careleſs, if they mention them without indignation. Their carriages are wretched, open, crazy, jolting, dirty dung-carts; and as to their horſes, I thought, till I ſaw them, that the Iriſh garrans had no rivals on the globe; but the *cavalli di vetturini* convinced me of the error. My company were two merchant-like people, and a young man going to the univerſity of Padua; the two firſt, repeating prayers, and counting beads. How the country came to be well irrigated, is a queſtion? Pater-noſters will neither dig canals, nor make cheeſe.——32 miles.

The 19th. I had letters for Signore Pilati, ſecretary to the ſociety of agriculture; he was in the country at his brother's farm, whither I went with pleaſure: he was to introduce me to count Corniano, the preſident, but he is abſent, twenty miles out of my road. In the evening, to the opera; the houſe large, but ugly: the *Avara*, badly acted; and the taſte of the audience (the *platea*, not the boxes, ſhew a nation) ſtill worſe. Puns, conceits, diſtortions, and exaggerated action, gained great applauſe. A child, telling his name, of ten or a dozen hard ſyllables, with exaggerated mimickry of attempting to repeat them, were encored more violently than the fineſt airs would have been. This depravity of national taſte is amazing, amongſt a people that have produced ſuch proofs of genius in almoſt every walk of life.

The 20th. After a repetition of the old plagues, to find a *vetturino* for Verona, agree at laſt at the extravagent price of 33 *liri*. Depart, after dinner, with a young woman and a boy of eight or nine years old. She had not two ideas beyond her ſnuff-box, and a crucifix. I have no opinion of Venetian police, from the villainous roads through all their territory; they conſiſt every where of great ſtones, broken pavements, or mud. The country is not near ſo rich as the Milaneſe, but all thickly incloſed with hedges, full of mulberries; and incumbered, to uſe Mr. Symonds's juſt expreſſion, with pollards for training vines. Reach Deſenzano in the dark. What my religious companion did with herſelf, I know not; I ſupped alone, thanking God ſhe had not the eyes of the Bergamaſque fair. In the night, I thought the noiſe of water was different from that of a ſtream, and opening the windows in the morning, found it the waves of a fine lake. The *Lago di Guarda* was out of my recollection. ——15 miles.

The 21ſt. Coaſt the lake, with good views of it for ſeveral miles. From Breſcia to Verona, but eſpecially to Deſenzano, I believe there are fifty croſſes by the ſide of the road for deaths. When a perſon is murdered, they ſet up a croſs for the good of his ſoul. They had better inſtitute a police for that of his body. What a ſcandal to a government are ſuch proofs of their negligence! yet that of Venice is called a wiſe one.—Impaſſable roads, towns unlighted, and a full harveſt of aſſaſſinations; with men counting their beads, and women croſſing themſelves, are the chief ſigns of wiſdom I have yet ſeen. Arrive at Verona in time to deliver a letter to Signore Cagniola, aſtronomer and ſecretary of the agrarian ſociety: this muſt be a pretty inſtitution, a ſociety of farmers, with an aſtronomer for their ſecretary. He introduced me at the coffee-houſe of the Piazza to ſome lovers of agriculture; and made an appointment with the preſident of the ſociety for to-morrow.——25 miles.

The 22d. Ill luck: the preſident is obliged to go into the country; and he thinks me, I ſuppoſe, like Italian theoriſts, tied to a town. Signore Cagniola directed his ſervant to ſhew me to the houſe of Signore Michael Angelo Locatelli, to whom he had named the object of my journey laſt night. I found this gentleman, who is engaged in commerce, but who has two farms in his hands, ready to converſe with me on the ſubject of my enquiries; of Signore Cagniola, I ſaw or heard no more. I felt myſelf uncomfortable at Verona, till I had ſeen the amphitheatre, which is in truth a noble remain of antiquity, ſolid and magnificent enough yet to laſt perhaps ſome thouſands of years; that of Niſmes, cluttered up with houſes, muſt not be named with this. As I ſtood on the verge of this noble building, I could not but contemplate in idea, the innumerable crouds of people who had been ſpectators of the ſcenes exhibited in it: the reflexion was attended with what is to me a melancholy impreſſion—the utter oblivion in which ſuch hoſts are now loſt! time has ſwept their memories from the earth—has left them no traces in the records of mankind; yet here were wit and beauty, wealth and power; the vibrations of hope and fear; the agitations of exertion and enterprize——all buried in the ſilence of ſeventeen hundred years!—I read the works of ſo few poets, that I know not if the idea of ſuch oblivion has been to them as melancholy as it is to me; if ſo, they have doubtleſs given energy to the ſentiment, by the force and beauty of their expreſſions.

The 23d. This morning, I took a *cicerone* to attend me to view churches and palaces, an uncomfortable method, but when a traveller has one maſter purſuit, ſuch ſecondary objects muſt give way. The great fault here, as every where elſe, is being carried to too many things. Nothing ſtrikes more at Verona than the works of an architect, whoſe name is little known in England, St. Michael Michieli; they are of diſtinguiſhed merit, and muſt pleaſe every eye. The chapel of the Pellegrini family, in the Bernardine church, and the rotunda of *St. Georgio*, are beautiful edifices. There is ſomething ſingular in the Palazzo Bevilaqua, an idea which might have been copied with more ſucceſs, than many others that have been repeated often. The Palazzo di Conſiglia is ſimple and elegant, and preſents one of the moſt pleaſing examples of an arcade, for a ſtreet or ſquare. The theatre is large, but nothing after Milan. My expences at Breſcia, and at Verona are, dinner 3 *pauls*, ſupper 2, chamber 2; which, at 5d. Engliſh, are 2s. 11d. a-day; and as I have rooms not at all bad, good beds, and am as well ſerved at the meals as I require, it is remarkably cheap.

The 24th. The country to Vicenza is all flat, and moſtly of a ſingular face; rows of elm and maple pollards, with vines trained up, and from tree to tree; between the rows arable. This ſyſtem is not diſagreeeble till it grows tedious to the eye.——32 miles.

The 25th. Wait on count Tiene, to whom I had a recommendation; he opened the letter, but found it was to another count Tiene, who lived in the country, near Vicenza; reading in it, however, ſome expreſſions of commendation, which friends are apt to uſe in ſuch letters, he, with great eaſe and politeneſs, as he returned me the paper, offered me any aſſiſtance in his power: "Yours, Sir, is an errand that ought to recommend you to all mankind; and if you find the leaſt difficulties with others, I beg you will return to this houſe," which is one of the Palazzi di Palladio. I waited then on the Abbaté Pierropan, profeſſor of phyſics and mathematics. He had the direction, for ſome years, of the œconomical garden, given by the ſtate for experiments in agriculture, now in the hands of the agrarian academy: he received me with great politeneſs; and not only expreſſed every wiſh to aſſiſt me, but entered immediately on the buſineſs, by propoſing a walk to call on the count de Boning, preſident of that academy, in our way to the garden. I have a poor opinion of all theſe eſtabliſhments on a ſmall ſcale; in any hands, they are not calculated to do much; and in hands not truly practical, they are calculated to do nothing. The count de Boning, finding that I wiſhed to converſe with ſome real common farmers, appointed the afternoon for going into the country, about three miles,

to

to a farm of his, where I ſhould find an intelligent perſon: he then took his leave for the preſent,—and Signore Pierropan and myſelf proceeded to the villa of the count de Tiene; as he was abſent for an hour only, we employed that time in walking a little further, to view the celebrated rotunda of Palladio, belonging to count Capra, one of the three greateſt works of that great genius they poſſeſs at Vicenza. It is of a beautiful mean, between decoration and ſimplicity; the diſtribution ſeems a new and original thought, much more adapted, however, to Italy than to England; for, in the ſpace of one hundred Vicentine feet, we might, relative to our climate and manners, have a houſe far exceeding it. I am concerned to ſee ſo delicious a morſel ſuffered to go much to decay; the plaiſter on the brick columns is wearing off, and other neglect viſible. The beauty of the environs of Vicenza, exceeds any thing I have ſeen in Italy, viewed from the hill on which theſe houſes, and the church Santa Maria del Monte, are ſituated; the city in the rich plain, and the hills ſpread with white buildings, crowned by the Alps, are fine. The count de Tiene, with the aſſiſtance of another nobleman, of more experience, who happened to be preſent, gave me ſome information, relative to the part of the Vicentine in which their eſtates are ſituated. Quitting him, I begged the Abbate Pierropan to favour me with his company at dinner, by which means I had the benefit of his converſation ſo much longer on the favourite topic. The Abbate de Traico, vice-preſident of the academy, joined us. After dinner, according to appointment, to the count de Boning, whoſe coach was ready, and carried us to the farm. Fortunately the farmer, a ſenſible and intelligent man, was ready to anſwer all ſuch enquiries as I put to him. At night, returned to the city, after a rich day, that pays for the trouble of travelling.

The 26th. My friendly Abbate, continuing his obliging offices, had the goodneſs to accompany me this morning to a very famous woollen fabric, at preſent under the direction of an Engliſhman; and to a magazine of earthen-ware, in imitation of Mr. Wedgwood. It is ſurely a triumph of the arts in England, to ſee in Italy Etruſcan forms copied from Engliſh models. It is a better imitation than many I have ſeen in France. View the Olymyic theatre of Palladio, which pleaſes all the world; nothing can be more beautiful than the form, or more elegant than the colonade that ſurrounds it. Of all his works here, I like the Palazzo Barbarana leaſt. I am ſorry to ſee, that moſt of Palladio's edifices are of bricks ſtuccoed, except the Palazzo Raggione, which is of durable ſtone; and that there is hardly one of them which is not out of repair. The roof of the Palazzo di Raggione, which muſt offend every eye, is not of Palladio; only the caſe of arcades that ſurround the building, which is one vaſt room of two hundred feet by eighty, uſed for the courts of juſtice, and alſo as a common *jakes* by the mob, and dreadfully garniſhed. A pretty uſe to which to apply an edifice of Palladio. The brick columns, of this great architect, are of the fineſt work I ever ſaw; and ſome of the ſtucco only now failing, after two hundred years. At Verona and Vicenza, there are very few new houſes, and no ſigns, that I could ſee, of the wealth and proſperity of the preſent age. There are exceptions, but they are few. A ſilk merchant here has built a good houſe; and Signore Cordelina, an advocate at Venice, a large and handſome one, that coſt 100,000 ducats, without being finiſhed: he made his fortune by pleading.

The 27th. To Padua. The country, which has been called a garden by travellers, not at all better cultivated than before, but deeper and richer. The ſame flat, lined into rows of pollards and vines in the ſame manner; very little irrigation, except ſome rice. Waited on Signore Arduino, experimenter in agriculture, on a farm, or rather a garden, of twelve acres, given by the ſtate. I had heard much of this œconomical garden, and of the great number of uſeful experiments made in it; ſo much, indeed, that it weighed conſiderably with me in the arrangement of my journey; Venice was no object; and I could not, if I took Padua, have time for the Pontine marſhes and Rome, which, by the direct road, I could have reached from Milan; but an experimental farm, the firſt I was aſſured in Europe, and which had thrown light on various important enquiries, was an object which I ought, as a farming traveller, to prefer to any city, and I determined accordingly. Signore Arduino received me politely, and appointed to-morrow for that gratification. At night to the opera, the *Due Baroni*, of Cimaroſa, whoſe muſic to me has always ſomething original and pleaſing; but though the parts were not ill performed, and the orcheſtra powerful, yet the houſe being almoſt empty,—and thoſe in it wearing ſuch a ſhabby appearance, and the muſicians all ſo dirty and undreſſed, that I felt here, what I have often done before, that half the charms of a theatre depend on the audience;—one muſt be in good humour——a certain exhilaration muſt be ſpringing in the boſom; willingneſs to enjoy muſt be expanded into enjoyment, by the ſympathy of ſurrounding objects. Pleaſure is caught from eyes that ſparkle with the expectation of being pleaſed. Empty boxes, and a dirty pit, with a theatre but half lighted, made the muſic, with all its gaiety, *ſombre*; I left *Gulielmi's Paſtorella nobili*, for the ſilence of my chamber.——21 miles.

The 28th. In the morning, viewing buildings, of which few are worth the trouble: then to deliver letters, but I was not fortunate in finding Meſſieurs the profeſſors at home: Signore Arduino was ſo by appointment, and ſhewed me the experimental farm, as it ought to be called, for he is profeſſor of practical agriculture in this celebrated univerſity. I will enter into no detail of what I ſaw here. I made my bow to the profeſſor; and only thought, that his experiments were hardly worth giving up the capital of the world. If I keep my reſolution, this ſhall be the laſt œconomical garden that I will ever go near. Among the buildings I viewed to-day, I was much ſtruck with the church Santa Juſtina: though built in no perfect ſtyle, it has, on entering, an effect unuſually impoſing. It is clean, and well kept; the pavement a very fine one, of marble,—and the magnitude being conſiderable, forms, on the whole, a ſplendid *coup d'œil*. That of St. Anthony is little, on compariſon, and made leſs by multiplied diviſions and numerous decorations. Numbers were on their knees before the ſainted ſhrine, to which millions have reſorted. Here mingled faith, folly, and enthuſiaſm, have ſought conſolation, and found more than they merited. The Palazzo di Conſiglia, which we ſhould call the town-hall, is one of the greateſt—if not *the* greateſt room in Europe. It is three hundred feet long, and one hundred broad; it does not want the excrementitious garniture of that of Vicenza.

The 29th. Waited, by appointment, on Signore Carbury, profeſſor of chymiſtry; a lively pleaſing man, with whom I wiſhed to converſe a little on the application of his ſcience to agriculture; but that was not eaſy. Politics came acroſs him, in which I happened to mention the extraordinary proſperity of England ſince the American war; and he took the clue, and conducted it through ſuch a labyrinth of admirals, generals, red hot balls, and floating batteries:—Rodney, Elliot, Necker, and Catherine, with the Lord knows what beſides, that I thought he meant to make a tour as great as Mr. Wraxal's. He however gave me a note to the celebrated aſtronomer, Signore Toaldo, to whom I wanted an introduction, and whoſe obſervatory I viewed. He aſſured me, that he continues firmly of the ſame opinion, of which he has always been, relative to the influence of the moon on our ſeaſons, and the importance of attending to the lunar period of eighteen years. I begged the titles of his memoirs, as I had yet procured only his *Meteorologia applicata all' Agricultura*; he ſaid, the others were difficult to find, but he would give me them. For this generous offer, I expreſſed my warmeſt thanks, and readily accepted it. On deſcending into his library, he preſented me with the ſupplement to what I had; and alſo his tract, *Della Vera Influenza*, &c. After ſome other converſation, he told me, the price was 8 *liri*, and the ſupplement, 30 *ſoldi*. I was at a loſs to know what he meant, by telling me the price of his book; for, to offer him money, would, I feared, affront him. After ſome minutes, he again reminded me, that the price was 9½ *liri*: on which I took out my purſe. The Vera Influenza, he ſaid, was only 6 *liri*, but being ſcarce, he muſt have eight for it, which, with 30*ſ*. for the other, made 9½ liv. I paid him, and took my leave. There was not the leaſt reaſon to expect Signore Toaldo to make me, an utter ſtranger, a preſent of a farthing; but his manner made me ſmile. I had left a letter yeſterday at the houſe of the Abbate Fortis, well known in England by his travels in Dalmatia,

tia; to-day I received a viſit from him. He has that livelineſs and vivacity which diſtinguiſh his nation; was polite in his offers of ſervice, and entered into converſation concerning the vines of his country. He travelled, many years ago, with lord Briſtol and Mr. Symonds; and I was glad to find, that he ſpoke as handſomely of them both, as I have heard them both mention him. This is the third evening I have ſpent by myſelf at Padua, with five letters to it; I do not even hint any reproach in this; they are wiſe, and I do truly commend their good ſenſe: I condemn nobody but myſelf, who have, for fifteen or twenty years paſt, whenever a foreigner brings me a letter, which ſome hundreds have done—given him an Engliſh welcome, for as many days as he would favour me with his company, and ſought no other pleaſure but to make my houſe agreeable. Why I make this minute at Padua, I know not; for it has not been peculiar to that place, but to ſeven-eighths of all I have been at in Italy. I have miſtaken the matter through life abundantly,—and find that foreigners underſtand this point incomparably better than we do. I am, however, afraid that I ſhall not learn enough of them to adopt their cuſtoms, but continue thoſe of our own nation.

The 30th. I had been ſo ſick of *vetturini*, that I was glad to find there was a covered paſſage boat that goes regularly to Venice; I did not expect much from it, and therefore was not diſappointed to find a jumble of all ſorts of people; except thoſe of fortune. There were churchmen, two or three officers, and ſome others, better dreſſed than I ſhould have looked for, for in Italy people are obliged to be œconomical. At Dollo, the half way place, I formed, for dinner, a little party, of two Abbati, an officer, and a pretty Venetian girl, who was lively and ſenſible. We dined by ourſelves, with great good humour. After leaving Fuſina, there is from the banks of the canal (I walked much of the journey), at the diſtance of four miles, a beautiful view of the city. On entering the Adriatic, a party of us quitted the bark, and, to ſave time, hired a large boat, which conveyed us to this equally celebrated and ſingular place; it was nearly dark when we entered the grand canal. My attention was alive, all expectancy: there was light enough to ſhew the objects around me to be among the moſt intereſting I had ever ſeen, and they ſtruck me more than the firſt entrance of any other place I had been at. To Signore Petrillo's inn. My companions, before the gondola came to the ſteps, told me, that as ſoon as Petrillo found me to be a Signore Ingleſi, there would be three torches lighted to receive me:—it was juſt ſo: I was not too much flattered at theſe three torches, which ſtruck me at once as three pick-pockets. I was conducted to an apartment that looked on to the grand canal, ſo neat, and every thing in it ſo clean and good, that I almoſt thought myſelf in England. To the opera. A Venetian audience, a Paduan, Milaneſe, Turineſe, &c. exactly ſimilar for dancing. What with the ſtupid length of the ballets, the importance given to them, and the almoſt excluſive applauſe they demand, the Italian opera is become much more a ſchool of dancing than of muſic. I cannot forgive this, for of forty dances, and four hundred paſſages, there are not four worth a farthing. It is diſtorted motion, and exaggerated agility; if a dancer places his head in the poſition his heels ſhould be in, without touching the ground; if he can light on his toes, after twirling himſelf in the air; if he can extend his legs, ſo as to make the breadth of his figure greater than the length; or contract them to his body, ſo as to ſeem to have no legs at all; he is ſure to receive ſuch applauſe, ſo many bravos, and braviſſimos, as the moſt exquiſite airs that ever were compoſed would fail to attract. The *ballarini*, or female dancers, have the ſame fury of motion, the ſame energy of diſtortion, the ſame tempeſt of agility. Dances of ſuch exquiſite elegance, as to allure attention, by voluptuous eaſe, rather than ſtrike it by painful exertion, are more difficult, and demand greater talents: in this ſuperior walk, the Italians, where I have been, are deficient.——24 miles.

The 31ſt. My firſt buſineſs was to agree with a gondolier, who is to attend me for 6 *pauls* a day. This ſpecies of boat, as all the world knows, is one of the moſt agreeable things to be found at Venice; at a trifling expence, it equals the convenience of a coach and a pair of horſes in any other city. I rowed out to deliver letters. Venice is empty at preſent, almoſt every body being in the country, but I met with Signore Giovanne Arduino, ſuperintendant of agriculture throughout the Venetian dominions, who has a conſiderable reputation, for the attention he has given to this object, and for ſome publications on it. It may be ſuppoſed, from his reſidence in this city, that he is not himſelf a practical huſbandman. Spent a few hours among palaces, churches, and paintings. Every where in Italy, the number of theſe is too great to dwell on. I ſhall only note, that the picture which made the greateſt impreſſion on me, was the family of Darius at the feet of Alexander, by Paul Veroneſe. The expreſſion of the moment is admirably caught; the ſtory well told; the grouping ſkilful; the colouring mellow and brilliant; the whole nature; all is alive; the figures ſpeak; you hear the words on their lips; a calm dignity is admirably mixed with the emotions of the moment. Here was a ſubject worthy of employing a genius. It is in the Palazzo Piſani. Titian's preſentation in the temple, in the Scuola della Carità, pleaſed me greatly. His bewitching pencil has given ſuch life and luſtre to ſome figures in this piece, that the eye is not ſoon ſatisfied with viewing it. St. Mark's palace contains ſuch a profuſion of noble works by Tiziano, Tintoretto, Paola Veroneſe, Baſſano, and Palma, as to form a ſchool for artiſts to ſtudy in. Cochin, in his *Voyage d'Italie*, has given the particulars, with criticiſms that have leſs offended the Italians, than moſt other works of a ſimilar kind. The brazen horſes, given to Nero by Tiridates, carried to Conſtantinople by Conſtantine, and brought from thence by the Venetians, when they took that city, are admirable: pity they are not nearer to the eye. The mouths of the lions, not leſs celebrated than Venice itſelf, are ſtill in exiſtence; I hope regarded with deteſtation by every man that views them. There is but one accuſation that ought to enter them; the voice of the PEOPLE againſt the government of the *ſtate*. In the evening at the theatre (a tragedy) I was agreeably diſappointed, to find that the Italians have ſomething beſides harlequin and punchinello.

NOVEMBER 1. The cheapneſs of Italy is remarkable, and puzzles me not a little to account for; yet it is a point of too much importance to be neglected. I have, at Petrillo's, a clean good room, that looks on the grand canal, and to the Rialto, which, by the way, is a fine arch, but an ugly bridge; an excellent bed, with neat furniture, very rare in Italian inns, for, the bedſtead is uſually four forms, like truſſels, ſet together; fine ſheets, which I have not met with before in this country; and my dinner and ſupper provided at the old price of 8 *pauls* a-day, or 3s. 4d. including the chamber. I am very well ſerved at dinner with many and good diſhes, and ſome of them *ſolids*; two bottles of wine, neither good nor bad, but certainly cheap; for though they ſee I drink ſcarcely half of it in my negus at ſupper, yet a bottle is brought every night. I have been aſſured, by two or three perſons, that the price at Venice, *a la mercantile*, is only 4 to 6 *pauls*; but I ſuppoſe they ſerve a foreigner better. To theſe 8 *pauls*, I add 6 more for a *gondola*;—breakfaſt 10 *ſoldi*; if I go to the opera, it adds 3 *pauls*;—thus, for about 7s. 3d. a-day, a man lives at Venice, keeps his ſervant, his coach, and goes every night to a public entertainment. To dine well at a London coffee-houſe, with a pint of bad port, and a very poor deſſert, coſts as much as the whole day here. There is no queſtion but a man may live better at Venice for 100l. a year, than at London for 500l.; and yet the difference of the price of the common neceſſaries of life, ſuch as bread, meat, &c. is trifling. Several cauſes contribute to this effect at Venice; its ſituation on the Adriatic, at the very extremity of civilized Europe, in the vicinity of many poor countries; the uſe of gondolas, inſtead of horſes, is an article perhaps of equal importance. But the manners of the inhabitants, the modes of living, and the very moderate incomes of the maſs of the people, have perhaps more weight than either of thoſe cauſes. Luxury here takes a turn much more towards enjoyment, than conſumption; the ſobriety of the people does much, the nature of their food more; paſtes, macaroni, and vegetables are much eaſier provided than beef and mutton. Cookery, as in France, enables them to ſpread a table for half the expence of an Engliſh one. If cheapneſs of living, *ſpectacles*, and pretty women, are a man's objects in fixing his reſidence, let him live at Venice: for myſelf, I think I would not be an inhabitant

bitant to be Doge, with the power of the Grand Turk. Brick and ſtone, and ſky and water, and not a field nor a buſh even for fancy to pluck a roſe from! My heart cannot expand in ſuch a place: an admirable monument of human induſtry, but not a theatre for the feelings of a farmer!—Give me the fields, and let others take the tide of human life, at Charing-croſs and Fleet-ditch*. Called again on Signore Arduino; converſe on the ſtate of agriculture in Italy, and the cauſes which have contributed to accelerate or retard it; and from him to a *conſervatorio* at the Oſpalletto. Dr. Burney, in his pleaſing and elegant tour, has given an account of them.

The 2d. A tour among *Chieſe*, *Scuole*, e *Pallazzi*; but there is ſuch an abundance of buildings and collections to which books ſend one, that much time is always loſt. The only traveller's guide that would be worth a farthing, would be a *little* book that gave a catalogue of the beſt articles to be ſeen in every town, in the order of merit. So that if a man in paſſing has but one hour, he uſes it in ſeeing the beſt object the place contains; if he has three days, he takes the beſt the three days will give him; and if he ſtays three months he may fill it with the like gradation; and what is of equal conſequence, he may ſtop when he pleaſes and ſee no more; confident, as far as he has extended his view, that he has ſeen the objects that will pay him beſt for his attention. There is no ſuch book, and ſo much the worſe for travellers. In the library of St. Mark among the antiques, are Commodus, Auguſtus, and Adrian; and more particularly to be noted, a fallen gladiator: a ſingular and whimſical Leda, by Cocenius. In the Palazzo Barbarigo, the Venus and the Magdalen of Titian, are beautiful, though they have loſt much of their glowing warmth by time. Two Rembrandts in the Palazzo Farſetti. A Holy Family, by Andrea del Sarto. Titian's portrait, by himſelf. I finiſhed by going up St. Mark's tower, which is high enough to command a diſtant view of all the iſlands on which Venice is built, and a great range of coaſt and mountains. The country ſeems every where a wood. Nothing rivals the view of the city and the iſles. It is the moſt beautiful, and by far the moſt ſingular that I have ſeen. The breadth of the Giudecca canal, ſpread with ſhips and boats, and walled by many noble buildings, with the iſles diſtinct from Venice, of which the eye takes in four-and-twenty, form, upon the whole, a *coup d'œil*, that exceeds probably every thing the world has to exhibit. The city, in general, has ſome beautiful features, but does not equal the idea I had formed of it, from the pictures of Canaletti. A poor old gothic houſe makes a fine figure on canvaſs. The irregularity of front is greater perhaps than in any other city of equal importance; no where preſerved for three houſes together. You have a palace of three magnificent ſtories, and near it a hovel of one. Hence, there is not that ſpecies of magnificence which reſults from uniformity; or from an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of conſiderable edifices. As to ſtreets, properly ſo called, there is nothing ſimilar to them in the world; twelve feet is a broad one; I meaſured the breadth of many that were only four and five. The greater part of the canals, which are here properly the ſtreets, are ſo narrow, as much to take off from the beauty of the buildings that are upon them. St. Mark's place has been called the fineſt ſquare in Europe, which is a fine exaggeration. It appears large, becauſe every other ſpace is ſmall. The buildings, however, that ſurround it are ſome of them fine; but they are more intereſting than beautiful. This ſpot is the immediate ſeat and heart of one of the moſt celebrated rebublics that has exiſted. St. Mark's church, the Doge's palace, the library, the Doge himſelf, the nobles, the famous caſinos, the coffee-houſes: thus, St. Mark's ſquare is the ſeat of government, of politics, and of intrigue. What Venice offers of power and pleaſure, may be ſought here; and you can uſe your legs commodiouſly no where elſe. Venice ſhines in churches, palaces, and one fine ſquare; and the beauty of the large canals is great. What ſhe wants are good common houſes, that mark the wealth and eaſe of the people; inſtead of which, the major part are gothic, that ſeem almoſt as old as the republic. Of modern houſes there are few—and of new ones fewer; a ſure proof that the ſtate is not flouriſhing. Take it, however, on the whole, and it is a moſt noble city; certainly the moſt ſingular to be met with in the world. The canal of the Giudecca, and the grand canal, are unrivalled in beauty and magnificence. Four great architects have contributed their talents for the fine buildings to be met with here;—Palladio, St. Micheli, Sanſovino, and Scamozzi. The church of St. Georgio Maggiore, by the firſt, is of a noble ſimplicity; and that of St. Maria della Saluta, of St. Micheli, has parts of admirable beauty; he ſeems always happy in his domes; and the portal of this church is truly elegant. If a genius were to ariſe at preſent at Venice, as great as Palladio, how would he find employment? The taſte of building churches is over: the rich nobles have other ways of ſpending their incomes. Great edifices are uſually raiſed by newly acquired fortunes; there are now either none, or too inconſiderable to decorate the city. In England, all animated vigour of exertion is among individuals, who aim much more at comfort within, than magnificence without; and for want of public ſpirit and police, a new city has ariſen at London, built of baked mud and aſhes, rather than bricks; without ſymmetry, or beauty, or duration; but diſtinguiſhed by its cleanneſs, convenience, and arrangement. At a *prova*, or rehearſal of a new opera, *Il Burbero benefico*, by Martini of Vienna, much to my entertainment.

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* See Mr. Boſwell's agreeable life of Dr. Johnſon.

The 3d. To the arſenal, in which there is very little indeed worth the trouble of viewing; travellers have given dreadful exaggerations of it; the number of ſhips, frigates, and gallies is inconſiderable; and I came out of this famous arſenal, with a much meaner opinion of the Venetian naval force, than I had entered it. Yet *they ſay* there are 3000 men conſtantly employed: if there are half the number, what are they about? The armoury is well arranged, clean, and in good order. The famous *bucentaur*, is a heavy, ill built, ugly gilded monſter, with none of that light airy elegance which a decorated yacht has. A thing made for pleaſure only, ſhould have at leaſt an agreeable phyſiognomy. I know nothing of the ceremony, ſo good as Shenſtone's ſtanza, comparing the vanity of the Doge's ſplendour on that day, with the real enjoyment which a hermit on her ſhore has of his ducal *cara ſpoſa*. The ſhips in this arſenal, even of eighty-eight guns, are built under cover; and this is not ſo great an expence as might be thought; the buildings are only two thick brick walls, with a very light roof: but the expence is probably much more than ſaved in the duration of the ſhip. I mounted by the ſcaffolds, and entered one of eighty-eight guns, that has been twenty-five years building, and is not above four-fifths finiſhed at preſent. At the opera.—The ſex of Venice are undoubtedly of a diſtinguiſhed beauty; their complexions are delicate, and, for want of rouge, the French think them pale; but it is not perſon, nor complexion, nor features, that are the characteriſtic; it is expreſſion, and phyſiognomy; you recognize great ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, without that inſipidity which is ſometimes met with it; charms that carry a magic with them, formed for ſenſibility more than admiration; to make hearts feel much more than tongues ſpeak. They muſt be generally beautiful here, or they would be hideous from their dreſs: the common one, at preſent, is a long cloth cloak, and a man's cocked hat. The round hat in England is rendered feminine by feathers and ribbons; but here, when the petticoats are concealed, you look again at a figure before you recognize the ſex. The head-dreſſes I ſaw at Milan, Lodi, &c. ſhew the taſte and fancy of this people. It is indeed their region; their productions in all the fine and elegant arts, have ſhewn a fertility, a facility of invention, that ſurpaſſes every other nation; and if a reaſon is to be ſought, for the want of energy of character with which the modern Italians have been reproached (perhaps unjuſtly), we may poſſibly find it in this exquiſite taſte—perhaps inconſiſtent in the ſame characters with thoſe rougher and more rugged feelings, that reſult from tenſion, not laxity, of fibre. An exquiſite ſenſibility has given them the empire of painting, ſculpture, architecture, poetry, and muſic; whether or not to this it has been owing that their beautiful country has been left under the dominion of Germans, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, is a queſtion not difficult to decide.

The 4th. I am in double luck; two perſons, to whom I had letters, are returned from the country. I waited upon one of them, who received me in a very friendly manner, and entered into a converſation with me intereſting, becauſe on ſubjects of importance. I explained to him the object of my travels; and told him, that I reſided a few days in great cities, for the advantage of converſation on thoſe topics of political œconomy, which concerned the general welfare of all nations. He told me very frankly that he was no farmer, and therefore for the practical part of my enquiries could not ſay much: that as to the other objects, which were without doubt important, he would give me any information in his power. I ſaid, that I wiſhed for none on points which the nature of the government made improper to aſk about; and if inadvertently I ſhould demand any thing of that complexion, he would have the goodneſs to pardon and paſs it by. He interrupted me haſtily, "foreigners are ſtrangly apt to entertain falſe ideas of this republic; and to think that the ſame principles govern it at preſent as are ſuppoſed to have been its guidance ſome centuries paſt. In all probability half of what you have heard about it is erroneous; you may converſe as freely at Venice as at London; and the ſtate is wiſe enough (for in ſuch caſes they are really very moderate and tender) to concern themſelves not at all with what does not tend directly to injure or diſturb the eſtabliſhed order of things. You have heard much of ſpies, and executions, and drownings, &c. but believe me, there is not one circumſtance at Venice that is not changed, and greatly too, even in twenty years." Encouraged by this declaration, I ventured to put enquiries on population, revenues, taxes, liberty, &c. and on the government as influencing theſe; and it gave me no ſlight ſatiſfaction to find that he was the man he had been repreſented;—able, keen, and intelligent; who had ſeen much of the world, and underſtood thoſe topics perfectly. He was ſo obliging as to aſk me to ſpend what time I could with him—ſaid, that for ſome days he ſhould be conſtantly at home; and whenever it ſuited me to come, he deſired me to do it without ceremony. I was not equally fortunate with the other perſon; who ſeemed ſo little diſpoſed to enter into converſation on any ſubject but trifles, that I preſently ſaw he was not a man for me to be much the wiſer for: in all political topics it was eaſy to ſuppoſe motives for ſilence; but relative to points of agriculture, or rather the produce of eſtates, &c. perhaps his ignorance was the real cauſe of his reſerve. In regard to *ciciſbeiſm*, he was ready enough to chat; he ſaid that foreigners were very illiberal in ſuppoſing that the cuſtom was a mere cloak for vice and licentiouſneſs; on the contrary, he contended, that at Paris, a city he knew well, there is juſt as much freedom of manners as at Venice. He ſaid as much for the cuſtom as it will bear; mollifying the features of the practice, but not removing them. We may however hope, that the ladies do not merit the ſcandal with which foreigners have loaded them; and that the beauty of ſome of them is joined with what Petrarch thought it ſo great an enemy to:

> Due gran nemiche inſieme erano aggiunte
> Bellezza ed oneſtà——

At night to a new tragedy of Fayel, a tranſlation from the French; well acted by Signore and Signora Belloni. It is a circumſtance of criticiſm, amazing to my ears, that the Italian language ſhould have been repreſented as wanting force and vigour, and proper only for effeminate ſubjects. It ſeems, on the contrary, as powerfully expreſſive of lofty and vigorous ſentiments, of the terrible and the ſublime, as it is admirable in breathing the ſofteſt notes of love and pity; it has even powers of harſh and rugged expreſſion. There is nothing more ſtriking in the manners of different nations, than in the idea of ſhame annexed to certain neceſſities of nature. In England a man makes water (if I may uſe ſuch an expreſſion) with a degree of privacy, and a woman never in ſight of our ſex. In France and Italy there is no ſuch feeling, ſo that Sterne's Madame Rambouillet was no exaggeration. In Otaheite, to eat in company is ſhameful and indecent; but there is no immodeſty in performing the rites of love before as many ſpectators as chance may aſſemble. There is between the front row of chairs in the pit and the orcheſtra, in the Venetian theatre, a ſpace of five or ſix feet without floor: a well dreſſed man, ſitting almoſt under a row of ladies in the ſide boxes, ſtepped into this place, and made water with as much indifference as if he had been in the ſtreet; and nobody regarded him with any degree of wonder but myſelf. It is, however, a beaſtly trick:—ſhame may be ideal, but not cleanlineſs; for the want of it is a ſolid and undoubted evil. For a city of not more than 150,000 people, Venice is wonderfully provided with theatres; there are ſeven; and all of them are ſaid to be full in the carnival. The cheapneſs of admiſſion, except at the ſerious opera, undoubtedly does much to fill them.

The 5th. Another tour among palaces, and churches, and pictures; one ſees too many at once to have clear ideas. Called again on —— ———, and had another converſation with him, better than a ſcore of fine pictures. He made an obſervation on the goodneſs of the diſpoſition of the common people at Venice, which deſerves, in candour, to be noted: that there are ſeveral circumſtances, which would have conſiderable effect in multiplying crimes, were the people diſpoſed to commit them: 1ſt, the city is abſolutely open, no walls, no gates, nor any way of preventing the eſcape of criminals by night, as well as by day:—2d, that the manner in which it is built, the narrowneſs and labyrinth-direction of the ſtreets, with canals every where, offer great opportunities of concealment, as well as eſcape: 3d, the government never reclaims of any foreign power a criminal that flies: 4th, there is no police whatever; and it is an error to ſuppoſe that the ſyſtem of *eſpionage* (much exaggerated) is ſo directed as to anſwer the purpoſe: 5th, for want of more commerce and manufactures, there are great numbers of idle loungers, who muſt find it difficult to live: 6th, and laſtly, the government very ſeldom hangs, and it is exceedingly rare otherwiſe to puniſh.——From this union of circumſtances it would be natural to ſuppoſe, that rogues of all kinds would abound; yet that the contrary is the fact; and he aſſured me, he does not believe there is a city in Europe, of equal population, where there are fewer crimes, or attempts againſt the life, property, or peace of others: that he walks the ſtreets at all hours in the night, and never with any ſort of arms. The concluſion in favour of his countrymen is very fair; at the ſame time I muſt remark, that theſe very circumſtances, which he produces to ſhew that crimes ought to abound, might perhaps, with as much truth, be quoted as reaſons for their not being found. From the want of puniſhment and police, may probably be drawn an important concluſion, that mankind are always beſt when not too much governed; that a great deal may ſafely be left to themſelves, to their own management, and to their own feelings; that law and regulation, neceſſary as they may be in ſome caſes, are apt to be carried much too far; that frequent puniſhments rather harden than deter offenders; and that a maze of laws, for the preſervation of the peace, with a ſwarm of magiſtrates to protect it, hath much ſtronger tendency to break, than to ſecure it. It is fair to connect this circumſtance of comparative freedom from crimes, with ſeven theatres for only 150,000 people; and the admiſſion ſo cheap, that the loweſt of the people frequent them; more, perhaps, in favour of theatrical repreſentations than all that Rouſſeau's brilliant genius could ſay againſt them. At night to another theatre, that of the tragi-comedy, where a young actreſs, apparently not twenty, ſupported the principal ſerious part with ſuch juſtneſs of action, without exaggeration; and ſpoke this charming language, with ſuch a clear articulation and expreſſion, as, for her age, was amazing.

The 6th. Another viſit to iſlands and manufactures, &c.

The 7th. My laſt day at Venice; I made, therefore, a gleaning of ſome ſights I had before neglected, and called once more on my friend —— ——, aſſuring him truly, that it would give me pleaſure to ſee him in England, or to be of any ſervice to him there. The *Corriere di Bologna*, a covered barge, the only conveyance, ſets off to-night at eleven o'clock. I have taken my place, paid my money, and delivered my baggage; and as the quay from which the barge departs is conveniently near the opera-houſe, and *Il Burbero di buon Cuore* acted for the firſt night, I took my leave of Signore Petrillo's excellent inn, which deſerves every commendation, and went to the opera. I found it equal to what the *prova* had indicated; it is an inimitable performance; not only abounding with many very pleaſing airs, but the whole piece is agreeable, and does honour to the genius and taſte of Signore Martini. Swift, in one of his letters to Stella, after dining with lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, and going in the evening to ſome ſcrub, ſays, he hates to be a prince and a ſcoundrel the ſame day. I had, to-night all this feeling with a vengeance. From the repreſentation of a pleaſing and elegant performance, the muſic of which was well adapted to ſtring one's feelings to a certain pitch, in clear uniſon with the pleaſure that ſparkled in ſo many eyes, and ſounded from ſo many hands—I ſtepped at once, in full contraſt, into the bark *Detto Corriere di Bologna*; a cabin about ten feet ſquare, round which ſat in ſilence, and the darkneſs viſible of a wretched lamp, a company, whoſe rolling eyes examined, without one word of reception, each paſſenger that entered. The wind howled, and the rain beat in at the hole left for entering. My feelings that thrilled during the evening, were diſſipated in a moment, and the gloom of my boſom was ſoon in uniſon with that of the ſcene.

Of this voyage from Venice to Bologna, all the powers of language would fail me to give the idea I would wiſh to impreſs. The time I paſſed in it I rank among the moſt diſagreeable days I ever experienced, and by a thouſand degrees the worſt ſince I left England; yet I had no choice: the roads are ſo infamouſly bad, or rather ſo impracticable, that there are no *vetturini*; even thoſe whoſe fortune admits poſting make this paſſage by water, and when I found that Monſ. de la Lande, ſecretary to the French ambaſſador at Turin, had made the ſame journey, in the ſame conveyance, and yet in his book ſays not a word againſt the accommodation, how was I to have divined, that it could prove ſo execrable? A little more thought, however, would have told me that it was too cheap to be good, the price, for the whole voyage of 125 miles, is only 30 *pauls* (17s. 6d.) for which you are boarded. After a day's ſpitting of a dozen people, in ten feet ſquare (enough to make a dog ſick), mattreſſes are ſpread on the ground, and you reſt on them as you can, packed almoſt like herrings in a barrel; they are then rolled up and tumbled under a bulk, without the leaſt attention which ſide is given you the night after; add to this the odours of various ſorts, eaſy to imagine. At dinner, the cabin is the kitchen, and the *padrone* the cook, he takes ſnuff, wipes his noſe with his fingers, and the knife with his handkerchief, while he prepares the victuals, which he handles before you, till you are ſick of the idea of eating. But, on changing the bark to one whoſe cabin was too ſmall to admit any cookery, he brought his ſteakes and ſauſages, rolled up in a paper, and that in his flag of abomination (as Smollet calls a continental handkerchief), which he ſpread on his knees as he ſat, opening the greaſy treaſure, for thoſe to eat out of his lap with their fingers, whoſe ſtomachs could bear ſuch a repaſt. Will an Engliſh reader believe that there were perſons preſent who ſubmitted, without a murmur, to ſuch a voyage, and who were beyond the common mercantile crews one meets with in a *vetturini*?—ſome well dreſſed, with an appearance and converſation that ſpoke nothing of the blackguard. I draw concluſions, operating ſtrongly againſt the private and domeſtic comforts of life, from ſuch public vehicles: this is the only one for thoſe who paſs to and from Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome, and Naples, and of courſe muſt be exceedingly frequented; and there are no *voitures* by land to rival it. If theſe people were clean, decent, and comfortable at home, is it credible that they would ſubmit to ſuch a mode of travelling? The contraſt would ſhock them as it would Engliſhmen, who would move heaven and earth to eſtabliſh a better conveyance, at a higher price. The people who travel thus, form the great maſs of a nation, if we except the poor; it is of little conſequence how the Cornari and the Moroſini live; they live probably like great lords in other countries; but the public and national proſperity is intimately connected with the comforts and accommodations of the lower claſſes, which appear in Italy to be, on compariſon with England, miſerably inferior. Their excellencies, the *ariſtocrats* of Venice, do not travel thus; and as to *the people*, whether they go on their heads, in the mud, or to the devil, is all one to the ſpirit of their government. For myſelf, I walked much of the journey, and eſpecially on the banks of the Po, for the better view of that great river, now rendered immenſe by the late dreadful floods, which have deluged ſo much of the country. Along the banks, which are high dykes, raiſed many feet againſt its depredations, there are matted huts at every hundred or two hundred yards, with men ſtationed, called *guardia di Po*, ready to aſſemble with their tools, at a moment's warning, in caſe of a breach; they have fires all night. Soldiers alſo make the rounds, night and day, to ſee that the men are at their ſtations,—and to give aſſiſtance if wanted. There is a known and curious piece of roguery, againſt which much of this caution is bent; the miſchief of a breach is ſo great, that when the danger becomes very imminent, the farmers, in the night, croſs the river in boats, in order to bore holes in the banks, to enable the water the eaſier to make a breach, that by giving it a direction contrary to that of their own lands, they may render themſelves ſecure. For this reaſon, the guards permit no navigation, except by privileged barks, like the *corrieri*, firing at all others that are ſeen on the river. It is now an immenſe body of water, twice, and in ſome places perhaps even thrice as broad as the Thames at London. As to the face of the country, from the Lagunes to Ferrara, it is every where nearly the ſame as what I have ſo often deſcribed; whether graſs or arable, laid out into rows of pollards, with vines trained to them, at various diſtances, but always near enough to give the whole the appearance of a wood, when viewed from the leaſt diſtance. It does not ſeem to want people; towns and villages being numerous; and there are all the ſigns of a conſiderable navigation; every village being a port, with abundance of barges, barks, boats, &c. Coffee-houſes remarkably abound in the Venetian dominions; at all towns, and even villages, where we paſſed, they are to be found, fortunately for me, as they were my reſource, to make amends for the dirty fingers, and beaſtly handkerchief of our Signore Padrone. Before I entirely finiſh with Venice, I ſhall inſert a few circumſtances, with which I was favoured by an Italian, who reſided ſome time in that city, and had abilities that would not allow me to doubt of his capacity, in forming a true eſtimate of any political circumſtance, to which he directed his attention. His account of the principal nobility of the republic, is ſuch as would explain much more than I have ſeen or heard in their dominions. He ſays, " the education of the great is the diſgrace of Venice. Men of the firſt families are not only ignorant to a degree ſhameful in ſo enlightened an age, but they are educated in a bad *ton*; with ill manners, from ideas that are ſuffered to be inſtilled by dependents, which do not quit them through life; fixing, from early habit, the taſte for bad company; while a pernicious indulgence exempts them from all learning: that this is ſo general, and is ſo extenſive in its influence, that, had the interior organization of this government been leſs admirable, it would, from this very cauſe, have mouldered to nothing long ago: that the pride, of which they are accuſed, is owing equally to bad company and to ignorance; the firſt gives them vague and improper ideas of their own importance, and the ſecond inſpires them with reſerve, to conceal their want of that knowledge which others, and eſpecially foreigners, poſſeſs: that the ill effects of this bad education, will be ſeen more and more; the governments of Europe being at preſent infinitely more enlightened than in times paſt; and improved conſiderably even in the laſt twenty years. There is, of neceſſity, a ſtruggle among all nations, emulous to make the greateſt progreſs in uſeful knowledge, and to apply all knowledge to the moſt uſeful purpoſes; in ſuch a period, therefore (he added), any people who are ſtationary, and more particularly any government that is ſo, will be outſtripped in the great courſe by their competitors, and perhaps trampled on, like the monarchy of France, by thoſe in whom *light* hath taken the place of *ignorance*." Pity that the richeſt blood in European veins ſhould at preſent experience ſuch an education!

Here are about forty families, unqueſtionably the moſt ancient in Europe. All other countries, except Venice, have been conquered, or over-run, or ſo deſtroyed, that the oldeſt families may be dated comparatively from only modern periods; he who looks back to a well defined anceſtry, from the tenth and eleventh centuries, and who can thus trace his lineage ſeven or eight hundred years, is in every country reſpected for antiquity; of this ſtanding are the families of Bourbon, d'Eſté, Montmorency, Courtenaye, &c. which are commonly eſteemed the firſt in Europe; but they are not eſteemed ſo at Venice. Some of the Roman families, which, from the ravages of the Huns, took ſhelter in the iſles of Venice, and which were THEN conſiderable enough to be entruſted with the government of their country, yet remain, and are unqueſtionably the moſt ancient in Europe. De la Lande, from Freſdrotti, confines the electors of the firſt Doge to twelve—*Badoer*, *Contarini*, *Moroſini*, *Tiepolo*, *Michiel*, *Sanudo*, *Gradenigo*, *Memo*, *Falier*, *Dandolo*, *Barozzi*, and *Polano*, which is of late extinct. In the next claſs he places *Zuſtiniani*, *Cornaro*, *Bragadin*, and *Bembo*; then come the families *il ſerrare del conſiglio*, *Querini*, *Dolfini*, *Soranzo*, *Zorai*, *Marcello*, *Sagredo*, *Zane*, and *Salomon*. But ſince Monſ. de la Lande wrote, they have publiſhed at Venice a *Dizionario ſtorico di Tutte le Venete Patrizie Famiglie*, 1780; compiled from a MS. in St. Mark's library; this work does not accord with the preceding table; I have extracted from it the following liſt:

Badoer; ſuo origine con la republica.—*Bollani*; antichi tribuni.—*Bragadin*; nei piu rimoti ſecoli della republica.—*Celſi*; dagli antichi Mari di Roma, antichi tribuni.—*Cioran*; negli elettori del primo Doge.—*Contarini*; uno negli elettori del primo Doge.—*Cornaro*; dagli antichi Corneli di Roma, da'primiſſimi tempi tenuta in Venezia.—*Emo*; nacque colla medeſima republica.—*Foſcarini*; Vennero 867; antichi tribuni.—*Gradenigo*; delle prime venute in Venezia.—*Magno*; dalla prima fondazion di Venezia; tribuni.—*Marcello*; pare, che non ſi poſſa metter in dubio, che queſta famiglia diſcenda dagli antichi Marcelli di Roma; antichi tribuni.—*Michieli*; antichiſſima di Venezia; gli elettori del primo Doge. *Mocenigo*; delle prime venute in Venezia.—*Molin*; ſtabilita in Venezia 877; antichi tribuni.—*Moroſini*; rifugiti per le incurzioni di Attila; fra gli elettori del primo Doge, e antichi tribuni.—*Da Moſto*; Vennero 454 rifugiati per Attila.—*Nani*; Vennero in Venezia ſin dalla prima ſua fondazione; antichi tribuni.—*Orio*; rifugiati per Attila; antichi tribuni.—*Piſani*; dagli antichi Piſoni di Roma; dell'antico conſiglio.—*Querini*; elettori del primo Doge.—*Sagredo*; Vennero nel 485.—*Salomon*, trà le elettrici del primo Doge.—*Sanudo*, dei primi fondatori della città.—*Semitecolo*, ſin dal 843; antico conſiglio.—*Soranzo*, ſenza dubbio delle prime rifugite in Venezia; antichi tribuni.—*Tiepolo*, gli elettori del primo Doge: antichi tribuni.—*Treviſan*, Vennero per l'irruzione d'Attila.—*Valier*, rifugiti per le incurſione di Attila ſino dal 423; tribuni antichi.—*Venier*, Vennero per Attila; antichi tribuni.—*Zane*, antichiſſima famiglia di Venezia; antico conſiglio.—*Zen*, dei 12 elettori del primo Doge. *Bembo*, *Coco*, *Dandolo*, *Falier*, *Foſcari*, *Gritti*, *Malipiero*, *Marini*, *Minio*, *Minotto*, *Moro*, *Muazzo*, *Nadal*, *Peſaro*, *Da Riva*, *Ruzini*, *Tron*, *Zuſto*, all theſe *antichi tribuni*.

From the details of theſe families it appears, that many have an origin as old as Attila the Hun, who invaded Italy in 452. If all theſe families are allowed to date from that period (and no reaſon appears againſt it), their origin may be traced to more than 1300 years. The election, however, of the firſt Doge, in 697, by the twelve heads of the republic, is one of the moſt authentic and the moſt noted acts in the eſtabliſhment of any government. To this undiſputed origin, the preceding liſt aſſigns the families of Civran, Contarini, Michieli, Moroſini, Querini, Salomon, Tiepolo, and Zen, rejecting thus ſeveral families which have been commonly eſteemed the firſt in the republic, and which former writers have expreſsly ranked among the electors of the firſt Doge. The only families in which both liſts agree are Contarini, Michieli, Moroſini, and Tiepolo: whether the others were, or were not electors of the Doge, there is no queſtion about their great antiquity; and it is equally certain, that there are now actually at Venice from forty to fifty families which, in point of antiquity well aſcertained, exceed all that are to be found in the reſt of Europe.

And here I take leave of the Venetian lion; I am tired of it:—if the ſtate were to build a pig-ſtie, I believe they would decorate it with his figure. It is a beaſt of no merit;—for what is ferocity without humanity,—or courage without honour?—It wars only to deſtroy; and ſpreads its wings not to protect, but to cover, like the vulture of Mr. Sheridan, the prey that it devours. At Ferrara, the Padrone's buſineſs ſtopped him a whole day; but he pretended it was a want of oxen to draw the coaches, that carried us ten miles by land, from canal to canal. This was not amiſs, for it enabled me to ſee every thing in that town, which, however, does not contain much. The new part—new in compariſon with the reſt, was built by Hercules II. duke of Ferrara, who has laid out, and diſtributed the ſtreets, and a ſquare, in a manner that does honour to his memory. They are all of a fine breadth, well paved, with *trotoirs* of brick, every where defended by ſtone poſts. I have ſeen no city ſo regularly laid out, except Turin. The Palazzo of the Marcheſe di Villa, is an object to examine; and at that ſpot there is a very advantageous view of two noble ſtreets. The Palazzo di Bentivoglio is another conſiderable building, with a vaſt garden, full of bad ſtatues; and even ſome of footmen, with laced hats and ſhoulder-knots, in a ſtile fully as ridiculous as M. du Barré's at Toulouze. In the cathedral, a fine Guercino; and a marriage of Cana, by Bonona, a Ferareſe painter, at the Chartreuſe. I paid homage to the tomb of Arioſto, a genius of the firſt luſtre; ſince all modern ages have produced but three diſtinguiſhed epic poets, what a glory to Italy to have given birth to two of them! the wonder is greater, however, that the third was not of the ſame country. From Ferrara to the canal, which leads to Bologna, the road is, without any idea of compariſon, the worſt in Europe, that pretends to be *great* and *paſſable*. It is the natural rich ſoil of a flat wet country, rendered deeper by the late heavy rains; ſeven horſes drew a coach about a mile and a half an hour. Making and mending are philoſophical experiments not tried here; and the country being incloſed, the hedges and ditches confine the carriages to poach through the mud of one direction, inſtead of many. I walked moſt of it in the adjoining fields, the better to examine them. Arrived at Bologna at twelve o'clock at night.—125 miles.

The 12th. Deliver letters. I found Signore Bignami at home. He is a conſiderable merchant, who has attended to agriculture, ſenſible and intelligent. An Engliſh merchant, at the *Three Moors*, informing me, that Mr. Taylor, who was at Carlſrhue for ſome time, was now ſettled at Bologna, I determined to wait on him, being the gentleman of whoſe huſbandry, at Bifrons in Kent, I gave an account in my Eaſtern Tour. I accordingly went, in the evening, to Mr. Taylor's *converſazione*. He has handſome apartments in the Palazzo Zampiere, and lives here agreeably with his beautiful and amiable family; a finer progeny of daughters and ſons is hardly to be ſeen, or that forms a more pleaſing ſociety. As I did not know, till I got to Bologna, that Mr. Taylor had left the court of Carlſrhue, I was eager to hear why he had quitted a ſituation which was ſo congenial with his love of agriculture. This gentleman travelling in Germany, became known to the Margrave of Baden, where that enthuſiaſtic love of agriculture, which, for the good of mankind ſome minds feel, induced him to take a farm of that prince. Thus was a gentleman, from the beſt cultivated part of Kent, fixed on a farm of five hundred acres in Germany. He carried his point, improved the farm, ſtaid four years, and would have continued to the infinite advantage of the country, if the miniſters of the Margrave had had as much underſtanding, and as liberal a mind as their maſter. I am inclined to believe that no man can ſucceed on the continent of Europe (unleſs under a prince with a character of ſuch decided energy as the late King of Pruſſia) provided he be really *practical*. He has no chance if he be not well furniſhed with the rubbiſh which is found in academies and ſocieties: give him a jargon of learning, the ſcience of names and words, letting things and practice go elſewhere, and he will then make his way, and be looked up to. To the opera, where there is nothing worth hearing or ſeeing, except only a young ſinger, Signora Nava, whoſe voice is one of the cleareſt and ſweeteſt tones I ever heard; ſhe has great powers, and will have, for ſhe is very young, great expreſſion. It was the *Theodore re di Corſe*, of Paieſello.

The 13th. The *Pellegrino* and *St. Marco* being full, has fixed me in this brutal hole, *I Tre Maurretti*, which is the only execrable inn I have been in (in a city) ſince I entered Italy. It has every circumſtance that can render it deteſtable; dirt, negligence, filth, vermin, and impudence. You ſit, walk, eat, drink, and ſleep with equal inconvenience. A tour among the palaces and churches. The great collection of paintings in the Zampieri palace, contains a few pieces of ſuch exquiſite merit, that they rivet the ſpectator by admiration. The St. Peter, of Guido; the Hagar, of Guercino; and the Dance, of Albano. Monſ. Cochin ſays, the Guido is not only a *chef d'œuvre*, but the fineſt picture in Italy, *enfin c'eſt un chef d'œuvre & le tableau le plus parfait, par la re* *union de toutes les parties de la peinture qui ſoit en Italie.* It is certainly a moſt noble piece of two figures, but wants, of neceſſity, the poetry of a tale told by many. To pleaſe me, the Guercino, of which he ſays little more than its being *tres beau*, has an expreſſion delicious, that works on a fine ſubject to a great effect: it is more nature than painting. Hagar's countenance ſpeaks a language that touches the heart; and the pathetic ſimplicity of the child is in uniſon with all the mother's feelings. The mellow warmth and tender ſoftneſs of the colouring of the Albano, with the ſweetneſs of the expreſſion, are inimitable. In the church of St. Giovanne in Monte, there is the famous St. Cecilia of Raphael, of which Sir Robert Strange has given ſo fine a print, and in which he has done ample juſtice to the original. The St. Agnes of Domenichino, in the church of that name, and Job on his throne, by Guido, at the Mendicanti, are two others that muſt be viſited. Dine with Signore Bignami; he is a conſiderable merchant, and therefore I need not ſtare at this hoſpitality in Italy; with great ſatisfaction I find that no minute is loſt in his company, as he is obliging enough to pardon the number of my enquiries. In the evening to Mr. Taylor's; this gentleman's diſcourſe is intereſting to my purſuit, for he has always had a great predilection for agriculture, and has practiſed it with intelligence and ſucceſs. The Marcheſe di Mareſchotti, who is married to a very pretty Engliſh Lady, preſent alſo; a ſenſible man, who ſeemed pleaſed with the opportunity of explaining to me ſeveral circumſtances, relative to tythes and taxation, that I was enquiring into. He is a ſingular inſtance at Bologna, of going into company with his wife, and conſequently ſuperſeding the neceſſity or want of a ciciſbeo. He is regarded by his countrymen for this, pretty much as he would be if he walked on his head, inſtead of his feet. How ſtrangely doth it appear to them, that an Italian nobleman ſhould prefer the company of a woman he married from affection, and think there is any pleaſure when he embraces his children, in believing them his own!—Here I met alſo the baron de Rovrure, a French nobleman, and Madame la Marquiſe de Bouille, both in their way to Naples; they ſeem agreeable people. Mr. Taylor, and his two charming daughters, have apparently a pleaſing ſociety here. Theſe ladies ſpeak French and German like natives, and before they leave Italy will do the ſame with Italian; they paint agreeably, and have conſiderable muſical talents; thus accompliſhments will not be wanted to ſecond the graces they owe to the beneficence of nature. I had ſome information from Miſs Taylor, to-night, relative to the expences of houſekeeping, which will give an idea of the cheapneſs of Italy; premiſing (of which more in another place) that the *paolo* is ſixpence, and that there are 10 *baiocchi* in it. As to beef, mutton, bread, &c. they are all over Europe too nearly on a par to demand much attention; where meat is very fine, it is *nominally* dear;

and where it is bad, it is called cheap: but the difference deſerves little notice. Mr. Taylor contracts with a *traiteur* for his table, nine in the parlour and five in the kitchen, 20 *paoli* a-day for dinner; for ſupper he pays extra, and is ſupplied to his ſatisfaction—a proof, if any is wanted, of the cheapneſs of Bologna. It is remarkable, that there is not the difference between the prices of any of the articles, and the ſame thing in England, that there is between the contracting prices, and the *ratio* with us, a few per cent. in the former, but ſome hundred per cent. in the latter; a ſure proof that dearneſs and cheapneſs of living does not depend on prices per pound, but on the modes of living. Every tavern-keeper, *traiteur*, or other contractor of any ſort in England, will have a price that ſhall give him a fortune in a few years; and ſervants, inſtead of ſubmitting to the œconomy which their maſters may think it neceſſary to eſtabliſh, will not live an hour with them if they are not permitted to devour him.

The 14th. With Signore Bignami and his family, to his country ſeat, about five miles from Bologna, on the road to Piſtoya; ſpend an agreeable day, entirely dedicated to farming. The houſe is handſome, and finely ſituated: the entertainment truly hoſpitable, and the information, given in a cool conſiderate walk, through every field of the farm, ſuch as is little liable to error. A circumſtance at this country ſeat deſerves noting, as it marks the abundance of thieves: the chambers had the windows all ſhut ſo cloſe, and faſtened with ſo much attention, that I enquired the reaſon; and was anſwered, that if the greateſt care be not taken, thieves will break in, and plunder a houſe of every thing portable. The ſhutters, to both windows and doors, were inlaid with bars of iron, to prevent their being ſawn through. The concluſion we muſt draw from ſuch a circumſtance is certainly little favourable, at firſt ſight, to the lower claſſes,—but that is always unjuſt, for they are ever what the police, law, and government of a country make them. In the evening, again at Mr. Taylor's; a houſe, in which no one will have the *entré*, and want the inclination. The Marcheſe Mareſchotti there, who had the goodneſs to continue his attentions to my enquiries, and to give me ſome valuable information: I had alſo the pleaſure of converſing, on the ſame ſubjects, with the Conte di Aldrovandi. There is a room, at the *Tre Maurretti*, which, communicating with ſeveral apartments, the gueſts have it in common: among them was a young *Ballarini*, waiting here for an Engliſhman, to attend her to Venice; ſhe was pretty and communicative; had ſome expenſive trinkets given her, to the amount of a conſiderable ſum, by her lover, who proved (for ſecrecy was not among her qualities) to be a rider, as we ſhould call him, to a manufacturing houſe in England. An Italian merchant preſent remarked, that the profit of the Engliſh, on their manufactures, muſt be enormous, or they could not ſupport *commiſſarii* at ſuch an expence, ſome of whom travel in Italy *poſt*, from town to town, and when arrived, amuſe themſelves, it is plain, with ſuch *comforts* as the good humour of the country throws in their way.

The 15th. The rencontre at Mr. Taylor's of the French gentleman, the baron de Rovrure, and Madame de Bouille, has been productive of an engagement to travel together to Florence, with Signore Grimaldi, and Mr. Stewart, a Scotch gentleman *, juſt arrived from Geneva, and going alſo to Florence. We ſet off in three *vetturi* this morning. The country from Bologna to Florence is all mountainous; moſt of it poor and barren, with ſhabby, ragged, ill preſerved wood, ſpotted with a weak and ſtraggling cultivation. Houſes are ſcattered over moſt of it, but very thinly. We dined at Loiano, much in the ſtyle of hogs; they ſpread for us, a cloth that had loſt, by the ſnuff and greaſy fingers of *vetturini*, all that once was white; our repaſt was black rice broth, that would not have diſgraced the philoſophy of Lycurgus, liver fried in rancid oil, and cold cabbage, the remnant of the preceding day. We pleaded hard for ſauſage, eggs, or good bread and onions, but in vain. We laid, not ſlept, in our cloaths at Covigliano, hoping, not without fears, to eſcape the itch. Such accomodations, on ſuch a road, are really incredible. It is certainly one of the moſt frequented that is to be found in Europe. Whether you go to Florence, Rome, and Naples, by Parma, Milan, or Venice; that is, from all Lombardy, as well as from France, Spain, England, Germany, and all the north, you paſs by this route, conſequently one would expect, at every poſt, a tolerably good inn, to catch the perſons whom accident, buſineſs, or any other derangement of plan might induce to ſtop between Bologna and Florence. The only place poſſible to ſleep at, with comfort, is Maſchere, about forty miles from Bologna, but, for travellers who go any other way than poſt, forty miles are no diviſion of ſixty-four. If the road were in England, with a tenth of the traffic, there would be an excellent inn at every four or five miles, to receive travellers properly, at whatever diſtance their accidental departure made moſt convenient: but England and Italy have a gulph between them in the *comforts* of life, much wider than the channel that parts Dover and Calais.—27 miles.

The 16th. On entering Tuſcany, our baggage was examined, and plumbed for Florence; the firſt moment I ſet foot in this country, therefore, I find one groſs error of the *æconomiſtes*, who have repeated, from one another, in at leaſt twenty performances, that the Grand Duke had adopted their plan, and united all taxes in one, upon the net produce of land. Having croſſed the higheſt ridge of the Appenines, for ſeveral miles in the clouds, and therefore ſeeing no proſpect, deſcended at Maſchere, for a while, into a better region; from the inn, the view is rich and fine. We noted here a wonderful improvement in the figure and beauty of the ſex; the country women are handſome, and their dreſs is very becoming; with jackets, the ſleeves puckered and tied in puffs, with coloured ribbons; broad hats, ſomething like thoſe worn by ladies in England with riding habits; their complexions are good, and their eyes fine, large, and expreſſive. We reached Florence, with juſt light enough to admire the number of white houſes ſpread thickly every where over the mountains that ſurround the city. But before we enter, I muſt ſay a word or two of my French fellow travellers: Monſ. le Baron is an agreeable polite man, not deficient in the power to make obſervations that become a perſon of ſenſe: the life of Madame de Bouille would, if well written, form an entertaining romance; ſhe went, early in the laſt war, to St. Domingo with her huſband, who had a conſiderable property there; and on her return ſhe was taken in a French frigate, by an Engliſh one, after a very ſmart engagement of three hours, and carried into Kinſale, whence ſhe went to Dublin, and to London: this is an outline which ſhe has filled up very agreeably with many incidents, which have kept her in perpetual motion; the preſent troubles in France have, I ſuppoſe, added her and the Baron to the infinite number of other French travellers, who ſwarm, to an incredible degree, every where in Italy. She is lively, has much converſation, has ſeen a good deal of the world, and makes an agreeable *compagnon de voyage*.—37 miles.

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* Travelling with a young gentleman, a Mr. Kinloch.

The 17th. Laſt night, on arriving here, we found the *Aquila Nera* and *Vanini's* ſo full, that we could not get chambers; and the great Mr. Meggot looked into our cabriolets to examine us, before he would give an anſwer, pretending, that his were beſpoken; and then aſſured us, as we had no air that promiſed good plucking, that his were engaged. At the *Scudi di Francia*, where there are many excellent and well furniſhed apartments, we found all we wanted, but dearer than common, 10 *paoli* a head a day; our merchant leaves us to-morrow morning, for Leghorn, and the reſt of the company divide, to find lodgings. Waited on Monſ. de Streineſberg, the Grand Duke's private ſecretary, for whom I had letters: I am out of luck, for he is immerſed in buſineſs and engagements, as the court goes to Piſa to-morrow morning, for the winter. This, I ſuppoſe, is of no conſequence to me, for what court is there in the world that would give or receive information from a farmer? The objects for which I travel, are of another complexion from thoſe which ſmooth our paths in a court. And yet the Grand Duke has the reputation of being, in reſpect to the objects of his attention, the wiſeſt prince in Europe. So much for the ſovereign of this country,—let me but find ſome good farmers in it, and I ſhall not be diſcontented.

The 18th. Fixed this morning in lodgings (*del Sarte Ingleſi via dei Foſſi*), with the Marchioneſs, the Baron, and Mr. Stewart. My friend, Dr. Symonds, had given me a letter to his excellency Philippo Neri, who I found was dead; but hearing that his brother, Signore Neri, was not only living, but preſident of the *Georgofili* ſociety, I waited on him, and gave him the letter that was deſigned for his late brother; he received me politely, and recollecting the name of Young, being quoted by the Marquis de Caſſaux, in his *Mechaniſm des Societes*, and being informed that I was the perſon, remarked, that this ingenious writer had made ſome uſe of my calculations, to found his theory of the national debt of England; a very curious ſubject, on which he ſhould like much to converſe with me; and aſked, if I looked upon that debt as ſo harmleſs? I told him, that I thought Monſ. de Caſſaux's book full of original and ingenious remarks, and many important ones, particularly his condemnation of the colonizing ſyſtem; but that as to the national debt of England, it originated in the knavery of thoſe who borrowed, and in the folly of thoſe who lent; perpetuating taxes that took money from induſtrious people, in order to give it to idle ones. That the liberty of England enabled it to flouriſh beyond that of any other ſociety in the world, not becauſe it had a national debt, but in ſpite of ſo great an evil.—*Well, Sir,* he replied, *I have juſt the idea of it that you have, and I could not conceive how a country could pay eight or nine millions of guineas a year, in intereſt, without being the weaker and poorer.* He then enquired into my plan, commended highly the object of my journey, which, he was pleaſed to ſay, had ſo little reſemblance to that of the great maſs of my countrymen, that he hoped I met with no impediments, in gaining the information I wiſhed; and added, that he was very ſorry he was going to Piſa, or he ſhould have been happy in procuring me all in his power, though he was no practical farmer. Signore Neri appears to be well informed, ſenſible, and judicious; has a large collection of books, on uſeful ſubjects, particularly the various branches of political œconomy, which he ſhews, by his converſation, to have conſulted with effect. After all I had read and heard of the Venus of Medicis, and the numberleſs caſts I had ſeen of it, which have made me often wonder at deſcriptions of the original, I was eager to hurry to the *tribuua*, for a view of the dangerous goddeſs. It is not eaſy to ſpeak of ſuch divine beauty, with any ſobriety of language; nor without hyperbole to expreſs one's admiration, when felt with any degree of enthuſiaſm; and who but muſt feel admiration at the talents of the artiſt, that thus almoſt animated marble? If we ſuppoſe an original, beautiful as this ſtatue, and doubly animated, not with life only, but with a paſſion for ſome favoured lover, the marble of Cleomenes is not more inferior to ſuch life, in the eyes of ſuch a lover, than all the caſts I have ſeen of this celebrated ſtatue are to the inimitable original. You may view it till the unſteady eye doubts the truth of its own ſenſation: the cold marble ſeems to acquire the warmth of nature, and promiſes to yield to the impreſſion of one's hand. Nothing in painting ſo miraculous as this. A ſure proof of the rare merit of this wonderful production is, its exceeding, in truth of repreſentation, every idea which is previouſly formed; the reality of the chiſſel goes beyond the expectancy of imagination; the viſions of the fancy may play in fields of creation, may people them with nymphs of more than human beauty; but to imagine life thus to be faſhioned from ſtone; that the imitation ſhall exceed, in perfection, all that *common* nature has to offer, is beyond the compaſs of what ordinary minds have a power of conceiving. In the ſame apartment there are other ſtatues, but, in the preſence of Venus, who is it that can regard them? They are, however, ſome of the fineſt in the world, and muſt be reſerved for another day. Among the pictures, which indeed form a noble collection, my eyes were rivetted on the portrait of Julius II. by Raphael, which, if I poſſeſſed, I would not give for the St. John, the favourite idea he repeated ſo often. The colours have, in this piece, given more life to canvaſs, than northern eyes have been accuſtomed to acknowledge. But the Titian!—enough of Venus;—at the ſame moment to animate marble, and breathe on canvaſs, is too much.—By huſbanding the luxury of the ſight, let us keep the eye from being ſatiated with ſuch a parade of charms: retire to repoſe on the inſipidity of common objects, and return another day, to gaze with freſh admiration. In the afternoon, by appointment, to Signore Prepoſito Laſtri, author of the *Corſo d' Agricoltura*, and other much eſteemed works, to whom I had letters. He was to have carried me to Signore Zucchino, director of the œconomical garden, for whom alſo I had recommendations; I hoped to eſcape ſeeing this garden,—and the rain ſeconded my wiſhes, for it would not allow us to ſtir; and that gentleman coming to Signore Laſtri's, I had the pleaſure of a converſation on our favourite topic. Signore Zucchino ſeems an animated character, ſpeaks of agriculture in a ſtyle that gives me a good opinion of his purſuits; made me very friendly offers, of whatever aſſiſtance was in his power, during my ſtay at Florence, and appointed another day for viewing the œconomical garden. At night to the opera, the *Trami del Luſſo*, of Cimaroſa; the muſic as good as the ſinging bad, and the dancing execrable. An Engliſh gentleman, of the name of Harrington (the younger), whom I had met at Mr. Taylor's, at Bologna, entering into converſation, mentioned, among other topics, that the Margrave of Anſpach, who is here with Lady Craven, wiſhed to know me perſonally, in order to ſpeak to me on the ſubject of Spaniſh ſheep, his highneſs having imported them to Anſpach. I replied, that, on a farming topic, I ſhould be happy in the converſation of any prince, who loved the ſubject enough to import a better breed. The father ſoon after joining us, and probably having been told, by his ſon, what had paſſed, obſerved to me, that the Margrave was very fond of agriculture, and had made great improvements; adding,

“ that if I wanted to be introduced to him, he would introduce me.” This was another buſineſs;—my expreſſing a deſire to be preſented to a ſovereign prince, not at his own court, appeared to be an awkward intruſion; for no idea could be more diſguſtful to me, than that of puſhing myſelf into ſuch company. I replied, therefore, that if it were the deſire of the Margrave, to have any converſation with me, and he would inform me of it, in any way he thought proper, I would certainly pay my reſpects to him, with great readineſs. The Margrave was at the opera; Mr. Harrington quitted me, as if to go to him. I ſuppoſe the converſation was miſunderſtood, for Lady Craven does not ſeem, by her book, to be much of a farmer.

The 19th. Call on Signore Tartini, ſecretary to the royal academy *Georgofili*, and on Lord Hervey, our miniſter here; both abſent. Another turn in the gallery brought a repetition of that pleaſure which is there to be reaped, in the exuberance of a plentiful harveſt. The woman, lying on a bed, by Titian, is probably the fineſt picture, of one figure, that is to be ſeen in the world. A ſatyre and nymph, by Hannibal Carracci; a Correggio; a Carlo Dolci.—Among the ſtatues—the Apollo, the Wreſtlers, the Whetter, as it is called, the Venus riſing from the bath, the Ganimede.—What an amazing collection! I have been many years amuſing myſelf with looking at the ſtatues in England! very harmleſsly;—my pleaſure of that kind is at end. In ſpite of every effort to the contrary, one cannot (unleſs an artiſt, who views not for pleaſure but as a critic) help forming eternal compariſons, and viewing very coldly pieces that may perhaps have merit, but are inferior to others which have made a deep impreſſion. But the paintings and ſtatues in this gallery are in ſuch profuſion, that, to view them with an attention adequate to their merit, one ought to walk here two hours a day for ſix months. In the afternoon, waited on Signore Fabbroni, author of ſome works on agriculture, that have rendered him very well known, particularly a little treatiſe in French, entituled, *Reflexions ſur l'etat actuel l'Agriculture*, printed at Paris in 1780, which is one of the beſt applications of the modern diſcoveries in natural philoſophy to agriculture, that has been attempted; it is a work of conſiderable merit. I had two hours very agreeable and inſtructive converſation with him: he is lively, has great fire and vivacity, and that valuable talent of thinking for himſelf, one of the beſt qualities a man can poſſeſs; without which, we are little better than horſes in a team, trammelled to follow one another. He is very well inſtructed alſo in the politics of Tuſcany, connected with agriculture.

The 20th. Early in the morning, by appointment, to Signore Tartini, to whoſe attentions I am obliged, not only for a converſation on my favourite ſubject, but for ſome books of his writing, which he preſented me with; among others, the *Giornale d'Agricultura di Firenze*, which was dropped for want of encouragement. He accompanied me to Signore Laſtri's, and then we went together to the œconomical garden of Signore Zucchino, for which the Grand Duke allows three hundred crowns a-year, beſides ſuch labour as is wanted; and the profeſſor reads lectures in ſummer. The eſtabliſhment of ſuch a garden does honour to a ſovereign; becauſe it marks an attention to objects of importance. But it is greatly to be regretted they do not go one ſtep further, and, inſtead of a garden, have a farm of not leſs than three hundred Engliſh acres: moſt of them are poſſeſſors of farms; a well ſituated one might eaſily be choſen, and the whole conducted at an expence that would be amply repaid by the practical benefits flowing from it. Signore Zucchino's garden is much cleaner, and in neater order than any other I have ſeen in Italy: but it is not eaſy to form experiments in a few acres, that are applicable to the improvement of a national agriculture. He is an active, animated character, attached to the purſuit (no ſmall merit in Italy), and would make a very good uſe of his time, if the Grand Duke would do with him as the King of Naples has done by his friend Signore Balſamo—ſend him to practiſe in England. I told him ſo, and he liked the idea very much. We had ſome converſation concerning Signore Balſamo, agreeing that he had conſiderable talents, and great vivacity of character. I regretted that he was to ſtay only a year in England; but admitted, that there were few men who could make ſo good a uſe of ſo ſhort a period. Signore Zucchino ſhewed me the MS. account of my farm, which Signore Balſamo had ſent him *. A profeſſor of agriculture, in Sicily, being ſent by his ſovereign, and wiſely ſent, to England for inſtruction in agriculture, appears to me to be an epoch in the hiſtory of the human mind. From that iſland, the moſt celebrated of all antiquity for fruitfulneſs and cultivation, on whoſe exuberance its neighbours depended for their bread—and whoſe practice the greateſt nations conſidered as the moſt worthy of imitation: at a period too when we were in the woods, contemned for barbarity, and hardly conſidered as worth the trouble of conquering. What has effected ſo enormous a change? Two words explain it, we are become free, and Sicily enſlaved. We were joined, at the garden, by my good friend from Milan, the Abbate Amoretti, a new circumſtance of good fortune for me. To-day, in my walk in the gallery, I had ſome converſation with Signore Adamo Fabbroni, brother of the gentleman I mentioned before, and author alſo of ſome diſſertations on agriculture; particularly *Sopra il queſito, indicare le vere teorie delle ſtime dei terreni*, from which I inſerted an extract in the Annals of Agriculture,—alſo a Journal of Agriculture, publiſhed at Perugia, where he reſided ſeven years; but as it did not ſucceed for more than three, he dropped it. It is remarkable how many writers on this ſubject there are at preſent at Florence: the two Fabbroni's, Laſtri, Zucchino, Targioni, Paoletti, whom I am to viſit in the country, attended by Signore Amoretti;

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* I fixed him in my neighbourhood in Suffolk.

they ſay he is the moſt practical of all, having reſided conſtantly on his farm. I ſpent an hour very agreeably, contemplating one ſtatue to-day, namely, Bandinelli's copy of the Laocoon, which is a production that does honour to modern ages; I did not want this copy to remind me of another moſt celebrated one, and of the many very agreeable and inſtructive hours I have ſpent with its noble owner the Earl of Orford.

The 21ſt. Signore Tartini had engaged the Abbate Amoretti, and myſelf, to go this day to his country-ſeat, but it rained inceſſantly. The climate of Italy is ſuch as will not make many men in love with it; on my conſcience, I think that of England infinitely preferable.—If there were not great powers of evaporation, it would be uninhabitable. It has rained, more or leſs, for five weeks paſt; and more, I ſhould conceive, has fallen, than in England in a year. In the evening to the *converſazione* of Signore Fabbroni, where I met Signore Pella, director of the gallery; Signore Gaietano Rinaldi, director of the poſts; another gentleman, adminiſtrator of the grand duke's domains, I forget his name; the Abbate Amoretti, &c.—It gave me pleaſure to find, that the company did not aſſemble in order to converſe on the trivial nonſenſe of common topics, like ſo many *coteries* in all countries. They very readily joined in the diſcuſſions I had with Signore Fabbroni; and Signora Fabbroni herſelf, who has an excellent underſtanding, did the ſame. By the way, this lady is young, handſome, and well made: if Titian were alive, he might form from her a Venus not inferior to thoſe he has immortalized on his canvaſs; for it is evident, that his originals were real, and not ideal beauty. Signora Fabbroni is here, but where is Titian to be found?

The 22d. In the forenoon to the *converſazione* of the ſenator Marcheſe Ginori, where were aſſembled ſome of the *literati*, &c. of Florence; the Cavaliere Fontana, ſo well known in England for his eudiometrical experiments, Zucchino, Laſtri, Amoretti, the Marcheſe Pacci, who has a reputation here for his knowledge of rural affairs, Signore Pella, &c. The *converſazioni* are commonly in an evening, but the Marcheſe Ginori's is regularly once a week in a morning; this nobleman received me very politely: indeed he is famous for his attention to every object that is really of importance; converſes rationally on agriculture, and has himſelf, many years ago, eſtabliſhed, in the neighbourhood of Florence, one of the moſt conſiderable manufacturies of porcelain that is to be found in Italy. Dine with his Majeſty's envoy extraordinary, Lord Hervey, with a great party of Engliſh; among whom were Lord and Lady Elcho, and Mr. and Miſs Charteris, Lord Hume, Mr. and Mrs. Beckford, Mr. Digby, Mr. Tempeſt, Dr. Cleghorn, profeſſor of hiſtory at St. Andrews, who travels with Lord Hume, with ten or a dozen others. I had the honour of being known to Lord and Lady Hervey in Suffolk, ſo they were not new faces to me; of the others, I had never ſeen any thing: the company was too numerous for a converſation, from which much was to be gained. I ſat by the fellow of an Engliſh college; and my heels had more converſation with his ſword than I had with its owner: when a man begins every ſentence with a cardinal, a prince, or a celebrated beauty, I generally find myſelf in too good company; but Miſs Charteris, who ſeems a natural character, and was at her eaſe, conſoled me on the other ſide. At this dinner (which by the way was a ſplendid one), I was, according to a cuſtom that rarely fails, the worſt dreſſed man in the company; but I was clean, and as quietly in repoſe on that head, as if I had been either fine or elegant. The time was, when this ſingle circumſtance would have made me out of countenance, and uneaſy. Thank my ſtars, I have buried that folly. I have but a poor opinion of Quin, for declaring that he could not afford to go plain: he was rich enough, in wit, to have worn his breeches on his head, if he had pleaſed; but a man like myſelf, without the talent of converſation, before he has well arranged his feelings, finds relief in a good coat or a diamond ring. Lord Hervey, in the moſt friendly manner, deſired I would make his table my own, while I was at Florence,—that I ſhould always find a cover, at three o'clock, *for dinners are not the cuſtom here, and you will very rarely find me from home.* This explains the Florentine mode of living; at Milan, great dinners are perpetual, here the nobility never give them. I have no idea of a ſociety worth a farthing, where it is not the cuſtom to dine with one another. Their *converſazioni* are good ideas, when there are no cards,—but much inferior to what one has at a dinner for a ſelect party. In England, without this, there would be no converſation; and the French cuſtom, of riſing immediately after it, which is that alſo of Italy, deſtroys, relatively to this object, the beſt hour in the whole day.

The 23d. To the gallery, where the horrible tale of Niobe and her children is told ſo terribly well, in ſtone, as to raiſe in the ſpectator's boſom all the powers of the pathetic. The action of the miſerable mother, ſhielding the laſt of her children againſt the murdering ſhafts of Apollo, is inimitable; and the figure of that youngeſt of the children, perfection. The two figures, which ſtrike me moſt, are the ſon who has gathered his drapery on his left arm, and the companion, a daughter, in the oppoſite corner. The expreſſion of his face is in the higheſt perfection, and the attitude, and whole figure, though much repaired, incomparable. The daughter has gathered her drapery in one hand, behind her, to accelerate her flight; ſhe moves againſt the wind, and nothing can be finer than the poſition and motion of the body, appearing through the drapery. There are others of the group alſo, of the greateſt force and fire of attitude; and I am happy not to be a critic inſtructed enough to find, as Monſ. de la Lande ſays, that the greateſt part of the figures are bad. They certainly are not equal; they are the work of Scopas, a Greek ſculptor. Dine with Lord Elcho, at Meggot's hotel; Lord Hume, Mr. Tempeſt, Mr. Tyrrhit, as well as Lord Elcho's family and Dr. Cleghorn, preſent: ſome agreeable converſation; the young perſons have engaged in ſport to walk on foot to Rome; right—I like that. If the Italians are curious in novelty of character, the paſſing Engliſh are well framed to give it.

The 24th. In the morning, with Abbatte Amoretti, and Signore Zucchino to the porcelain manufacture of the Marcheſe Ginori, four miles to the north of Florence. It is ſaid to be in a flouriſhing ſtate, and the appearance of things anſwers the deſcription. It is a good fabric, and many of the forms and the deſigns are elegant. They work caſts of all the antique ſtatues and bronzes, ſome of which are well executed. Their plates are a *zechin* each (9s.) and a complete ſervice, for twelve covers, 107 *zechins*. To the Marcheſe Martelli's villa; a very handſome reſidence. This nobleman is a friend of Signore Zucchino, and, underſtanding our intention, of making it a farming day as well as a manufacturing one, ordered a dinner to be prepared, and his factor to attend for giving information, apologizing for his own abſence, owing to a previous engagement. We found a very handſome repaſt; too much for the occaſion:—and we drank—*alla Ingleſe*, SUCCESS TO THE PLOUGH! in excellent wine. The factor then conducted us over the farm: he is an intelligent man, and anſwered my numerous enquiries, apparently with conſiderable knowledge of the ſubject. Returned at night to Florence.

The 25th. Early in the morning, with Signore Amoretti, to Villa Magna, ſeven miles to the ſouth of Florence, to Signore Paoletti; this gentleman, *curé* of that pariſh, had been mentioned to me as the moſt practical writer on agriculture, in this part of Italy, having reſided always in the country, and with the reputation of being an excellent farmer. We found him at home, and paſſed a very inſtructive day, viewing his farm, and receiving much information. But I muſt note, that to this expreſſion, *farm*, muſt not be annexed the Engliſh idea; for Signore Paoletti's conſiſt of three *poderi*, that is, of three houſes, each with a farmer and his family, *alla Meta*, who cultivates the ground, and has half the produce. It is unnecſſary to obſerve, that whenever this is the caſe, the common huſbandry, good or bad, muſt be purſued. It will ſurpriſe my Engliſh readers to find, that the moſt practical writer at Florence, of great reputation, and very deſervedly ſo, has no other than a *metayer* farm. But let it not be thought the leaſt reflection on Signore Paoletti, ſince he claſſes, in this reſpect, with his ſovereign, whoſe farms are in the ſame regimen. Signore Paoletti's maples for vines, appeared to be trained with much more attention than common in Tuſcany, and his olives were in good order. This day has given me a ſpecimen of the winter climate of Italy; I never felt ſuch a cold piercing wind in England. Some ſnow fell; and I could ſcarcely keep myſelf from freezing, by walking four or five miles an hour. All water, not in motion from its current or the wind, was ice; and the iſicles, from the dripping ſprings in the hills, were two feet long. In England, when a fierce N. E. wind blows in a ſharp froſt, we have ſuch weather; but, for the month of November, I believe ſuch a day has not been felt in England ſince its creation. The proviſion of the Florentines againſt ſuch weather, is truly ridiculous: they have not chimnies in more than half the rooms of common houſes; and thoſe they do not uſe; not becauſe they are not cold, for they go ſhivering about, with chattering teeth, with an idea of warmth, from a few wood aſhes or embers in an earthen pan; and another contrivance for their feet to reſt upon. Wood is very dear, therefore this miſerable ſuccedaneum is for œconomy. Thank God for the coal fires of England, with a climate leſs ſevere by half than that of Italy. I would have all nations love their country; but there are few more worthy of ſuch affection than our BLESSED ISLE, from which no one will ever travel, but to return with feelings freſh ſtrung for pleaſure, and a capacity renovated by a thouſand compariſons for the enjoyment of it.

The 26th. To the Palazzo Pitti. I have often read about ideal grace in painting, which I never well comprehended, till I ſaw the Madona della Sedia of Raphael. I do not think either of the two figures, but particularly the child, is ſtrictly in nature; yet there is ſomething that goes apparently beyond it in their expreſſion; and as paſſion and emotion are out of the queſtion, it is to be reſolved into ideal grace. The air of the virgin's head, and the language of the infant's eyes, are not eaſily transfuſed by copyiſts. A group of four men at a table, by Rubens, which, for force and vigour of the expreſſion of nature, is admirable. A portrait of Paul III. by Titian, and of a Medicis, by Raphael. A virgin, Jeſus, and St. John, by Rubens, in which the expreſſion of the children is hardly credible. A Magdalen, and portrait of a woman in a ſcarlet habit, by Titian. A copy of Correggio's holy family, at Parma, by Barrocio Cataline, a copy of Salvator Roſa, by Nicolo Caſſalve; and laſt, not leaſt, a marine view, by Salvator.—But to enumerate ſuch a vaſt profuſion of fine pieces, in ſo many ſplendid apartments, is impoſſible; for few ſovereigns have a finer palace, or better furniſhed. Tables inlaid, and curioſities, both here and at the gallery, abound, that deſerve examination, to mark the perfection to which theſe arts have been carried, in a country where you do not find, in common life, a door to open without wounding your knuckles, or a window that ſhuts well enough to exclude the Appenine ſnows. The gardens of this palace contain ground that Brown would have made delicious, and many fine things that itineraries, guides, and travels dwell amply on.

The 27th. To the palace Poggio Imperiali, a country-ſeat of the Grand Duke's, only a mile from Florence, which is an excellent houſe, of good and well proportioned rooms, neatly fitted up and furniſhed, with an air of comfort without magnificence, except in the article beds, which are below par. There is a fine veſtibule and ſaloon, that, in hot weather, muſt be very pleaſant; but our party were frozen through all the houſe. Lord Hervey's rooms are warm, from carpets and good fires; but thoſe are the only ones I have ſeen here. We have a fine clear blue ſky and a bright ſun, with a ſharp froſt and a cutting N. E. wind, that brings all the ſnow of the Alps, of Hungary, Poland, Ruſſia, and the frozen ocean to one's ſenſation. You have a ſun that excites perſpiration, if you move faſt; and a wind that drives ice and ſnow to your vitals. And this is Italy, celebrated by ſo many haſty writers for its delicious climate! To-day, on returning home, we met many carts loaded with ice, which I found, upon meaſure, to be four inches thick; and we are here between latitude 43, and 44. The green peaſe in December and January in Spain, ſhew plainly the ſuperiority of that climate, which is in the ſame latitude. The magnitude and ſubſtantial ſolidity with which the Palazzo Ricardi was built, by a merchant of the Florentine republic, is aſtoniſhing; we have, in the north of Europe (now the moſt commercial part of the globe), no idea of merchants being able to raiſe ſuch edifices as theſe. The Palazzo Pitti was another inſtance; but as it ruined its maſter, it deſerves not to be mentioned in this view; and there are at Florence many others, with ſuch a profuſion of churches, that they mark out the ſame marvellous influx of wealth, ariſing from trade. To a mind that has the leaſt turn after philoſophical enquiry, reading modern hiſtory, is generally the moſt tormenting employment that a man can have; one is plagued with the actions of a deteſtable ſet of men, called conquerors, heroes, and great generals; and we wade through pages loaded with military details; but when you want to know the progreſs of agriculture, of commerce, and induſtry, their effect in different ages and nations on each other—the wealth that reſulted—the diviſion of that wealth—its employment—and the manners it produced—all is a blank. Voltaire ſet an example, but how has it been followed? Here is a cieling of a noble ſaloon, painted by Luca Giordano, repreſenting the progreſs of human life. The invention and poetry of this piece are great, and the execution ſuch as muſt pleaſe every one. The library is rich; I was particularly ſtruck with one of the rooms that contains the books, having a gallery for the convenience of reaching them, without any diſagreeable effect to the eye. In England we have many apartments, the beauty of which is ruined by theſe galleries: this is thirty-ſix feet by twenty-four, within the caſes, well lighted by one moderate window; and is ſo pleaſing a room, that if I were to build a library, I would imitate it exactly. After viſiting the gallery, and the Palazzo Pitti, we are naturally nice and faſtidious,—yet here are ſome paintings that may be viewed with pleaſure. In the evening to the *converſazione* of Signore Fabbroni; the aſſembly merits the name; for ſome of the beſt inſtructed people at Florence meet there, and diſcuſs topics of importance. Signore Fabbroni is not only an *œconomiſte*, but a friend to the Tuſcan mode of letting farms *alla meta*, which he thinks is the beſt for the peaſants; his abilities are great; but facts are too hard for him.

The 29th. Churches, palaces, &c. In the afternoon to St. Firenze, to hear an oratorio. At night to a concert, given by a rich Jew on his wedding: a *ſolo* on the violin, by Nardini.——Crouds—candles—ice—fruits—heat—and—— ſo forth.

The 30th. To Signore Fabbroni, who is ſecond in command under il Cavaliere Fontana, in the whole muſeeum of the Grand Duke; he ſhewed me, and our party, the cabinets of natural hiſtory, anatomy, machines, pneumatics, magnetiſm, optics, &c. which are ranked among the fineſt collections in the world; and, for arrangement, or rather exhibition, exceed all of them; but note, no chamber for agriculture; no collection of machines, relative to that firſt of arts; no mechanics, of great talents or abilites, employed in improving, eaſing, and ſimplifying the common tools uſed by the huſbandman, or inventing new ones, to add to his forces, and to leſſen the expence of his efforts! Is not this an object as important as magnetiſm, optics, or aſtronomy? Or rather, is it not ſo infinitely ſuperior, as to leave a compariſon abſurd? Where am I to travel, to find agricultural eſtabliſhments, on a ſcale that ſhall not move contempt? If I find none ſuch in the dominions of a prince reputed the wiſeſt in Europe, where am I to go for them? Our Annual Regiſter gave ſuch an account, a few years paſt, of the new regulations of the Grand Duke, in relation to burials, that I have been anxious to know the truth, by ſuch enquiries, on all hands, as would give me not the letter of the law only, but the practice of it. The fact, in the above-mentioned publication, was exaggerated. The bodies of all who die in a day, are carried in the night, on a bier, in a linen covering (and not tumbled naked into a common cart), to the church, but without any lights or ſinging; there they receive benediction; thence they are moved to a houſe, prepared on purpoſe, where the bodies are laid, covered, on a marble platform, and a *voiture*, made for that uſe, removes them to the cemetery, at a diſtance from the city, where they are buried, without diſtinction, very deep, not more than two in a grave, but no coffins uſed. All perſons, of whatever rank, are bound to ſubmit to this law, except the Archbiſhop, and women of religious orders. This is the regulation and the practice; and I ſhall freely ſay, that I condemn it, as an outrage on the common feelings of mankind; chiefly, becauſe it is an *unneceſſary* outrage, from which no uſe whatever flows. To prohibit lights, ſinging, proceſſions, and mummery of that ſort, was rational; but are not individuals to dreſs and incaſe the dead bodies,

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in whatever manner they pleaſe? Why are they not permitted to ſend them, if they chuſe, privately into the country, to ſome other burying place, where they may reſt with fathers, mothers, and other connections? Prejudices, bearing on this point, may be, if you pleaſe, ridiculous; but gratifying them, though certainly of no benefit to the dead, is, however, a conſolation to the living, at a moment when conſolation is moſt wanted, in the hour of grief and miſery. Why is the impaſſioned and ſtill loving huſband, or the tender and feeling boſom of the father, to be denied the laſt rites to the corpſe of a wife or a daughter, eſpecially when ſuch rites are neither injurious nor inconvenient to ſociety? The regulations of the Grand Duke are, in part, entirely rational,—and that part not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with the conſolation to be derived from a relaxation in ſome other points. But, in the name of common ſenſe, why admit exceptions? Why is the Archbiſhop to have this favour? Why the religious? This is abſolutely deſtructive of the principle on which the whole is founded; for it admits the force of thoſe prejudices I have touched on, and deem exemption from their tie as a favour! It is declaring ſuch feelings to be follies, too abſurd to be indulged, and, in the ſame breath, aſſigning the indulgence, as the reward of rank and purity! If the exemption is a privilege ſo valuable, as to be a favour proper for the firſt eccleſiaſtic, and for the religious of the ſex only,—you confeſs the obſervance to be directly, in ſuch proportion, a burthen, and the common feelings of mankind are ſanctioned, even in the moment of their outrage. Nothing could pardon ſuch an edict, but its being abſolutely free from all exemptions, and its containing an expreſs declaration and ordinance to be executed, with rigour, on the bodies of the Prince himſelf, and every individual of his family.

DECEMBER 1. To the ſhop of the brothers Piſani, ſculptors, where, for half an hour, I was fooliſh enough to wiſh myſelf rich, that I might have bought Niobe, the gladiator, Diana, Venus, and ſome other caſts from the antique ſtatues. I threw away a few *pauls*, inſtead of three or four hundred *zechins*. Before I quit Florence, I muſt obſerve, that beſides the buildings and various objects I have mentioned, there are at leaſt a thouſand more, which I have not ſeen at all;—the famous bridge Ponta della Santa Trinita deſerves, however, a word: it is the origin of that at Neuillé and ſo many others in France, but much more beautiful; being indeed the firſt in the world. The circumſtance that ſtrikes one at Florence, is the antiquity of the principal buildings; every thing one ſees conſiderable, is of three or four hundred years ſtanding: of new buildings, there are next to none; all here remind one of the Medicis: there is hardly a ſtreet that has not ſome monument, ſome decoration, that bears the ſtamp of that ſplendid and magnificent family. How commerce could enrich it ſufficiently, to leave ſuch prodigious remains, is a queſtion not a little curious; for I may venture, without apprehenſion, to aſſert, that all the collected magnificence of the Houſe of Bourbon, governing for eight hundred years twenty millions of people, is trivial, when compared with what the Medicis family have left, for the admiration of ſucceding ages—ſovereigns only of the little mountainous region of Tuſcany, and with not more than one million of ſubjects. And if we paſs on to Spain, or England, or Germany, the ſame aſtoniſhing contraſt will ſtrike us. Would Mr. Hope, of Amſterdam, ſaid to be the greateſt merchant in the world, be able, in this age, to form eſtabliſhments, to be compared with thoſe of the Medicis? We have merchants in London, that make twenty, and even thirty thouſand pounds a year profit, but you will find them in brick cottages, for our modern London houſes are no better, compared with the palaces of Florence and Venice, erected in the age of their commerce; the paintings, in the poſſeſſion of our merchants, a few daubed portraits; their ſtatues, earthen-ware figures on chimney-pieces; their libraries—their cabinets,—how comtemptible the idea of a compariſon! It is a remarkable fact, that with this prodigious commerce and manufactures, Florence was neither ſo large nor ſo populous as at preſent. This is inexplicable, and demands enquiries from the *hiſtorical* traveller:—a very uſeful path to be trodden by a man of abilities, who ſhould travel for the ſake of comparing the things he ſees with thoſe he reads of. Trade, in that age, muſt, from the fewneſs of hands, have been a ſort of monopoly, yielding immenſe profits. From the modern ſtate of Florence, without one new houſe that rivals, in any degree, thoſe of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, it might be thought, that with their commerce, the Florentines loſt every ſort of income; yet there is no doubt, that the revenue from land is, at this moment, greater than it was in the moſt flouriſhing age of the republic. The revenue of Tuſcany is now more equally ſpent. The government of the Grand Dukes, I take to have been far better than the republican, for it was not a republic equally formed from all parts of the territory, but a city governing the country, and conſequently impoveriſhing the whole, to enrich itſelf, which is one of the worſt ſpecies of government to be found in the world. When Italy was decorated with fine buildings, the rich nobles muſt have ſpent their incomes in raiſing them: at preſent, thoſe of Florence have other methods of applying their fortunes; not in palaces, not in the fine arts, not in dinners;—the account I received was, that their incomes are, for the greateſt part, conſumed by keeping great crowds of domeſtics; many of them married, with their families, as in Spain. The Marcheſe Ricardi has forty, each of which hath a family of his own, ſome of them under ſervants, but all maintained by him. His table is very magnificent, and ſerved with all ſorts of delicacies, yet never any company at it, except the family, tutors, and chaplains. The houſe of Ranuzzi hath a greater fortune, and alſo a greater number of domeſtics, in the ſame ſtile. No dinners, as in England; no ſuppers, as in France; no parties; no expenſive equipages; little comfort; but a great train of idle lounging penſioners, taken from uſeful labour, and kept from productive induſtry; one of the worſt ways of ſpending their fortunes, relatively to the public good, that could have been adopted. How inferior to the encouragement of the fine or the uſeful arts. The manner in which our little party has paſſed their time, has been agreeable enough, and wonderfully cheap: we have been very well ſerved by a *traiteur*, with plenty of good things, well dreſſed, at 4 *pauls* a head for dinner, and a ſlight repaſt at night; ſugar, rum, and lemons for punch, which both French and Italians like very well, added a trifle more. Theſe articles, and the apartment, with wood, which is dear, and the weather, as I noted, very cold, made my whole expence, excluſive of amuſements, 3s. 6d. a day Engliſh, which ſurely is marvellouſly cheap; for we had generally eight or ten things for dinner, and ſuch a deſſert as the ſeaſon would allow, with good wine, the beſt I have drunk in Italy. The Abbate Amoretti, who, fortunately for me, arrived at Florence the ſame day as myſelf, was lodged with a friend, a canon, who being obliged to be abſent, in the country, moſt of the time, the Abbate, to ſave the ſervants the trouble of providing for him only, joined our party, and lived with us for ſome days, adding to our common bank no ſlight capital in good ſenſe, information, and agreeableneſs. Madame de Bouille's eaſy and unaffected character, and the good humour of the Baron, united with Mr. Stewart, and his young friend, to make a mixture of nations—of ideas—of purſuits—and of tempers,—which contributed to render converſation diverſified, and the topics more in contraſt, better treated, and more intereſting; but never one idea, or one ſyllable, that caſt even a momentary ſhade acroſs that flow of eaſe and good humour, which gives to every ſociety its beſt reliſh. There was not one in the party which any of us wiſhed out of it; and we were too much pleaſed with one another to want any addition. Had I not been turning my face towards my family, and the old friends I left in England, I ſhould have quitted our little ſociety with more pain. Half a dozen people have rarely been brought together, by ſuch mere accident, that have better turned the little nothings of life to account (if I may venture to uſe the expreſſion), by their beſt cement,—good humour.

The 2d. The day of departure muſt needs give ſome anxiety to thoſe who cannot throw their ſmall evils on ſervants. Renew my connexion with that odious Italian race, the *vetturini*.—I had agreed for a *compagnon de voyage*; but was alone, which I liked much better. To ſtep at once from an agreeable ſociety, into an Italian *voiture*, is a kind of malady which does not agree with my nerves. The beſt people appear but blanks at ſuch a moment: the mind having gotten a particular impulſe, one cannot ſo ſoon give it another. The inn at Maſchere, where I found no fire, but in partnerſhip with ſome Germans, did not tend much to revive chearfulneſs, ſo I cloſed myſelf in that which Sancho wiſely ſays, covers a man all over like a cloak.——18 miles

The 3d. Dine at Pietra Mala, and, while the dinner was preparing, I walked to the volcano, as it is called. It is a very ſingular ſpectacle, on the ſlope of a mountain, without any hole or apparent crevice, or any thing that tends towards a crater; the fire burns among ſome ſtones, as if they were its fuel; the flame fills the ſpace of a cube of about two feet, beſides which there are ten or twelve ſmaller and inconſiderable flames. Theſe I extinguiſhed in the manner Monſ. de la Lande mentions, by rubbing hard with a ſtick among the ſmall ſtones: the flame catches again in a few moments, but in a manner that convinces me the whole is merely a vent to a current of inflammable air, which Signore Amoretti informed me has been lately aſſerted by ſome perſon who has tried experiments on it. The flame revives with ſmall exploſions, exactly like thoſe of inflammable air fired from a ſmall phial; and when I returned to the inn, the landlord had a bottle of it, which he burns at pleaſure, to ſhew to his gueſts. The cauſe of this phœnomenon has been ſought in almoſt every thing but the real fact. I am ſurpriſed the fire is not applied to ſome uſe. It would boil a conſiderable copper conſtantly, without the expence of a farthing. If I had it at Bradfield, I would burn brick or lime, and boil or bake potatoes for bullocks and hogs at the ſame time. Why not build a houſe on the ſpot? and let the kitchen-chimney ſurround the flame? there would be no danger in living in ſuch a houſe, certainly as long the flame continued to burn. It is true the idea of a mine of inflammable air, juſt under a houſe, would ſometimes, perhaps, alarm one's female viſitors; they would be afraid of a magazine of vital air uniting with it, and at one exploſion blowing up the œconomical edifice. On the whole, the idea is rather too volcanic for Bradfield: Italy has things better worth importing than burning mountains. The King of Poland's brother, the primate, ſtopping at Pietra Mala a day for illneſs (the 25th or 26th November), the weather was ſo ſevere that it froze his Cyprus wine; milk was as hard as ſtone, and burſt all the veſſels that contained it. On whatever account Engliſhmen may travel to Tuſcany, let not a warm winter be among their inducements.—Sleep at that hideous hole *Loiano*, which would be too bad for hogs accuſtomed to a clean ſtye.——26 miles.

The 4th. The paſſage of the Appenines has been a cold and comfortleſs journey to me, and would have been much worſe, if I had not taken refuge in walking. The hills are almoſt covered with ſnow; and the road, in many deſcents, a ſheet of ice. At the St. Marco, at Bologna, they brought me, according to cuſtom, the book to write my name for the commandante, and there I ſee *Lady Erne* and *ſua figlia*, and *Mr. Hervey*, *October* 14. Had my ſtars been lucky enough to have given me more of the ſociety of that cultivated family, during my ſtay in Italy, it would have ſmoothed ſome of my difficulties. I miſſed Lord Briſtol at Nice, and again at Padua. He has travelled, and lived in Italy, till he knows it as well as Derry; and, unfortunately for the ſociety of Suffolk, ten times better than Ickworth. Call on Mr. Taylor, and find, to my great concern, two of his children very ill. Abbate Amoretti, who left Florence a few days ago, is here to my comfort, and we ſhall continue together till we come to Parma. This is indeed fortunate, for one can hardly wiſh for a better fellow-traveller.——20 miles.

The 5th. Viſit the Inſtitute, which has acquired a greater reputation than it merits. Whoever has read any thing about modern Italy, knows what it contains. I never view muſeums of natural hiſtory, and cabinets of machines for experimental philoſophy, but with a ſpecies of diſguſt. I hate expence, and time thrown away for vanity and ſhew more than utility. A well arranged laboratory, clean, and every thing in order, in a holy-day dreſs, is deteſtable; but I found a combination of many pleaſures in the diſorderly dirty laboratories of Meſſrs. de Morveau and la Voiſier. There is a face of buſineſs; there is evidently work going forwards; and if ſo, there is uſe. Why move here, and at Florence, through rooms well garniſhed with pneumatical inſtruments that are never uſed? Why are not experiments going forward? If the profeſſors have not time or inclination for thoſe experiments, which it is their duty to make, let others, who are willing, convert ſuch machines to uſe. Half theſe implements grow good for nothing from reſt; and before they are uſed, demand to be new arranged. You ſhew me abundance of tools, but ſay not a word of the diſcoveries that have been made by them. A prince, who is at the expence of making ſuch great collections of machines, ſhould always order a ſeries of experiments to be carrying on by their means. If I were Grand Duke of Tuſcany, I ſhould ſay, “ You, Mr. Fontana, have invented an eudiometer; I deſire that you will carry on a ſeries of trials, to aſcertain every circumſtance which changes the reſult, in the qualities of airs, that can be aſcertained by the nitrous teſt; and if you have other enquiries, which you think more important, employ ſome perſon upon whom you can depend.”—And to Mr. John Fabbroni, “ You have made five trials on the weight of geoponic ſoils, taken hydroſtatically; make five hundred more, and let the ſpecimens be choſen in conjunction with the profeſſor of agriculture. You have explained how to analyze ſoils—analyze the ſame ſpecimens.” When men have opened to themſelves careers which they do not purſue, it is uſually for want of the means of proſecuting them; but in the muſeum of a prince; in ſuch cabinets as at Florence or Bologna, there are no difficulties of this ſort,—and they would be better employed than in their preſent ſtate, painted and patched, like an opera girl, for the idle to ſtare at. What would a Watſon, a Milner, or a Prieſtley ſay, upon a propoſal to have their laboratories bruſhed out clean and ſpruce? I believe they would kick out the operator who came on ſuch an errand. In like manner, I hate a library well gilt, exactly arranged, and not a book out of its place; I am apt to think the owner better pleaſed with the reputation of his books, than with reading them. Here is a chamber for machines applicable to mechanics; and the country is full of carts, with wheels two feet high, with large axles; what experiments have been made in this chamber to inform the people on a point of ſuch conſequence to the conduct of almoſt every art? I have, however, a greater quarrel than this with the Inſtitute. There is an apartment of the art of war and fortification. Is there one of the machines of agriculture, and of ſuch of its proceſſes as can be repreſented in miniature?—No: nor here, nor any where elſe have I ſeen ſuch an exhibition: yet in the King's library at Paris, the art of Engliſh gardening is repreſented in wax-work, and makes a play-thing pretty enough for a child to cry for. The attention paid to war, and the neglect of agriculture in this Inſtitute, gives me a poor opinion of it. Bologna may produce great men, but ſhe will not owe them great obligations for this eſtabliſhment. View ſome churches and palaces, which I did not ſee when here before. In the church of St. Dominico, a ſlaughter of the Innocents, by Guido, which will command attention, how little inclined ſoever you may be to give it. The mother, and the dead child, in the fore-ground, are truly pathetic, and the whole piece finely executed. The number of highly decorated churches at Bologna is ſurpriſing. They count, I think, above an hundred; and all the towns, and many villages in Italy, offer the ſame ſpectacle; the ſums of money inveſted in this manner in the 15th and 16th centuries, and ſome even in the 17th, are truly amazing; the palaces were built at the ſame time, and at this period all the reſt of Europe was in a ſtate of barbariſm: national wealth muſt have been immenſe, to have ſpared ſuch an enormous ſuperfluity. This idea recurs every where in Italy, and wants explanation from modern hiſtorians. The Italian republics had all the trade of Europe; but what was Europe in that age? England and Holland have had it in this age without any ſuch effects; with us architecture takes quite a different turn; it is the diffuſion of comfort in the houſes of private people; not concentrated magnificence in public works. But there does not appear, from the ſize and number of the towns in Italy, built in the ſame ages, to have been any want of this—private houſes were numerous, and well erected. A difference in manners, introducing new and unheard-of luxuries, has probably been the cauſe of the change. In ſuch a diary as this, one can only touch on a ſubject—but the hiſtorians ſhould dwell on them, rather than on battles and ſieges.

The 6th. Left Bologna, with Abbate Amoretti, in a *vettura*, but the day ſo fine and froſty, that we walked three-fourths of the way to Modena. Paſs

Anſolazen, the ſeat of the Marcheſe Abbergatti, who, after having paſſed his grand climacteric, has juſt married a *ballarina*, of ſeventeen. The country to Modena is the ſame as the flat part of the Bologneſe; it is all a dead level plain, incloſed by neatly wrought hedges againſt the road, with a view of diſtinguiſhing properties. I thought, on entering the Modeneſe dominions, acroſs the river, that I obſerved rather a decline in neatneſs and good management. View the city; the ſtreets are of a good breadth, and moſt of the houſes with good fronts, with a clean painted or well waſhed face,—the effect pleaſing. In the evening to the theatre, which is of the oddeſt form I have ſeen. We had a hodge-podge of a comedy, in which the following paſſage excited ſuch an immoderate laugh, that it is worth inſerting, if only to ſhew the taſte of the audience, and the reputation of the *ballarini*; "*Era un cavallo sì bello, sì ſvelto, sì agile, di bel petto, gambe ben fatte, groppa groſſa, che ſe foſſe ſtato una cavalla, converebbe dire che l'anima della prima ballerina del teatro era traſmigrata in quella.*" Another piece of miſerable wit, was received with as much applauſe as the moſt ſterling:—Arlecch. "*Chi e quel rè che ha la più gran corona del mondo?*——Brighel. "*Quello che ha la teſta più piccola.*"——24 miles.

The 7th. To the ducal palace, which is a magnificent building, and contains a conſiderable collection of pictures, but nothing to what were once here. The library, celebrated for its contents, is ſplendid; we were ſhewn the curious MS. of which there is an account in De la Lande. The Bible made for the D'Eſte family, is beautifully executed, begun in 1457, and finiſhed in 1463, and coſt 1875 *zechins*. In the afternoon, accompanied the Abbate Amoretti, to Signore Belentani; and in the evening, to Signore Venturi, profeſſor of phyſicks in the univerſity, with whom we ſpent a very agreeable and inſtructive evening. We debated on the propriety of applying ſome political principles to the preſent ſtate of Italy; and I found, that the profeſſor had not only conſidered the ſubjects of political importance, but ſeemed pleaſed to converſe upon them.

The 8th. Early in the morning to Reggio. This line of country appears to be one of the beſt in Lombardy; there is a neatneſs in the houſes, which are every where ſcattered thickly, that extends even to the homeſteads and hedges, to a degree that one does not always find, even in the beſt parts of England; but the trees that ſupport the vines being large, the whole has now, without leaves, the air of a foreſt. In ſummer it muſt be an abſolute wood. The road is a noble one. Six miles from Modena, we paſſed the Secchia, or rather the vale ruined by that river, near an unfiniſhed bridge, with a long and noble cauſeway leading to it, on each ſide, which does honour to the duke and ſtates of Modena. It being a *feſta* (the immaculate conception), we met the country people going to maſs; the married women had all muffs, which are here wedding preſents. Another thing I obſerved, for the firſt time, were children ſtanding ready in the road, or running out of the houſes, to offer, as we were walking, aſſes to ride: they have them always ſaddled and bridled, and the fixed price is 1 *ſol* per mile. This ſhews attention and induſtry, and is, therefore, commendable. A countryman, who had walked with us for ſome diſtance, replied to them, that we were not *Signori d'aſini*. In the afternoon to Parma. The country the ſame; but not with that air of neatneſs that is between Reggio and Modena; not ſo well incloſed, nor ſo well planted; and though very populous, not ſo well built, nor the houſes ſo clean and neat. Paſs the Euſa, a poor miſerable brook, now three yards wide, but a bridge for it a quarter of a mile long, and a fine vale, all deſtroyed by its ravages; this is the boundary of the two dutchies.——30 miles.

The 9th. At the academy is the famous picture of the holy family and St. Jerome, by Correggio, a maſter more inimitable perhaps than Raphael himſelf. To my unlearned eyes, there is in this painting ſuch a ſuffuſion of grace, and ſuch a blaze of beauty, as ſtrike me blind (to uſe another's expreſſion) to all defects which learned eyes have found in it. I have admired this piece often in Italy in good copies, by no ordinary maſters, but none come near the original. The head of the Magdalen is reckoned the *chef d'œuvre* of Correggio. The celebrated cupola of the Duomo is ſo high, ſo much damaged, and my eyes ſo indifferent, that I leave it for thoſe who have better. At St. Sepulchro, St. Joſeph gathering palms, &c. by the ſame great hand. There are works by him alſo in the church of St. John, but not equally beautiful, and a copy of his famous *Notte*. At the academy is a fine adoration, by Mazzola. The great theatre here is the largeſt in the world. In the afternoon to the citadel; but its governor, count Rezzonico, to whom I had a letter, is abſent from Parma. Then to the celebrated *reale typografia* of Signore Bodoni, who ſhewed me many works of ſingular beauty. The types, I think, exceed thoſe of Didot at Paris, who likewiſe often crowds the letters cloſe, as if to ſave paper. The Daphne and Chloe, and the Amynta, are beautifully executed; I bought the latter, as a ſpecimen of this celebrated preſs, which really does honour to Italy. Signore Bodoni had the title of the printer to the King of Spain, but never received any ſalary, or even gratification, as I learned in Parma from another quarter; where I was alſo informed, that the ſalary he has from the Duke is only 150 *zechins*. His merit is great and diſtinguiſhed, and his exertions are uncommon. He has 30,000 matrices of type. I was not a little pleaſed to find, that he has met with the beſt ſort of patron, in Mr. Edwards, the bookſeller, at London, who has made a contract with him for an impreſſion of two hundred and fifty of four Greek poets, four Latin, and four Italian ones—Pindar, Sophocles, Homer, and Theocritus; Horace, Virgil, Lucretius, and Plautus; Dante, Petrarcha, Arioſto, and Taſſo. In ſearching bookſellers ſhops for printed agriculture, I became poſſeſſed of a book which I conſider as a real curioſity—*Diario di Colorno per l'anno* 1789, preceded by a ſermon, on this text, *Ut ſeductores et veraces*; Corinth. cap. vi. ver. 8. The diary is a catalogue of ſaints, with the chief circumſtances of their lives, their merits, &c. This book, which is put together in the ſpirit of the tenth century, is (marvellouſly be it ſpoken!) the production of the duke of Parma's pen. The ſovereign, for whoſe education a conſtellation of French talents was collected—with what effect, let this production witneſs. Inſtead of profanely turning friars out of their convents, this prince has peopled his palace with monks: and the holy office of inquiſition is found at Parma, inſtead of an academy of agriculture. The dutcheſs has her amuſements, as well as her huſband: doubtleſs they are more agreeable, and more in uniſon with the character and practice of this age. The memoirs of the court of Parma, both during the reigns of Don Philip and the preſent duke, whenever they are publiſhed, for written I ſhould ſuppoſe they muſt be, will make a romance as intereſting as any that fiction has produced. If I lived under a government that had the power of fleecing me, to ſupport the extravagancies of a Prince, in the name of common feelings, let it be to fill a place with miſtreſſes, rather than with monks. For half a million of French livres, the river Parma might be made navigable from the Po; it has been more than once mentioned; but the preſent duke has other and more holy employments for money: Don Philip's were not ſo directly aimed at the gates of Paradiſe.

The 10th. In the morning, walked with Signore Amoretti to Vicomero, ſeven miles north of Parma towards the Po, the ſeat of the count de Schaffienatti. For half the way, we had a fine clear froſty ſun-ſhine, which ſhewed us the conſtant fog that hangs over the Po; but a ſlight breeze from the north riſing, it drove this fog over us, and changed the day at once. It rarely quits the Po, except in the heat of the day in fine weather in ſummer, ſo that when you are to the ſouth of it, with a clear view of the Appenines, you ſee nothing of the Alps: and when to the north of it, with a fine view of the latter, you ſee nothing of the Appenines. Commonly it does not ſpread more than half a mile on each ſide wider than the river, but varies, by wind, as it did to-day. The country, for four miles, is moſtly meadow, and much of it watered; but then becomes arable. Entered the houſe of a *metayer*, to ſee the method of living, but found nobody; the whole family, with ſix or eight women and children, their neighbours were in the ſtable, ſitting on forms fronting each other in two lines, on a ſpace paved and clean, in the middle of the room, between two rows of oxen and cows: it was moſt diſagreeably hot on entering. They ſtay there till they go to bed, ſometimes till midnight. This practice is univerſal in Lombardy. Dine with the count de Schaffienatti, who lives entirely in the country, with his wife. He ſhewed me his farm, and I examined his dairy, where cheeſes are made nearly in the ſame way, and with the ſame implements as in the Lodeſan; theſe cheeſes may therefore, with as much propriety, be called Parmeſan, as thoſe that come from Lodi. My friend, the Abbate Amoretti, having other engagements in this country, I here took leave of him with regret.——14 miles.

The 11th. Having agreed with a *vetturino* to take me to Turin, and he not being able to procure another paſſenger, I went alone to Firenzola. It is fine ſun-ſhine weather, deciſively warmer than ever felt in England at this ſeaſon: a ſharp froſt, without affecting the extremities as with us, where cold fingers and toes may be claſſed among the nuiſances of our climate. I walked moſt of the way. The face of the country is the ſame as before, but vines decreaſe after Borgo St. Domino. An inequality in the ſurface of the country begins alſo to appear, and every where a ſcattering of oak-timber, which is a new feature. ——20 miles.

The 12th. Early in the morning to Piacenza, that I might have time to view that city, which, however, contains little worthy of attention to any but thoſe who ſtudy painting as connoiſſeurs. The country changed a good deal today. It is like the flat rich parts of Eſſex and Suffolk. Houſes are thinner, and the general face inferior. The inequalities which began yeſterday increaſe.—The two equeſtrian ſtatues of Alexander and Rannutio Farneſe, are finely expreſſive of life; the motion of the horſes, particularly that of Alexander's, is admirable; and the whole performance ſpirited and alive. They are by John of Bologna, or Moca his *eleve*. Sleep at Caſtel St. Giovanne.——26 miles.

The 13th. Croſs a brook, two miles diſtant, and enter the King of Sardinia's territory, where the ſculls of two robbers, who, about two months ago, robbed the courier of Rome, are immediately ſeen: this is an agreeable object, that ſtrikes us at our entrance into any part of the Piedmonteſe dominions; the inhabitants having in this reſpect an ill reputation throughout all Italy, much to the diſgrace of the government. The country, to Tortona, is all hill and dale; and being cultivated, with an intermixture of vines, and much incloſed, with many buildings on the hills, the features are ſo agreeable, that it may be ranked among the moſt pleaſing I have ſeen in Italy. Within three miles of Vogara, all is white with ſnow, the firſt I have ſeen in the plain; but as we approach the mountains, ſhall quit it no more till the Alps are croſſed. Dine at Vogara, in a room in which the chimney does not ſmoke; which ought to be noted, as it is the only one free from it ſince I left Bologna. At this freezing ſeaſon, to have a door conſtantly open to aid the chimney in its office; one ſide burnt by the blaze of a faggot, and the other frozen by a door that opens into the yard, are among the *agrémens* of a winter journey in lat. 45. After

Vogara, the hills trend more to the ſouth. The ſun ſetting here is a ſingular object to an eye uſed only to plains. The Alps not being viſible, it ſeems to ſit long before it reaches the plane of the horizon. Paſs the citadel of Tortona on a hill, one of the ſtrongeſt places in the poſſeſſion of the King of Sardinia.—33 miles.

The 14th. Ford the Scrivia; it is as ravaging a ſtream as the Trebbia, ſubject to dreadful floods, after even two days rain; eſpecially if a Scirocco wind melts the ſnow on the Appenines: ſuch accidents have often kept travellers four, five, and even ſix days at miſerable inns. I felt myſelf lighter for the having paſſed it; for there were not fewer than ſix or ſeven rivers, which could have thus ſtopped me. This is the laſt. The weather continues ſharp and froſty, very cold, the ice five inches thick, and the ſnow deep. Dine at Alexandria, joined there by a gentleman who has taken the other ſeat in the *vettura* to Turin. Juſt on the outſide of that town, there is an uncommon covered bridge. The citadel ſeems ſurrounded with many works. Sleep at Felliſham, a vile dirty hole, with paper windows, common in this country, and not uncommon even in Alexandria itſelf.——18 miles.

The 15th. The country, to Aſti and Villanova, all hilly, and ſome of it pleaſing. Coming out of Aſti, where we dined, the country for ſome miles is beautiful. My *vetturino* has been travelling, in company with another, without my knowing any thing of the maſter till to-day; but we joined at dinner; and I found him a very ſenſible agreeable Frenchman, apparently a man of faſhion, who knows every body. His converſation, both at dinner, and in the evening, was no inconſiderable relief to the dullneſs of ſuch a frozen journey. His name Nicolay.——22 miles.

The 16th. To Turin, by Moncallier; much of the country dull and diſagreeable; hills without landſcape; and vales without the fertility of Lombardy.—My companion, who is in office as an architect to the King, as well as I could gather from the hints he dropped, lived nine years in Sardinia. The account he gives of that iſland, contains ſome circumſtances worth noting. What keeps it in its preſent unimproved ſituation, is chiefly the extent of eſtates, the abſence of ſome very great proprietors, and the inattention of all. The duke of Aſſinara has 300,000 liv. a-year, or 15,000l. ſterling. The duke of St. Piera 160,000. The Marcheſe di Paſcha, very great. Many of them live in Spain. The Conte de Girah, a grandee of Spain, has an eſtate of two days journey, reaching from Poula to Oliuſtre. The peaſants are a miſerable ſet, that live in poor cabins, without other chimnies than a hole in the roof to let the ſmoke out. The *intemperia* is frequent and pernicious every where in ſummer; yet there are very great mountains. Cattle have nothing to eat in winter, but brouzing on ſhrubs, &c. There are no wolves. The oil ſo bad as not to be eatable. Some wine almoſt as good as Malaga, and not unlike it. No ſilk. The great export is wheat, which has been known to yield forty for one; but ſeven or eight for one is the common produce. Bread, 1 *ſ.* the pound; beef, 2 *ſ.*; mutton, 2½ *ſ.* There are millions of wild ducks; ſuch numbers, that perſons fond of ſhooting have gone thither merely for the incredible ſport they afford.

The 17th. Waited on our ambaſſador, the honourable Mr. Trevor, who was not at home; but I had an invitation to dinner ſoon after, which I accepted readily, and paſſed a very pleaſant day. Mr. Trevor's ſituation is not compatible with his being a practical farmer; but he is a man of deep ſenſe, and much obſervation; all ſuch are political farmers, from conviction of the importance of the ſubject. He converſes well on it; Mr. Trevor mentioned ſome Piedmonteſe nobles, to whom he would have introduced me, if my ſtay had been long enough; but he would not admit an excuſe reſpecting the Portugueſe ambaſſador, of whom he ſpeaks as a perſon remarkably well informed; and who loves agriculture greatly. In the evening, accompanied Mrs. Trevor to the great opera-houſe; a rehearſal of *l'Olympiade*, new-ſet by a young compoſer, Frederici; Marcheſe ſung.

The 18th. I am not a little obliged to Mr. Trevor for introducing me to one of the beſt informed men I have any where met with, Don Roderigo de Souza Continho, the Portugueze miniſter at the court of Turin, with whom I dined to-day; he had invited to meet me the *Medico* Bonvicino, l'Abbatte Vaſco, author of ſeveral political pieces of merit, and Signore Bellardi, a botaniſt of conſiderable reputation, whom I had known when before at Turin. What the young and beautiful Madame de Souza thinks of an Engliſh farmer, may be eaſily gueſſed; for not one word was ſpoken in an inceſſant converſation, but on agriculture, or thoſe political principles which tend to cheriſh or reſtrain it. To a woman of faſhion in England this would not appear extraordinary, for ſhe now and then meets with it; but to a young Piedmonteſe, unaccuſtomed to ſuch converſations, it muſt have appeared odd, uninviting, and unpolite. M. de Souza ſent to the late prince of Brazil, one of the beſt and moſt judicious offerings that any ambaſſador ever made to his ſovereign; Portugal he repreſents as a country capable of vaſt improvements by irrigation, but almoſt an entire ſtranger to the practice; therefore, with a view of introducing a knowledge of its importance, he ordered a model, in different woods, to be conſtructed of a river; the method of taking water from it; and the conducting of it by various channels over the adjoining or diſtant lands, with all the machinery uſed for regulating and meaſuring the water. It was made on ſuch a ſcale, that the model was an exhibition of the art, ſo far as it could be repreſented in the diſtribution of water. It was an admirable thought, and might have proved of the greateſt importance to his country. This machine is at Liſbon; and, I take it for granted, is there conſidered (if Liſbon be like other courts), as a toy for children to look at, inſtead of a ſchool for the inſtruction of a people. I was pleaſed to find the Portugueze miniſter among the moſt intimate acquaintances of Mr. Trevor; the friendſhip of men of parts and knowledge, does them reciprocal honour: I am ſorry to quit Turin, juſt as I am known to two men who would be ſufficient to render any town agreeable; nor ſhould I be ſorry if Don Roderigo was a farmer near me in Suffolk, inſtead of being an ambaſſador at Turin, for which he is doubtleſs much obliged to me.

The 19th. The King has ſent a meſſage to the academy of ſciences, recommending them to pay attention to whatever concerns dying. The miniſter is ſaid to be a man of abilities, from which expreſſion, in this age, we are to underſtand, a perſon who is, or ſeems to be active for the encouragement of manufactures and commerce, but never one who has juſt ideas on the importance of agriculture in preference to all other objects. To multiply mulberries in Piedmont, and cattle and ſheep in Savoy—to do ſomething with the fertile waſtes and peſtiferous marſhes of Sardinia, would give a miniſter reputation among the few real politicians only in any country: but dying, and buttons*, and ſciſſars, and commerce, are calculated to pleaſe the many, and conſequently to give reputation to thoſe who build on ſuch foundations. Dine with Mr. Trevor, and continue to find in him an equal ability and inclination to anſwer ſuch of my enquiries as I took the liberty of troubling him with. In the evening he introduced me to count Granari, the ſecretary of ſtate for home affairs, that is the prime miniſter, under an idea that he had an intention of introducing Spaniſh ſheep: he was ambaſſador in Spain, and ſeems, from his converſation, well informed concerning the Spaniſh flocks. This miniſter was called home to fill his preſent important ſituation to the ſatisfaction of the people, who have very generally a good opinion of his ability and prudence. To-morrow I leave Turin: I have agreed with a *vetturino* for carrying me to Lyons acroſs Mont Cenis, in a chariot, and allowed him to take another perſon; this perſon he has found; and it is Mr. Grundy, a conſiderable merchant of Birmingham, who is on his return from Naples.

The 20th. Leave Turin; dine at St. Anthony, like hogs; and ſmoked all the dinner like hams. Sleep at Suza, a better inn.——32 miles.

The 21ſt. The ſhorteſt day in the year, for one of the expeditions that demand the longeſt, the paſſage of Mont Cenis, about which ſo much has been written. To thoſe who, from reading, are full of expectation of ſomething very ſublime, it is almoſt as great a deluſion as to be met with in the regions of romance: if travellers are to be believed, the deſcent, *rammaſſant* on the ſnow, is made with the velocity of a flaſh of lightning; I was not fortunate enough to meet with any thing ſo wonderful. At the *grand croix* we ſeated ourſelves in machines of four ſticks, dignified with the name of *traineau*: a mule draws it, and a conductor, who walks between the machine and the animal, ſerves chiefly to kick the ſnow into the face of the rider. When arrived at the precipice, which leads down to Lanebourg, the mule is diſmiſſed, and the *rammaſſing* begins. The weight of two perſons, the guide ſeating himſelf in the front, and directing it with his heels in the ſnow, is ſufficient to give it motion. For moſt of the way he is content to follow very humbly the path of the mules, but now and then croſſes to eſcape a double, and in ſuch ſpots the motion is rapid enough, for a few ſeconds, to be agreeable; they might very eaſily ſhorten the line one half, and by that means gratify the Engliſh with the velocity they admire ſo much. As it is at preſent, a good Engliſh horſe would trot as faſt as we *rammaſſed*. The exaggerations we have read of this buſineſs have ariſen, perhaps, from travellers paſſing in ſummer, and accepting the deſcriptions of the muleteers. A journey on ſnow is commonly productive of laughable incidents; the road of the *traineau* is not wider than the machine, and we were always meeting mules, &c. It was ſometimes, and with reaſon, a queſtion who ſhould turn out; for the ſnow being ten feet deep, the mules had ſagacity to conſider a moment before they buried themſelves. A young Savoyard female, riding her mule, experienced a complete reverſal; for, attempting to paſs my *traineau*, her beaſt was a little reſtive, and tumbling, diſmounted his rider: the girl's head pitched in the ſnow, and ſunk deep enough to fix her beauties in the poſition of a forked poſt; and the wicked muleteers, inſtead of aſſiſting her, laughed too heartily to move: if it had been one of the *ballerini*, the attitude would have been nothing diſtreſſing to her. Theſe laughable adventures, with the gilding of a bright ſun, made the day paſs pleaſantly; and we were in good humour enough to ſwallow with chearfulneſs, a dinner at Lanebourg, that, had we been in England, we ſhould have conſigned very readily to the dog-kennel.——20 miles.

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* See Milan.

The 22d. The whole day we were among the high Alps. The villages are apparently poor, the houſes ill built, and the people with few comforts about them, except plenty of pine wood, the foreſts of which harbour wolves and bears. Dine at Modane, and ſleep at St. Michel.——25 miles.

The 23d. Paſs St. Jean Maurienne, where there is a biſhop, and near that place we ſaw what is much better than a biſhop, the pretticſt, and indeed the only pretty woman we ſaw in Savoy; on enquiry, found it was Madame de la Coſte, wife of a farmer of tobacco; I ſhould have been better pleaſed if ſhe had belonged to the plough.—The mountains now relax their terrific features: they recede enough, to offer to the willing induſtry of the poor inhabitants ſomething like a valley; but the jealous torrent ſeizes it with the hand of deſpotiſm, and, like his brother tyrants, reigns but to deſtroy. On ſome ſlopes vines: mulberries begin to appear; villages increaſe; but ſtill continue rather ſhapeleſs heaps of inhabited ſtones than ranges of houſes; yet in theſe homely cots, beneath the ſnow-clad hills, where natural light comes with tardy beams, and art ſeems more ſedulous to exclude than admit it, peace and content, the companions of honeſty, may reſide; and certainly would, were the penury of nature the only evil felt; but the hand of deſpotiſm may be more heavy. In ſeveral places the view is pictureſque and pleaſing: incloſures ſeem hung againſt the mountain ſides, as a picture is ſuſpended to the wall of a room. The people are in general mortally ugly and dwarfiſh. Dine at La Chambre; ſad fare. Sleep at Aguebelle.—30 miles.

The 24th. The country to day, that is, to Chambery, improves greatly; the mountains, though high, recede; the vallies are wide, and the ſlopes more cultivated; and towards the capital of Savoy, are many country houſes, which enliven the ſcene. Above Mal Taverne is Chateauneuf, the houſe of the Counteſs of that name. I was ſorry to ſee, at the village, a *carcan*, or ſeigneural ſtandard, erected, to which a chain and heavy iron collar are faſtened, as a mark of the lordly arrogance of the nobility, and the ſlavery of the people. I aſked why it was not burned, with the horror it merited? The queſtion did not excite the ſurprize I expected, and which it would have done before the French revolution. This led to a converſation, by which I learned, that in the *haut* Savoy, there are no ſeigneurs, and the people are generally at their eaſe; poſſeſſing little properties, and the land in ſpite of nature, almoſt as valuable as in the lower country, where the people are poor, and ill at their eaſe. I demanded why? *Becauſe there are ſeigneurs every where.* What a vice is it, and even a curſe, that the gentry, inſtead of being the cheriſhers and benefactors of their poor neighbours, ſhould thus, by the abomination of feudal rights, prove mere tyrants. Will nothing but revolutions, which cauſe their *chateaux* to be burnt, induce them to give to reaſon and humanity, what will be extorted by violence and commotion? We had arranged our journey, to arrive early at Chambery, for an opportunity to ſee what is moſt intereſting in a place that has but little. It is the winter reſidence of almoſt all the nobility of Savoy. The beſt eſtate in the dutchy is not more than 60,000 Piedmonteſe livres a year (3000l.), but for 20,000 liv. they live *en grand ſeigneur* here. If a country gentleman has 150 louis d'or a year, he will be ſure to ſpend three months in a town; the conſequence of which muſt be, nine uncomfortable ones in the country, in order to make a beggarly figure the other three in town. Theſe idle people are this Chriſtmas diſappointed, by the court having refuſed admittance to the uſual company of French comedians;—the government fears importing, among the rough mountaineers, the preſent ſpirit of French libetry. Is this weakneſs or policy? But Chambery had objects to me more intereſting. I was eager to view Charmettes, the road, the houſe of Madame de Warens, the vineyard, the garden, every thing, in a word, that had been deſcribed by the inimitable pencil of Rouſſeau. There was ſomething ſo deliciouſly amiable in her character, in ſpite of her frailties—her conſtant gaiety and good humour—her tenderneſs and humanity—her farming ſpeculations—but, above all other circumſtances, the love of Rouſſeau, have written her name amongſt the few whoſe memories are connected with us, by ties more eaſily felt than deſcribed. The houſe is ſituated about a mile from Chambery, fronting the rocky road which leads to that city, and the wood of cheſnuts in the valley. It is ſmall, and much of the ſame ſize as we ſhould ſuppoſe, in England, would be found on a farm of one hundred acres, without the leaſt luxury or pretenſion; and the garden, for ſhrubs and flowers, is confined, as well as unaſſuming. The ſcenery is pleaſing, being ſo near a city, and yet, as he obſerves, quite ſequeſtered. It could not but intereſt me, and I viewed it with a degree of emotion; even in the leafleſs melancholy of December it pleaſed. I wandered about ſome hills, which were aſſuredly the walks he has ſo agreeably deſcribed. I returned to Chambery, with my heart full of Madame de Warens. We had with us a young phyſician, a Monſieur Bernard, of Modanne en Maurienne, an agreeable man, connected with people at Chambery; I was ſorry to find, that he knew nothing more of the matter, than that Madame de Warens was certainly dead. With ſome trouble I procured the following certificate:

Extract from the Mortuary Regiſter of the Pariſh Church of St. Peter de Lemens.

"The 30th of July, 1762, was buried, in the burying ground of Lemens, Dame Louiſa Frances Eleonor de la Tour, widow of the Seignor Baron de Warens, native of Vevay, in the canton of Berne, in Switzerland, who died yeſterday, at ten in the evening, like a good Chriſtian, and fortified with her laſt ſacraments, aged about ſixty-three years. She abjured the Proteſtant religion about thirty-ſix years paſt; ſince which time ſhe lived in our religion. She finiſhed her days in the ſuburb of Neſin, where ſhe had lived for about eight years, in the houſe of M. Crepine. She lived heretofore at the Rectus, during about four years, in the houſe of the Marquis d'Alinge. She paſſed the reſt of her life, ſince her abjuration, in this city. (Signed) GAIME, rector of Lemens."

"I, the underwritten, preſent rector of the ſaid Lemens, certify, that I have extracted this from the mortuary regiſter of the pariſh church of the ſaid place, without any addition or diminution whatſoever; and, having collated it, have found it conformable to the original. In witneſs of all which, I have ſigned the preſents, at Chambery, the 24th of December, 1789.

(Signed) A. SACHOD, rector of Lemens."

23 miles.

The 25th. Left Chambery much diſſatisfied, for want of knowing more of it. Rouſſeau gives a good character * of the people, and I wiſhed to know them better. It was the worſt day I have known, for months paſt, a cold thaw, of ſnow and rain; and yet in this dreary ſeaſon, when nature ſo rarely has a ſmile on her countenance, the environs were charming. All hill and dale, toſſed about with ſo much wildneſs, that the features are bold enough for the irregularity of a foreſt ſcene; and yet withal, ſoftened and melted down by culture and habitation, to be eminently beautiful. The country incloſed to the firſt town in France, Pont Beauvoiſin, where we dined and ſlept. The paſſage of Echelles, cut in the rock by the ſovereign of the country, is a noble and ſtupendous work. Arrive at Pont Beauvoiſin, once more entering this noble kingdom, and meeting with the cockades of liberty, and thoſe arms in the hands of THE PEOPLE, which, it is to be wiſhed, may be uſed only for their own and Europe's peace.——24 miles.

The 26th. Dine at Tour du Pin, and ſleep at Verpiliere. This is the moſt advantageous entrance into France, in reſpect of beauty of country. From Spain, England, Flanders, Germany, or Italy by way of Antibes, all are inferior to this. It is really beautiful, and well planted, has many incloſures and mulberries, with ſome vines. There is hardly a bad feature, except the houſes; which, inſtead of being well built, and white as in Italy, are ugly thatched mud cabins, without chimnies, the ſmoke iſſuing at a hole in the roof, or at the windows. Glaſs ſeems unknown; and there is an air of poverty and miſery about them quite diſſonant to the general aſpect of the country. Coming out of Tour du Pin, we ſee a great common. Paſs Bourgoyn, a large town. Reach Verpiliere. This day's journey is a fine variation of hill and dale, well planted with *chateaux*, and farms and cottages ſpread about it. A mild lovely day of ſun-ſhine, threw no ſlight gilding over the whole. For ten or twelve days paſt, they have had, on this ſide of the Alps, fine open warm weather, with ſun-ſhine; but on the Alps themſelves, and in the vale of Lombardy, on the other ſide, we were frozen and buried in ſnow. At Pout Beauvoiſin and Bourgoyn, our paſſports were demanded by the *milice bourgeoiſe*, but no where elſe: they aſſure us, that the country is perfectly quiet every where, and have no guards mounted in the villages—nor any ſuſpicions of fugitives, as in the ſummer. Not far from Verpiliere, paſs the burnt *chateau* of M. de Veau, in a fine ſituation, with a noble wood behind it. Mr. Grundy was here in Auguſt, and it had then but lately been laid in aſhes; and a peaſant was hanging on one of the trees of the avenue by the road, one among many who were ſeized by the *milice bourgeoiſe* for this atrocious act.——27 miles.

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* S'il une eſt petite ville au monde où l'on goûte la douceur de la vie dans un commerce agréable & ſûr c'eſt Chambery.

The 27th. The country changes at once; from one of the fineſt in France, it becomes almoſt flat and *ſombre*. Arrive at Lyons, and there, for the laſt time, ſee the Alps; on the quay, there is a very fine view of Mont Blanc, which I had not ſeen before; leaving Italy, and Savoy, and the Alps, probably never to return, has ſomething of a melancholy ſenſation. For all thoſe circumſtances that render that claſſical country illuſtrious, the ſeat of great men—the theatre of the moſt diſtinguiſhed actions—the excluſive field in which the elegant and agreeable arts have loved to range—what country can be compared with Italy? to pleaſe the eye, to charm the ear, to gratify the enquiries of a laudable curioſity, whither would you travel? In every boſom whatever, Italy is the ſecond country in the world—of all others, the ſureſt proof that it is the firſt. To the theatre; a muſical thing, which called all Italy by contraſt to my ears! What ſtuff is French muſic! the diſtortions of embodied diſſonance. The theatre is not equal to that of Nantes; and very much inferior to that of Bourdeaux.——18 miles.

The 28th. I had letters to Monſ. Goudard, a conſiderable ſilk merchant, and, waiting on him yeſterday, he appointed me to breakfaſt with him this morning. I tried hard to procure ſome information relative to the manufactures of Lyons; but in vain: every thing was *ſelon* and *ſuivant*. To Monſ. l'Abbé Rozier, author of the voluminous dictionary of agriculture, in quarto. I viſited him, as a man very much extolled, and not with an idea of receiving information in the plain practical line, which is the object of my enquiries, from the compiler of a dictionary. When Monſ. Rozier lived at Beziers, he occupied a conſiderable farm; but, on becoming the inhabitant of a city, he placed this motto over his door—*Laudato ingentia rura, exiguum colito*, which is, but a bad apology for *no farm at all*. I made one or two efforts towards a little *practical* converſation; but he flew off from that centre in ſuch eccentric *radii* of ſcience, that the vanity of the attempt was obvious in the moment. A phyſician preſent, remarked to me, that if I wanted to know common practices and products, I ſhould apply to common farmers, indicating, by his air and manner, that ſuch things were beneath the dignity of ſcience. Monſ. l'Abbe Rozier is, however, a man of conſiderable knowledge, though no farmer; in thoſe purſuits, which he has cultivated with inclination, he is juſtly celebrated—and he merits every eulogium, for having ſet on foot the *Journal de Phyſique*, which, take it for all and all, is by far the beſt journal that is to be found in Europe. His houſe is beautifully ſituated, commanding a noble proſpect; his library is furniſhed with good books; and every appearance about him points out an eaſy fortune. Waited then on Monſ. de Froſſard, a proteſtant miniſter, who, with great readineſs and liberality, gave me much valuable information; and, for my further inſtruction on points with which he was not equally acquainted, introduced me to Monſ.

Roland la Platerie, inſpector of the Lyons fabrics. This gentleman had notes upon many ſubjects which afforded an intereſting converſation; and as he communicated freely, I had the pleaſure to find, that I ſhould not quit Lyons without a good portion of the knowledge I ſought. This gentleman, ſomewhat advanced in life, has a young and beautiful wife—the lady to whom he addreſſed his letters, written in Italy, and which have been publiſhed in five or ſix volumes. Monſ. Froſſard deſiring Monſ. de la Platerie to dine with him, to meet me, we had a great deal of converſation on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and differed but little in our opinions, except on the treaty of commerce between England and France, which that gentleman condemned, as I thought, unjuſtly; and we debated the point. He warmly contended, that ſilk ought to have been included as a benefit to France; I urged, that the offer was made to the French miniſtry, and refuſed; and I ventured to ſay, that had it been accepted, the advantage would have been on the ſide of England, inſtead of France, ſuppoſing, according to the vulgar ideas, that the *benefit* and the *balance* of trade are the ſame things. I begged him to give me a reaſon for believing that France would buy the ſilk of Piedmont and of China, and work it up to underſell England; while England buys the French cotton, and works it into fabrics that underſell thoſe of France, even under an accumulation of charges and duties? We diſcuſſed theſe, and ſimilar ſubjects, with that ſort of attention and candour that render them intereſting to perſons who love a liberal converſation upon important points.— Among the objects at Lyons, that are worthy of a ſtranger's curioſity, is the point of junction of the two great rivers, the Soanne and the Rhone; Lyons would doubtleſs be much better ſituated, if it were really at the junction; but there is an unoccupied ſpace ſufficient to contain a city half as large as Lyons itſelf. This ſpace is a modern embankment, that coſt ſix millions, and ruined the undertakers. I prefer even Nantes to Lyons. When a city is built at the junction of two great rivers, the imagination is apt to ſuppoſe, that thoſe rivers form a part of the magnificence of the ſcenery. Without broad, clean, and well built quays, what are rivers to a city but a facility to carry coals or tar-barrels? What, in point of beauty, has London to do with the Thames, except at the terrace of the Adelphi, and the new buildings of Somerſet-place, any more than with Fleet-ditch, buried as it is, a common ſhore? I know nothing in which our expectations are ſo horribly diſappointed as in cities, ſo very few are built with any general idea of beauty or decoration!

The 29th. Early in the morning, with Monſ. Froſſard, to view a large farm near Lyons. Monſ. Froſſard is a ſteady advocate for the new conſtitution eſtabliſhing in France. At the ſame time, all thoſe I have converſed with in the city, repreſent the ſtate of the manufacture as melancholy to the laſt degree. Twenty thouſand people are fed by charity, and conſequently very ill fed; and the maſs of diſtreſs, in all kinds, among the lower claſſes, is greater than ever was known,—or than any thing of which they had an idea. The chief cauſe of the evil felt here, is the ſtagnation of trade, occaſioned by the emigrations of the rich from the kingdom, and the general want of confidence in merchants and manufacturers; whence, of courſe, bankruptcies are common. At a moment when they are little able to bear additional burthens, they raiſe, by voluntary contributions, for the poor, immenſe ſums; ſo that, including the revenues of the hoſpitals, and other charitable foundations, there is not paid, at preſent, for the uſe of the poor, leſs than 40,000 louis d'or a year. My fellow traveller, Mr. Grundy, being deſirous to get ſoon to Paris, perſuaded me to travel with him in a poſt-chaiſe, a mode of travelling which I deteſt, but the ſeaſon urged me to it; and a ſtill ſtronger motive, was the having of more time to paſs in that city, for the ſake of obſerving the extraordinary ſtate of things,—of a King, Queen, and Dauphin of France, actual priſoners; I, therefore, accepted his propoſal, and we ſet off after dinner to day. In about ten miles come to the mountains. The country dreary; no incloſures, no mulberries, no vines, much waſte, and nothing that indicates the vicinity of ſuch a city. At Arnas, ſleep at a comfortable inn.——17 miles.

The 30th. Continue early in the morning to Tarar; the mountain of which name is more formidable in reputation than in reality. To St. Syphorien the ſame features. The buildings increaſe, both in number and goodneſs, on approaching the Seine, which we croſſed at Roane; it is here a good river, and is navigable many miles higher, and conſequently at a vaſt diſtance from the ſea. There are many flat bottomed barges on it, of a conſiderable ſize.——50 miles.

The 31ſt. Another clear, fine, ſunſhine day; rarely do we ſee any thing like it at this ſeaſon in England. After Droiturier, the woods of the Bourbonnois commence. At St. Gerund le Puy the country improves, enlivened by white houſes and *chateaux*, and all continues fine to Moulins. Sought here my old friend, Monſ. L'Abbe Barut, and had another interview with Monſ. le Marquis Degouttes, concerning the ſale of his *chateaux* and eſtate of Riaux; I deſired ſtill to have the refuſal of it, which he promiſed me, and will, I have no doubt, keep his word. Never have I been ſo tempted, on any occaſion, as with the wiſh of poſſeſſing this agreeable ſituation, in one of the fineſt parts of France, and in the fineſt climate of Europe. God grant, that, ſhould he be pleaſed to protract my life, I may not, in a ſad old age, repent of not cloſing at once with an offer to which prudence calls, and prejudice only forbids! Heaven ſend me eaſe and tranquility, for the cloſe of life, be it paſſed either in Suffolk, or the Bourbonnois!——38 miles.

JANUARY 1, 1790. Nevers makes a fine appearance, riſing proudly from the Loire; but, on the firſt entrance, it is like a thouſand other places. Towns, thus ſeen, reſemble a groupe of women, huddled cloſe together: you ſee their nodding plumes and ſparkling gems, till you fancy that ornament is the herald of beauty; but, on a nearer inſpection, the faces are too often but common clay. From the hill that deſcends to Pougues, is an extenſive view to the north; and after Pouilly a fine ſcenery, with the Loire doubling through it.——75 miles.

The 2d. At Briare, the canal is an object that announces the happy effects of induſtry. There we quit the Loire. The country all the way diverſified; much of it dry, and very pleaſant, with rivers, hills, and woods, but almoſt every where a poor ſoil. Paſs many *chateaux* ſome of which are very good. Sleep at Nemours, where we met with an inn-keeper, who exceeded, in knavery, all we had met with, either in France or Italy: for ſupper, we had a *ſoupe maigre*, a partridge and a chicken roaſted, a plate of celery, a ſmall cauliflower, two bottles of poor *vin du Pays*, and a deſſert of two biſcuits and four apples: here is the bill:——Potage, 1 liv. 10*ſ*.—Perdrix, 2 liv. 10*ſ*.—Poulet, 2 liv.—Celeri, 1 liv. 4*ſ*.—Choufleur, 2 liv.—Pain et deſſert, 2 liv.—Feu & apartement, 6 liv.—Total, 19 liv. 8*ſ*. Againſt ſo impudent an extortion, we remonſtrated ſeverely, but in vain. We then inſiſted on his ſigning the bill, which, after many evaſions, he did, *a l'etoile*; *Foulliare*. But having been carried to the inn, not as the ſtar, but the *écu de France*, we ſuſpected ſome deceit; and going out to examine the premiſes, we found the ſign to be really the *écu*, and learned, on enquiry, that his own name was *Roux*, inſtead of *Foulliare*: he was not prepared for this detection, or for the execration we poured on ſuch an infamous conduct; but he ran away, in an inſtant, and hid himſelf till we were gone. In juſtice to the world, however, ſuch a fellow ought to be marked out. ——60 miles.

The 3d. Through the foreſt of Fontainbleau, to Melun and Paris. The ſixty *poſtes* from Lyons to Paris, making three hundred Engliſh miles, coſt us, including 3 louis for the hire of the poſt-chaiſe (an old French cabriolet of two wheels) and the charges at the inns, &c. 15l. Engliſh; that is to ſay, 1s. per Engliſh mile, or 6d. per head. At Paris, I went to my old quarters, the hotel de La Rochefoucauld; for at Lyons I had received a letter from the duke de Liancourt, who deſired me to make his houſe my home, juſt as in the time of his mother, my much lamented friend, the dutcheſs d'Eſtiſſac, who died while I was in Italy. I found my friend Lazowſki well, and we were *à gorge deployée*, to converſe on the amazing ſcenes that have taken place in France ſince I left Paris.——46 miles.

The 4th. After breakfaſt, walk in the gardens of the Thuilleries, where there is the moſt extraordinary ſight that either French or Engliſh eyes could ever behold at Paris. The King, walking with ſix grenadiers of the *milice bourgeoiſe*, with an officer or two of his houſehold, and a page. The doors of the gardens are kept ſhut in reſpect to him, in order to exclude every body but deputies, or thoſe who have admiſſion-tickets. When he entered the palace, the doors of the gardens were thrown open for all without diſtinction, though the Queen was ſtill walking with a lady of her court. She alſo was attended ſo cloſely by the *gardes bourgeoiſe*, that ſhe could not ſpeak, but in a low voice, without being heard by them. A mob followed her, talking very loud, and paying no other apparent reſpect than that of taking off their hats wherever ſhe paſſed, which was indeed more than I expected. Her majeſty does not appear to be in health; ſhe ſeems to be much affected, and ſhews it in her face; but the King is as plump as eaſe can render him. By his orders, there is a little garden railed off, for the Dauphin to amuſe himſelf in, and a ſmall room is built in it to retire to in caſe of rain; here he was at work with his little hoe and rake, but not without a guard of two grenadiers. He is a very pretty good-natured-looking boy, of five or ſix years old, with an agreeable countenance; wherever he goes, all hats are taken off to him, which I was glad to obſerve. All the family being kept thus cloſe priſoners (for ſuch they are in effect) afford, at firſt view, a ſhocking ſpectacle; and is really ſo, if the act were not abſolutely neceſſary to effect the revolution; this I conceive to be impoſſible; but if it were neceſſary, no one can blame the people for taking every meaſure poſſible to ſecure that liberty they had ſeized in the violence of a revolution. At ſuch a moment, nothing is to be condemned but what endangers the national freedom. I muſt, however, freely own, that I have my doubts whether this treatment of the royal family can be juſtly eſteemed any ſecurity to liberty; or, on the contrary, whether it were not a very dangerous ſtep, that expoſes to hazard whatever had been gained. I have ſpoken with ſeveral perſons to-day, and have ſtarted objections to the preſent ſyſtem, ſtronger even than they appear to me, in order to learn their ſentiments; and it is evident, they are at the preſent moment under an apprehenſion of an attempt towards a counter revolution. The danger of it very much, if not abſolutely, reſults from the violence which has been uſed towards the royal family. The National Aſſembly was, before that period, anſwerable only for the permanent conſtitutional laws paſſed for the future: ſince that moment, it is equally anſwerable for the whole conduct of the government of the ſtate, executive as well as legiſlative. This critical ſituation has made a conſtant ſpirit of exertion neceſſary amongſt the Paris militia. The great object of M. La Fayette, and the other military leaders, is to improve their diſcipline, and to bring them into ſuch a form as to allow a rational dependence on them, in caſe of their being wanted in the field; but ſuch is the ſpirit of freedom, that, even in the military, there is ſo little ſubordination, that a man is an officer to-day, and in the ranks to-morrow; a mode of proceeding, that makes it the more difficult to bring them to the point their leaders ſee neceſſary. Eight thouſand men in Paris may be called the ſtanding army, paid every day 15 *ſ.* a man; in which number is included the corps of the French guards from Verſailles, that deſerted to the people: they have alſo eight hundred horſe, at an expence each of 1500 liv. (62l. 15s. 6d.) a-year, and the officers have double the pay of thoſe in the army.

The 5th. Yeſterday's addreſs of the National Aſſembly to the King has done them credit with every body. I have heard it mentioned, by people of very different opinions, but all concur in commending it. It was upon the queſtion of naming the annual ſum which ſhould be granted for the civil liſt. They determined to ſend a deputation to his Majeſty, requeſting him to name the ſum himſelf, and praying him to conſult leſs his ſpirit of œconomy, than a ſenſe of that dignity, which ought to environ the throne with a becoming ſplendour. Dine with the duke de Liancourt, at his apartments in the Thuilleries, which, on the removal from Verſailles, were aſſigned to him as grand maſter of the wardrobe; he gives a great dinner, twice a-week, to the deputies, at which from twenty to forty are uſually preſent. Half an hour after three was the hour appointed, but we waited, with ſome of the deputies that had left the Aſſembly, till ſeven, before the duke and the reſt of the company came.

There is in the Aſſembly at preſent a writer of character, the author of a very able book, which led me to expect ſomething much above mediocrity in him; but he is made up of ſo many pretty littleneſſes, that I ſtared at him with amazement. His voice is that of a feminine whiſper, as if his nerves would not permit ſuch a boiſterous exertion as that of ſpeaking loud enough to be heard; when he breathes out his ideas, he does it with eyes half cloſed; waves his head in circles, as if his ſentiments were to be received as oracles; and has ſo much relaxation and pretenſion to eaſe and delicacy of manner, with no perſonal appearance to ſecond theſe prettineſſes, that I wondered by what artificial means ſuch a maſs of heterogeneous parts became compounded. How ſtrange that we ſhould read an author's book with great pleaſure; that we ſhould ſay, this man has no ſtuff in him; all is of conſequence; here is a character uncontaminated with that *rubbiſh* which we ſee in ſo many other men—and after this, to meet the garb of ſo much littleneſs.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th. The duke of Liancourt having an intention of taking a farm into his own hands, to be conducted on improved principles after the Engliſh manner, he deſired me to accompany him, and my friend Lazowſki, to Liancourt, to give my opinion of the lands, and of the beſt means towards executing the project, which I very readily complied with. I was here witneſs to a ſcene which made me ſmile: at no great diſtance from the *chateau* of Liancourt, is a piece of waſte land, cloſe to the road, and belonging to the duke. I ſaw ſome men very buſily at work upon it, hedging it in, in ſmall diviſions; levelling, and digging,

ging, and beſtowing much labour for ſo poor a ſpot. I aſked the ſteward if he thought that land worth ſuch an expence? he replied, that the poor people in the town, upon the revolution taking place, declared, that the poor were the nation; that the waſte belonged to the nation; and, proceeding from theory to practice, took poſſeſſion, without any further authority, and began to cultivate; the duke not viewing their induſtry with any diſpleaſure, would offer no oppoſition to it. This circumſtance ſhews the univerſal ſpirit that is gone forth; and proves, that were it puſhed a little farther, it might prove a ſerious matter for all the property in the kingdom. In this caſe, however, I cannot but commend it; for if there be one public nuiſance greater than another, it is a man preſerving the poſſeſſion of waſte land, which he will neither cultivate himſelf, nor let others cultivate. The miſerable people die for want of bread, in the ſight of waſtes that would feed thouſands. I think them wiſe, and rational, and philoſophical, in ſeizing ſuch tracks: and I heartily wiſh there was a law in England for making this action of the French peaſants a legal one with us.——72 miles.

The 9th. At breakfaſt this morning in the Thuilleries. Monſ. Deſmarets, of the Academy of Sciences, brought a *Memoire, preſenté par la Societé Royale d'Agriculture, a l'Aſſemblée Nationale*, on the means of improving the agriculture of France; in which, among other things, they recommend great attention to bees, to panification, and to the obſtetrick art. On the eſtabliſhment of a free and patriotic government, to which the national agriculture might look for new and halcyon days, theſe were objects doubtleſs of the firſt importance. There are ſome parts of the memoir that really merit attention. Called on my fellow traveller, Monſ. Nicolay, and find him a conſiderable perſon; a great hotel; many ſervants; his father a marechal of France, and himſelf firſt preſident of a chamber in the parliament of Paris, having been elected deputy, by the nobility of that city, for the ſtates general, but declined accepting it; he has deſired I would dine with him on Sunday, when he promiſes to have Monſ. Decretot, the celebrated manufacturer and deputy, from Louviers. At the National Aſſembly—The Count de Mirabeau, ſpeaking upon the queſtion of the members of the chamber of vacation, in the parliament of Rennes, was truly eloquent,—ardent, lively, energic, and impetuous. At night to the aſſembly of the Ducheſs d'Anville; the Marquis and Madame Condorcet there, &c. not a word but politics.

The 10th. The chief leaders in the National Aſſembly, are, Target, Chapellier, Mirabeau, Bernave, Volney the traveller, and, till the attack upon the property of the clergy, l'Abbé Syeyes; but he has been ſo much diſguſted by that ſtep, that he is not near ſo forward as before. The violent democrats, who have the reputation of being ſo much republican in principle, that they do not admit any political neceſſity for having even the name of a king, are called the *enragés*. They have a meeting at the Jacobins, called the revolution club, which aſſembles every night, in the very room in which the famous league was formed, in the reign of Henry III.; and they are ſo numerous, that all material buſineſs is there decided, before it is diſcuſſed by the National Aſſembly. I called this morning on ſeveral perſons, all of whom are great democrats; and mentioning this circumſtance to them, as one which ſavoured too much of a Paris junto governing the kingdom, an idea, which muſt, in the long run, be unpopular and hazardous; I was anſwered, that the predominancy which Paris aſſumed, at preſent, was abſolutely neceſſary, for the ſafety of the whole nation; for if nothing were done, but by procuring a previous common conſent, all great opportunities would be loſt, and the National Aſſembly left conſtantly expoſed to the danger of a counter-revolution. They, however, admitted, that it did create great jealouſies, and no where more than at Verſailles, where ſome plots (they added) are, without doubt, hatching at this moment, which have the King's perſon for their object: riots are frequent there, under pretence of the price of bread; and ſuch movements are certainly very dangerous, for they cannot exiſt ſo near Paris, without the ariſtocratical party of the old government endeavouring to take advantage of them, and to turn them to a very different end, from what was, perhaps, originally intended. I remarked, in all theſe converſations, that the belief of plots, among the diſguſted party, for ſetting the King at liberty, is general; they ſeem almoſt perſuaded, that the revolution will not be abſolutely finiſhed before ſome ſuch attempts are made; and it is curious to obſerve, that the general voice is, that if an attempt were to be made, in ſuch a manner as to have the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs, it would undoubtedly coſt the King his life; and ſo changed is the national character, not only in point of affection for the perſon of their prince, but alſo in that ſoftneſs and humanity, for which it has been ſo much admired, that the ſuppoſition is made without horror or compunction. In a word, the preſent devotion to liberty is a ſort of rage; it abſorbs every other paſſion, and permits no other object to remain in view, than what promiſes to confirm it. Dine with a large party, at the duke de la Rochefoucauld's; ladies and gentlemen, and all equally politicians; but I may remark another effect of this revolution, by no means unnatural, which is, that of leſſening, or rather reducing to nothing, the enormous influence of the ſex: they mixed themſelves before in every thing, in order to govern every thing: I think I ſee an end to it very clearly. The men in this kingdom were puppets, moved by their wires, who, inſtead of giving the *ton*, in queſtions of national debate, muſt now receive it, and muſt be content to move in the political ſphere of ſome celebrated leader,—that is to ſay, they are, in fact, ſinking into what nature intended them for; they will become more amiable, and the nation better governed.

The 11th. The riots at Verſailles are ſaid to be ſerious; a plot is talked of, for eight hundred men to march, armed, to Paris, at the inſtigation of ſomebody, to join ſomebody; the intention, to murder La Fayette, Bailly, and Necker; and very wild and improbable reports are propagated every moment. They have been ſufficient to induce Monſ. La Fayette to iſſue, yeſterday, an order concerning the mode of aſſembling the militia, in caſe of any ſudden alarm. Two pieces of cannon, and eight hundred men, mount guard at the Thuilleries every day. See ſome royaliſts this morning, who aſſert, that the public opinion in the kingdom is changing apace; that pity for the King, and diſguſt at ſome proceedings of the Aſſembly, have lately done much: they ſay, that any attempt at preſent to reſcue the King would be abſurd, for his preſent ſituation is doing more for him than force could effect, at this moment, as the general feelings of the nation are in his favour. They have no ſcruple in declaring, that a well concerted vigorous effort would place him at the head of a powerful army, which could not fail of being joined by a great, diſguſted, and injured body. I remarked, that every honeſt man muſt hope no ſuch event would take place; for if a counter-revolution ſhould be effected, it would eſtabliſh a deſpotiſm, much heavier than ever France experienced. This they would not allow; on the contrary, they believed, that no government could, in future, be ſecure, that did not grant to the people more extenſive rights and privileges than they poſſeſſed under the old one. Dine with my brother traveller, the count de Nicolay; among the company, as the count had promiſed me, was Monſ. Decretot, the celebrated manufacturer of Louviers, from whom I learned the magnitude of the diſtreſſes at preſent in Normandy. The cotton mills which he had ſhewn me, laſt year, at Louviers, have ſtood ſtill nine months; and ſo many ſpinning jennies have been deſtroyed by the people, under the idea that ſuch machines were contrary to their intereſts, that the trade is in a deplorable ſituation. In the evening, accompanied Monſ. Lazowſki to the Italian opera, *La Berbiera di Seviglia*, by Paieſello, which is one of the moſt agreeable compoſitions of that truly great maſter. Mandini and Raffanelli excellent, and Baletti a ſweet voice. There is no ſuch comic opera to be ſeen in Italy, as this of Paris, and the houſe is always full: this will work as great a revolution in French muſic, as ever can be wrought in French government. What will they think, by and by, of Lully and Rameau? And what a triumph for the manes of Jean Jacques!

The 12th. To the National Aſſembly:—a debate on the conduct of the chamber of vacation, in the parliament of Rennes, continued. Monſ. l'Abbé Maury, a zealous royaliſt, made a long and eloquent ſpeech, which he delivered with great fluency and preciſion, and without any notes, in defence of the parliament: he replied to what had been urged by the count de Mirabeau, on a former day, and ſpoke ſtrongly on his unjuſtifiable call on the people of Bretagne, to a *redoubtable denombrement*. He ſaid, that it would better become the members of ſuch an aſſembly, to count their own principles and duties, and the fruits of their attention, to the privileges of the ſubject, than to call for a *denombrement*, that would fill a province with fire and bloodſhed. He was interrupted by the noiſe and confuſion of the aſſembly, and of the audience, ſix ſeveral times; but it had no effect on him; he waited calmly till it ſubſided, and then proceeded, as if no interruption had been given. The ſpeech was a very able one, and much reliſhed by the royaliſts; but the *enragés* condemned it, as good for nothing. No other perſon ſpoke without notes; the count de Clermont read a ſpeech that had ſome brilliant paſſages, but by no means an anſwer to l'Abbe Maury, as indeed it would have been wonderful if it were, being prepared before he heard the Abbé's oration. It can hardly be conceived how flat this mode of debate renders the tranſactions of the Aſſembly. Who would be in the gallery of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, if Mr. Pitt were to bring a written ſpeech, to be delivered on a ſubject on which Mr. Fox was to ſpeak before him? And in proportion to its being unintereſting to the hearer is another evil, that of lengthening their ſittings, ſince there are ten perſons who will read their opinions, to one that is able to deliver an *impromptu*. The want of order, and every kind of confuſion, prevails now almoſt as much as when the Aſſembly ſat at Verſailles. The interruptions given are frequent and long; and ſpeakers, who have no right by the rules to ſpeak, will attempt it. The count de Mirabeau preſſed to deliver his opinion after the Abbé Maury; the preſident put it to the vote, whether he ſhould be allowed to ſpeak a ſecond time, and the whole houſe roſe up to negative it; ſo that the firſt orator of the Aſſembly has not the influence even to be heard to explain—we have no conception of ſuch rules; and yet their great number muſt make this neceſſary. I forgot to obſerve, that there is a gallery at each end of the ſaloon, which is open to all the world; and ſide ones for admiſſion of the friends of the members by tickets: the audience in theſe galleries are very noiſy: they clap, when any thing pleaſes them, and they have been known to hiſs; an indecorum which is utterly deſtructive of freedom of debate. I left the houſe before the whole was finiſhed, and repaired to the duke of Liancourt's apartments in the Thuilleries, to dine with his cuſtomary party of deputies; Meſſ. Chapellier and Demeuſniers were there, who had both been preſidents, and are ſtill members of conſiderable diſtinction; M. Volney, the celebrated traveller, alſo was preſent; the prince de Poix, the count de Montmorenci, &c. Waiting for the duke of Liancourt, who did not arrive till half after ſeven, with the greateſt part of the company, the converſation almoſt entirely turned upon a ſtrong ſuſpicion entertained of the Engliſh having made a remittance for the purpoſe of embroiling matters in the kingdom. The count de Thiard, *cordon blue*,

blue, who commands in Bretagne, ſimply ſtated the fact, that ſome regiments at Breſt had been regular in their conduct, and as much to be depended on as any in the ſervice; but that, of a ſudden, money had found its way among the men in conſiderable ſums, and from that time their behaviour was changed. One of the deputies demanding at what period, he was anſwered *; on which he immediately obſerved, that it followed the remittance of 1,100,000 liv. (48,125l.) from England, that had occaſioned ſo much conjecture and converſation. This remittance, which had been particularly enquired into, was ſo myſterious and obſcure, that the naked fact only could be diſcovered; but every perſon preſent aſſerted the truth of it. Other gentlemen united the two facts, and were ready to ſuppoſe them connected. I remarked, that if England had really interfered, which appeared to me incredible, it was to be preſumed, that it would have been either in the line of her ſuppoſed intereſt, or in that of the King's ſuppoſed inclination; that theſe happened to be exactly the ſame, and if money were remitted from that kingdom, moſt aſſuredly it would be to ſupport the falling intereſt of the crown, and by no means to detatch from it any force whatever; in ſuch a caſe, remittance from England might go to Metz, for keeping troops to their duty, but would never be ſent to Breſt to corrupt them, the idea of which was groſſly abſurd. All ſeemed inclined to admit the juſtneſs of this remark, but they adhered to the two facts, in whatever manner they might, or might not, be connected. At this dinner, according to cuſtom, moſt of the deputies, eſpecially the younger ones, were dreſſed *au poliſſon*, many of them without powder in their hair, and ſome in boots; not above four or five were neatly dreſſed. How times are changed! When they had nothing better to attend to, the faſhionable Pariſians were correctneſs itſelf, in all that pertained to the *toilette*, and were, therefore, thought a frivolous people; but now they have ſomething of more importance than dreſs to occupy them; and the light airy character that was uſually given them, will have no foundation in truth. Every thing in this world depends on government.

The 13th. A great commotion among the populace late laſt night, which is ſaid to have ariſen on two accounts—one to get at the baron de Beſneval, who is in priſon, in order to hang him; the other to demand bread at 2*ſ.* the pound. They eat it at preſent at the rate of twenty-two millions a-year cheaper than the reſt of the kingdom, and yet they demand a further reduction. However, the current diſcourſe is, that Favras, an adventurer alſo in priſon, muſt be hanged to ſatisfy the people; for as to Beſneval, the Swiſs cantons have remonſtrated ſo firmly, that they will not dare to execute him. Early in the morning, the guards were doubled, and eight thouſand horſe and foot are now patrolling the ſtreets. The report of plots, to carry off the King, is in the mouth of every one;

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* It was a late tranſaction.

and it is ſaid, theſe movements of the people, as well as thoſe at Verſailles, are not what they appear to be, mere mobs, but inſtigated by the ariſtocrats; and if permitted to riſe to ſuch a height as to entangle the Paris militia, will prove the part only of a conſpiracy againſt the new government. That they have reaſon to be alert is undoubted; for though there ſhould actually be no plots in exiſtence, yet there is ſo great a temptation to them, and ſuch a probability of their being formed, that ſupineneſs would probably create them. I have met with the lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of horſe, who is come from his quarters, and who aſſerts, that his whole regiment, officers and men, are now at the King's devotion, and would march wherever he called, and would execute whatever he ordered, not contrary to their ancient feelings; but that they would not have been inclined to be ſo obedient before he was brought to Paris; and from the converſation he has had with the officers of other regiments, he believes that the ſame ſpirit pervades their corps alſo. If any ſerious plans have been laid for a counter-revolution, or for carrying off the King, and their execution has been, or ſhall be prevented, poſterity will be much more likely to have information of it than this age. Certainly the eyes of all the ſovereigns, and of all the great nobility in Europe, are on the French revolution; they look with amazement, and even with terror, upon a ſituation which may poſſibly be hereafter their own caſe; and they muſt expect, with anxiety, that ſome attempts will be made to reverſe an example, that will not want copies, whenever the period is favourable to make them. Dine at the Palais Royal, with a ſelect party; politicians they muſt be, if they are Frenchmen. The queſtion was diſcuſſed, Are the plots and conſpiracies of which we hear ſo much at preſent, real, or are they invented by the leaders of the revolution, to keep up the ſpirits of the militia, in order to enable themſelves to ſecure the government on its new foundation irreverſibly?

The 14th. Plots! plots!—the marquis La Fayette, laſt night, took two hundred priſoners in the *Champs Elyſées*, out of eleven hundred that were collected. They had powder and ball, but no muſquets. Who? and what are they? is the queſtion; but an anſwer is not ſo eaſily to be had. *Brigands*, according to ſome accounts, that have collected in Paris for no good purpoſe; people from Verſailles by others; Germans by a third: but every one would make you believe, they are an appendix to a plot laid for a counter-revolution. Reports are ſo various and contradictory, that no dependence is to be placed on them; nor credit given to one-tenth of what is aſſerted. It is ſingular, and has been much commented on, that La Fayette would not truſt his ſtanding troops, as they may be called, that is the eight thouſand regularly paid, and of whom the French guards form a conſiderable portion, but he took, for the expedition, the *bourgeoiſe* only; which has elated the latter as much as it has diſguſted the former. The moment ſeems big with events; there is an anxiety, an expectation, an uncertainty, and ſuſpenſe that is viſible in every eye one meets; and even the beſt informed people, and the leaſt liable to be led away by popular reports, are not a little alarmed at the apprehenſion of ſome unknown attempt that may be made to reſcue the King, and overturn the National Aſſembly. Many perſons are of opinion, that it would not be difficult to take the King, Queen, and Dauphin away, without endangering them, for which attempt the Thuilleries is particularly well ſituated, provided a body of troops, of ſufficient force, were in readineſs to receive them. In ſuch a caſe, there would be a civil war, which, perhaps, would end in deſpotiſm, whatever party came off victorious; conſequently ſuch an attempt, or plan, could not originate in any boſom from true patriotiſm. If I have a fair opportunity to paſs much of my time in good company at Paris, I have alſo no ſmall trouble in turning over books, MSS. and papers, which I cannot ſee in England: this employs many hours a day, with what I borrow from the night, in making notes. I have procured alſo ſome public records, the copying of which demands time. He who wiſhes to give a good account of ſuch a kingdom as France, muſt be indefatigable in the ſearch of materials; for let him collect with all the care poſſible, yet when he comes to ſit down coolly to the examination and arrangement, will find, that much has been put into his hands, of no real conſequence, and more, poſſibly, that is abſolutely uſeleſs.

The 15th. To the Palais Royal, to view the pictures of the duke of Orleans, which I had tried once or twice before to do in vain. The collection is known to be very rich, in pieces of the Dutch and Flemiſh maſters; ſome finiſhed with all the exquiſite attention which that ſchool gave to minute expreſſion. But it is a *genre* little intereſting, when the works of the great Italian artiſts are at hand: of theſe the collection is one of the firſt in the world: Raphael, Hanibal Carracci, Titian, Dominichino, Correggio, and Paul Veroneſe. The firſt picture in the collection, and one of the fineſt that ever came from the eaſel, is that of the three Maries, and the dead Chriſt, by H. Carracci; the powers of expreſſion cannot go further. There is the St. John of Raphael, the ſame picture as thoſe of Florence and Bologna; and an inimitable Virgin and Child, by the ſame great maſter. A Venus bathing, and a Magdalen, by Titian. Lucretia, by Andrea del Sarto. Leda, by Paul Veroneſe, and alſo by Tintoretto. Mars and Venus, and ſeveral others, by Paul Veroneſe. The naked figure of a woman, by Bonieu, a French painter, now living, a pleaſing piece. Some noble pictures, by Pouſſin and Le Seur. The apartments muſt diſappoint every one:—I did not ſee one good room, and all inferior to the rank and immenſe fortune of the poſſeſſor, certainly the firſt ſubject in Europe. Dine at the duke of Liancourt's: among the company was Monſ. de Bougainville, the celebrated circumnavigator, agreeable as well as ſenſible; the count de Caſtellane, and the count de Montmorenci, two young legiſlators, as *enragés* as if their names were only Bernave or Rabeau. In ſome alluſions to the conſtitution of England, I found they hold it very cheap, in regard to political liberty. The ideas of the moment, relative to plots and conſpiracies, were diſcuſſed, but they ſeemed very generally to agree, that, however the conſtitution might, by ſuch means, be delayed, it was now abſolutely impoſſible to prevent its taking place. At night to the national circus, as it is called, at the Palais Royal, a building in the gardens, or area, of that palace, the moſt whimſical and expenſive folly that is eaſily to be imagined: it is a large ball room, ſunk half its height under ground; and, as if this circumſtance were not ſufficiently adapted to make it damp enough, a garden is planted on the roof, and a river is made to flow around it, which, with the addition of ſome ſpirting *jets d'eau*, have undoubtedly made it a delicious place, for a winter's entertainment. The expence of this gew-gaw building, the project of ſome of the duke of Orleans' friends, I ſuppoſe, and executed at his expence, would have eſtabliſhed an Engliſh farm, with all its principles, buildings, live ſtock, tools, and crops, on a ſcale that would have done honour to the firſt ſovereign of Europe; for it would have converted five thouſand arpents of deſert into a garden. As to the reſult of the mode that *has been* purſued, of inveſting ſuch a capital, I know no epithet equal to its merits. It is meant to be a concert, ball, coffee, and billiard room, with ſhops, &c. deſigned to be ſomething in the ſtyle of the amuſements of our Pantheon. There were muſic and ſinging to night, but the room being almoſt empty, it was, on the whole, equally cold and *ſombre*.

The 16th. The idea of plots and conſpiracies has come to ſuch a height as greatly to alarm the leaders of the revolution. The diſguſt that ſpreads every day at their tranſactions, ariſes more from the King's ſituation than from any other circumſtance. They cannot, after the ſcenes that have paſſed, venture to ſet him at liberty before the conſtitution is finiſhed: and they dread, at the ſame time, a change working in his favour in the minds of the people: in this dilemma, a plan is laid for perſuading his Majeſty to go ſuddenly to the National Aſſembly, and, in a ſpeech, to declare himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with their proceedings, and to conſider himſelf as at the head of the revolution, in terms ſo couched, as to take away all idea or pretence of his being in a ſtate of confinement or coercion. This is at preſent a favourite plan; the only difficulty will be, to perſuade the King to take a ſtep that will apparently preclude him from whatever turn or advantage the general feeling of the provinces may work in his favour; for, after ſuch a meaſure, he will have reaſon to expect that his friends will ſecond the views of the democratical party, from an abſolute deſpair of any other principles becoming efficient. It is thought probable, that this ſcheme will be brought about; and if it is, it will do more to eaſe their apprehenſions of any attempts than any other plan. I have been among the bookſellers, with a catalogue in hand to collect publications, which, unfortunately for my purſe, I find I muſt have on various topics, that concern the preſent ſtate of France.—Theſe are now every day ſo numerous, eſpecially on the ſubjects of commerce, colonies, finances, taxation, *deficit*, &c. not to ſpeak of the ſubject immediately of the revolution itſelf, that it demands many hours every day to leſſen the number to be bought, by reading pen in hand. The collection the duke of Liancourt has made from the very commencement of the revolution, at the firſt meeting of the notables, is prodigious, and has coſt many hundred louis d'ors. It is uncommonly complete, and will hereafter be of the greateſt value, to conſult on abundance of curious queſtions.

The 17th. The plan I mentioned yeſterday, that was propoſed to the King, was urged in vain: his Majeſty received the propoſition in ſuch a manner as does not leave any great hope of the ſcheme being executed; but the marquis La Fayette is ſo ſtrenuous for its being brought about, that it will not yet be abandoned; but propoſed again at a more favourable moment. The royaliſts, who know of this plan (for the public have it not), are delighted at the chance of its failing. The refuſal is attributed to the Queen. Another circumſtance, which gives great diſquiet at preſent to the leaders of the revolution, are the accounts daily received from all parts of the kingdom, of the diſtreſs, and even ſtarving condition of manufacturers, artiſts, and ſailors, which grow more and more ſerious, and muſt make the idea of an attempt to overturn the revolution ſo much the more alarming and dangerous. The only branch of induſtry in the kingdom, that remains flouriſhing, is the trade to the ſugar-colonies; and the ſcheme of emancipating the negroes, or at leaſt of putting an end to importing them, which they borrowed from England, has thrown Nantes, Havre, Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, and all other places connected ſecondarily with that commerce, into the utmoſt agitation. The count de Mirabeau ſays publicly, that he is ſure of carrying the vote to put an end to negro ſlavery—it is very much the converſation at preſent, and principally amongſt the leaders, who ſay, that as the revolution was founded on philoſophy, and ſupported by metaphyſics, ſuch a plan cannot but be congenial. But ſurely trade depends on practice much more than on theory; and the planters and merchants, who come to Paris to oppoſe the ſcheme, are better prepared to ſhew the importance of their commerce, than to reaſon philoſophically on the demerits of ſlavery. Many publications have appeared on the ſubject—ſome deſerving attention.

The 18th. At the duke of Liancourt's dinner, to-day, meet the marquis de Caſaux, the author of the mechaniſm of ſocieties; notwithſtanding all the warmth, and even fire of argument, and vivacity of manner and compoſition for which his writings are remarkable, he is perfectly mild and placid in converſation, with little of that effervescence one would look for from his books. There was a remarkable aſſertion made to-day, at table, by the count de Marguerite, before near thirty deputies; ſpeaking of the determination on the Toulon buſineſs, he ſaid, it was openly ſupported by deputies, under the avowal that more inſurrections were neceſſary. I looked round the table, expecting ſome deciſive anſwer to be given to this, and was amazed to find that no one replied a word. Monſ. Volney, the traveller, after a pauſe of ſome moments, declared, that he thought the people of Toulon had acted right, and were juſtifiable in what they had done. The hiſtory of this Toulon buſineſs is known to all the world. This count de Marguerite has a *tetê dure* and a ſteady conduct—it may be believed that he is not an *enragé*. At dinner, M. Blin, deputy from Nantes, mentioning the conduct of the revolution club at the *Jacobins*, ſaid, we have given you a good preſident; and then aſked the count, why he did not come among them? He anſwered, *Je me trouve heureux en verité de n'avoir jamais été d'aucune ſociété politique particuliere; je penſe que mes fonctions ſont publiques, et qu'elles peuvent aiſément ſe remplir ſans aſſociations particulieres.* He got no reply here.—At night, Monſ. Decretot, and Monſ. Blin, carried me to the revolution club at the *Jacobins*; the room where they aſſemble, is that in which the famous league was ſigned, as it has been obſerved above. There were above one hundred deputies preſent, with a preſident in the chair; I was handed to him, and announced as the author of the *Arithmetique Politique*; the preſident ſtanding up, repeated my name to the company, and demanded if there were any objections——None; and this is all the ceremony, not merely of an introduction, but an election: for I was told, that now I was free to be preſent when I pleaſed, being a foreigner. Ten or a dozen other elections were made. In this club, the buſineſs that is to be brought into the National Aſſembly is regularly debated; the motions are read, that are intended to be made there, and rejected or corrected and approved. When theſe have been fully agreed to, the whole party are engaged to ſupport them. Plans of conduct are there determined; proper perſons nominated for being of committees, and preſidents of the Aſſembly named. And I may add, that ſuch is the majority of numbers, that whatever paſſes in this club, is almoſt ſure to paſs in the Aſſembly. In the evening at the dutcheſs d'Anville's, in whoſe houſe I never failed of ſpending my time agreeably.

One of the moſt amuſing circumſtances of travelling into other countries, is the opportunity of remarking the difference of cuſtoms amongſt different nations in the common occurrences of life. In the art of living, the French have generally been eſteemed by the reſt of Europe, to have made the greateſt proficiency, and their manners have been accordingly more imitated, and their cuſtoms more adopted than thoſe of any other nation. Of their cookery, there is but one opinion; for every man in Europe, that can afford a great table, either keeps a French cook, or one inſtructed in the ſame manner. That it is far beyond our own, I have no doubt in aſſerting. We have about half a dozen real Engliſh diſhes, that exceed any thing, in my opinion, to be met with in France; by Engliſh diſhes I mean, a turbot and lobſter ſauce—ham and chicken—turtle—a haunch of veniſon—a turkey and oyſters—and after theſe, there is an end of an Engliſh table. It is an idle prejudice, to claſs roaſt beef among them; for there is not better beef in the world than at Paris. Large handſome pieces were almoſt conſtantly on the conſiderable tables I have dined at. The variety given by their cooks, to the ſame thing, is aſtoniſhing; they dreſs an hundred diſhes in an hundred different ways, and moſt of them excellent; and all ſorts of vegetables have a ſavourineſs and flavour, from rich ſauces, that are abſolutely wanted to our greens boiled in water. This variety is not ſtriking, in the compariſon of a great table in France with another in England; but it is manifeſt, in an inſtant, between the tables of a French and Engliſh family of ſmall fortune. The Engliſh dinner, of a joint of meat and a pudding, as it is called, or *pot luck*, with a neighbour, is bad luck in England; the ſame fortune in France gives, by means of cookery only, at leaſt four diſhes to one among us, and ſpreads a ſmall table incomparably better. A regular deſſert with us is expected, at a conſiderable table only, or at a moderate one, when a formal entertainment is given; in France it is as eſſential to the ſmalleſt dinner as to the largeſt; if it conſiſts only of a bunch of dried grapes, or an apple, it will be as regularly ſerved as the ſoup. I have met with perſons in England, who imagine the ſobriety of a French table carried to ſuch a length, that one or two glaſſes of wine are all that a man can get at dinner: this is an error; your ſervant mixes the wine and water in what proportion you pleaſe; and large bowls of clean glaſſes are ſet before the maſter of the houſe, and ſome friends of the family, at different parts of the table, for ſerving the richer and rarer ſorts of wines, which are drunk in this manner freely enough. The whole nation are ſcrupulouſly neat in refuſing to drink out of glaſſes uſed by other people. At the houſe of a carpenter or blackſmith, a tumbler is ſet to every cover. This reſults from the common beverage being wine and water; but if at a large table, as in England, there were porter, beer, cyder, and perry, it would be impoſſible for three or four tumblers or goblets to ſtand by every plate; and equally ſo for the ſervants to keep ſuch a number ſeparate and diſtinct. In table-linen, they are, I think, cleaner and wiſer than the Engliſh: that the change may be inceſſant, it is every where coarſe. The idea of dining without a napkin ſeems ridiculous to a Frenchman, but in England we dine at the tables of people of tolerable fortune, without them. A journeyman carpenter in France has his napkin as regularly as his fork; and at an inn, the *fille* always lays a clean one to every cover that is ſpread in the kitchen, for the loweſt order of pedeſtrian travellers. The expence of linen in England is enormous, from its fineneſs; ſurely a great change of that which is coarſe, would be much more rational. In point of cleanlineſs, I think the merit of the two nations is divided; the French are cleaner in their perſons, and the Engliſh in their houſes; I ſpeak of the maſs of the people, and not of individuals of conſiderable fortune. A *bidet* in France is as univerſally in every apartment, as a baſon to waſh your hands, which is a trait of perſonal cleanlineſs I wiſh more common in England; on the other hand their neceſſary houſes are temples of abomination; and the practice of ſpitting about a room, which is amongſt the higheſt as well as the loweſt ranks, is deteſtable: I have ſeen a gentleman ſpit ſo near the cloaths of a dutcheſs, that I have ſtared at his unconcern. In every thing that concerns the ſtables, the Engliſh far exceed the French; horſes, grooms, harneſs, and change of equipage; in the provinces you ſee cabriolets undoubtedly of the laſt century; an Engliſhman, however ſmall his fortune may be, will not be ſeen in a carriage of the faſhion of forty years paſt; if he cannot have another, he will walk on foot. It is not true that there are no complete equipages at Paris, I have ſeen many; the carriage, horſes, harneſs, and attendance, without fault or blemiſh;—but the number is certainly very much inferior to what are ſeen at London. Engliſh horſes, grooms, and carriages, have been of late years largely imported. In all the articles of the fitting up and furniſhing houſes, including thoſe of all ranks in the eſtimate, the Engliſh have made advances far beyond their neighbours. Mahogany is ſcarce in France, but the uſe of it is profuſe in England. Some of the hotels in Paris are immenſe in ſize, from a circumſtance which would give me a good opinion of the people, if nothing elſe did, which is the great mixture of families. When the eldeſt ſon marries, he brings his wife home to the houſe of his father, where there is an apartment provided for them; and if a daughter does not wed an eldeſt ſon, her huſband is alſo received into the family, in the ſame way, which makes a joyous number at every table. This cannot altogether be attributed to œconomical motives, though they certainly influence in many caſes, becauſe it is found in families poſſeſſing the firſt properties in the kingdom. It does with French manners and cuſtoms, but in England it is ſure to fail, and equally ſo amongſt all ranks of people: may we not conjecture, with a great probability of truth, that the nation in which it ſucceeds is therefore better tempered? Nothing but good humour can render ſuch a jumble of families agreeable, or even tolerable. In dreſs they have given the *ton* to all Europe for more than a century; but this is not among any but the higheſt rank an object of ſuch expence as in England, where the maſs of mankind wear much better things (to uſe the language of common converſation) than in France: this ſtruck me more amongſt ladies who, on an average of all ranks, do not dreſs at one half of the expence of Engliſh women. Volatility and changeableneſs are attributed to the French as national characteriſticks,—but in the caſe of dreſs with the groſſeſt exaggeration. Faſhions change with ten times more rapidity in England, in form, colour, and aſſemblage; the viciſſitudes of every part of dreſs are phantaſtic with us: I ſee little of this in France; and to inſtance the mode of dreſſing the gentlemen's hair, while it has been varied five times at London, it has remained the ſame at Paris. Nothing contributes more to make them a happy people, than the chearful and facile pliancy of diſpoſition with which they adapt themſelves to the circumſtances of life: this they poſſeſs much more than the high and volatile ſpirits which have been attributed to them; one excellent conſequence is, a greater exemption from the extravagance of living beyond their fortunes, than is met with in England. In the higheſt ranks of life, there are inſtances in all countries; but where one gentleman of ſmall property, in the provinces of France, runs out his fortune, there are ten ſuch in England that do it. In the blended idea I had formed of the French character from reading, I am diſappointed from three circumſtances, which I expected to find predominant. On compariſon with the Engliſh, I looked for great talkativeneſs, volatile ſpirits, and univerſal politeneſs. I think, on the contrary, that they are not ſo talkative as the Engliſh; have not equally good ſpirits, and are not a jot more polite: nor do I ſpeak of certain claſſes of people, but of the general maſs. I think them, however, incomparably better tempered; and I propoſe it as a queſtion, whether good temper be not more reaſonably expected under an arbitrary, than under a free government?

The 19th. My laſt day in Paris, and, therefore, employed in waiting on my friends, to take leave; amongſt whom, the duke de Liancourt holds the firſt place; a nobleman, to whoſe uninterrupted, polite, and friendly offices I owe the agreeable and happy hours which I have paſſed at Paris, and whoſe kindneſs continued ſo much, to the laſt, as to require a promiſe, that if I ſhould return to France, his houſe, either in town or country, ſhould be my home. I ſhall not omit obſerving, that his conduct in the revolution has been direct and manly from the very beginning; his rank, family, fortune, and ſituation at court, all united to make him one of the firſt ſubjects in the kingdom; and upon the public affairs being ſufficiently embroiled, to make aſſemblies of the nobility neceſſary, his determination to render himſelf maſter of the great queſtions which were then in debate, was ſeconded by that attention and application which was neceſſary in a period, when none but men of buſineſs could be of importance in the ſtate. From the firſt aſſembling of the States General, he reſolved to take the party of freedom; and would have joined the *tiers* at firſt, if the orders of his conſtituents had not prevented it; he deſired them, however, either to conſent to that ſtep or to elect another repreſentative; and, at the ſame time, with equal liberality, he declared, that if ever the duty he owed his country became incompatible with his office at court, he would reſign it; an act that was not only unneceſſary, but would have been abſurd, after the King himſelf had become a party in the revolution. By eſpouſing the popular cauſe, he acted conformably to the principles of all his anceſtors, who in the civil wars and confuſions of the preceding centuries, uniformly oppoſed the arbitrary proceedings of the court. The deciſive ſteps which this nobleman took at Verſailles, in adviſing the King, &c. &c. are known to all the world. He is, undoubtedly, to be eſteemed one of thoſe who have had a principal ſhare in the revolution, but he has been invariably guided by conſtitutional motives; for it is certain, that he has been as much averſe from unneceſſary violence and ſanguinary meaſures, as thoſe who were the moſt attached to the ancient government. With my excellent friend Lazowſki, I ſpent my laſt evening; he endeavouring to perſuade me to reſide upon a farm in France, and I enticing him to quit French buſtle for Engliſh tranquillity.

The 20th—25th. By the diligence to London, where I arrived the 25th; though in the moſt commodious ſeat, yet languiſhing for a horſe, which, after all, affords the beſt means of travelling. Paſſing from the firſt company of Paris to the rabble which one ſometimes meets in diligences is contraſt ſufficient,—but the idea of returning to England, to my family, and friends, made all things appear ſmooth.—272 miles.

The 30th. To Bradfield; and here terminate, I hope, my travels. After having ſurveyed the agriculture and political reſources of England and Ireland, to do the ſame with France, was certainly a great object, the importance of which animated me to the attempt: and however pleaſing it may be to hope for the ability of giving a better account of the agriculture of France than has ever been laid before the public, yet the greateſt ſatisfaction I feel, at preſent, is the proſpect of remaining, for the future, on a farm, in that calm and undiſturbed retirement, which is ſuitable to my fortune, and which, I truſt, will be agreeable to my diſpoſition.—72 miles.

PART

PART SECOND.

CHAP. I.

Of the Extent of France.

THE circumſtances which are moſt apt to command the attention of mankind, for giving importance to a country, are really valuable no farther than as they contribute to the eaſe and proſperity of the inhabitants. Thus the extent of a kingdom is of no other conſequence than affording nouriſhment for a people too numerous to be reaſonably apprehenſive of foreign conqueſt. When a territory is much more conſiderable than for this purpoſe, it tends to inſpire ambitious projects in the minds of the men that govern, which have proved, perhaps, more diſaſtrous than the deficiency of power that endangers the national defence. France, under Lewis XIV. was a remarkable inſtance of this fact. The ſituation to which the ambition of that prince had reduced her immenſe territory, was hardly preferable to that of Holland, in 1672, whoſe misfortunes flowed from the ſame origin. Of the two extremes, France has undoubtedly more to apprehend from the ambition of her own rulers, than from that of any neighbour. Authorities vary conſiderably in deſcribing the extent of this fine kingdom. The Maréchal de Vauban makes it 30,000 leagues, or 140,940,000 arpents; Voltaire 130,000,000 arpents.—The accuracy of round numbers is always to be doubted. Templeman gives it an extent of 138,837 ſquare geographic miles, of ſixty to a degree; a meaſurement, which renders all his tables abſolutely uſeleſs for any purpoſe, but that of comparing one country with another, a degree being ſixty-nine miles and an half, which makes it 119,220,874$\frac{192}{160}$ acres.—Paucton reduces his meaſure to French arpents, and makes the number 107,690,000. The Encyclopædia, article *France*, aſſigns 100,000,000 of arpents as the contents; and obſerves, that, by Caſſini's maps, the amount is 125,000,000. A late author[*] calculates it at 105,000,000: and another[†] at 135,600,000. None of theſe accounts ſeem ſufficiently accurate for the purpoſe of giving a correct idea. The authority on which I am inclined moſt to rely is that of M. Necker[‡], who calculates it (without Corſica) at 26,951 leagues ſquare, of 2282$\frac{2}{5}$ toiſes; this, I find, amounts to 156,024,213 arpents of Paris, or 131,722,295 Engliſh acres. Paucton, by covering his map with ſhot to every indenture of outline, with the greateſt care, found the kingdom to contain 103,021,840 arpents, each of 100 perch, at 22 feet the perch, or 1344$\frac{4}{9}$ toiſes ſquare to the arpent; inſtead of which, the arpent of Paris contains but 900 toiſes:—this meaſurement makes 81,687,016 Engliſh acres *.—Notwithſtanding the credit uſually given to this writer for his accuracy, I muſt here reject his authority in favour of that of M. Necker. Paucton's calculation, which gives 81,687,016 Engliſh acres to France, aſſigns by the ſame rule to England 24,476,315 †; yet Templeman's ſurvey, at 60 miles to a degree, and therefore confeſſedly below the truth, makes it 31,648,000, which, at 69½ to a degree, are 42,463,264$\frac{16}{36}$; a greater difference than is found between them in eſtimating the ſurface of France, which, by Paucton, is made 81,687,016 Engliſh acres, with a general admiſſion of about a million more; and by Templeman, 88,855,680; or at 69½, is 119,220,874$\frac{192}{360}$.

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[*] L'Impôt Abonné. 4to. 1789.

[†] Apologie ſur l'edict de Nantes.

[‡] Oeuvres. 4to. p. 326.

It is in vain to attempt reconciling theſe contrary accounts. I ſhall therefore adopt, with the author of the *Credit Nationale* ‡, the eſtimation of M. Necker, which ſuppoſes 156,024,113 arpents of Paris, or 131,722,295 Engliſh acres.

For a comparison of the French and Engliſh dominions, I muſt for the latter adopt Templeman's meaſurement, who gives to

England,	49,450	ſquare miles.	France,	138,837	ſquare miles.
Scotland,	27,794				
Ireland,	27,457				
	104,701				

Calculated at 60 to a degree; but at 69½ theſe numbers become,

	Sq. miles.		Acres.		Sq. miles.		Acres.
England,	66,348	-	42,463,264	France,	186,282	-	119,220,874
Scotland,	37,292	-	23,867,016				
Ireland,	36,840	-	23,577,630				
	140,480		89,907,910				

Hence it appears, that France, according to theſe proportions, contains 29,312,964 acres more than the three Britiſh kingdoms; and it is to be noted, that as the extent of France is taken from the more modern and correct authorities, whence M. Necker deduced his meaſurement at 131,722,295 Engliſh acres, which is

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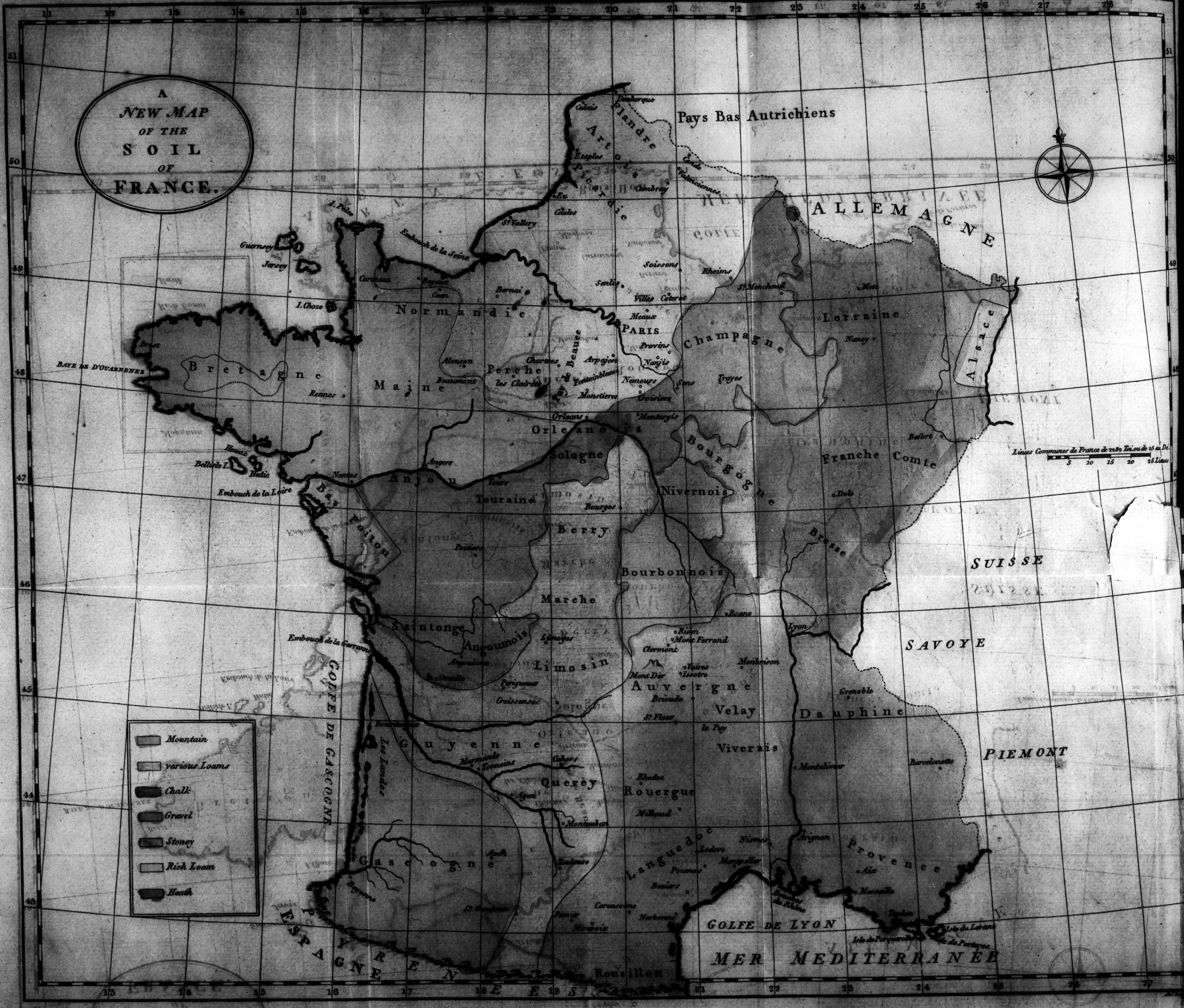
* I have made this reduction, by valuing, with Paucton, the French arpent at 1,0000, and the Engliſh 0,7929.

† That is 30,869,360 arpents royale, of 22 feet to the perch.

‡ Monſ. Jorré. 8vo. 1789. He calculates on 27,000 leagues, at 2282 toiſes, 5786 arpents of Paris in a league; or in France 156,225,720 arpents. P. 95.


A NEW MAP OF THE SOIL OF FRANCE.
Mountain
various Loams
Chalk
Gravel
Stoney
Rich Loam
Heath
Pays Bas Autrichiens
ALLEMAGNE
Dunkerque
Calais
Flandre
Artois
Etaples
Picardie
Cambray
Valenciennes
Eu
Caules
St. Vallery
Embouch de la Seine
Guernsey
Jersey
I. Chaze
Cherbourg
Coutances
Bayeux
Caen
Bernai
Normandie
Soissons
Rheims
Senlis
Villes Coterest
Meaux
PARIS
Provins
Nangis
St. Menehould
Metz
Lorraine
Nancy
Alsace
Champagne
Troyes
Brest
BAYE DE D'OUARNENEZ
Bretagne
Rennes
Maine
Alencon
Perche
Beaumont
les Clairés
Chartres
Beauce
Arpajon
Fontainbleau
Nemours
Sens
Monstiers
Croisieres
Orleans
Montargis
Orleanois
Sologne
Bourgogne
Franche Comte
Besôre
Dole
Lieues Communes de France de 2282 Toises ou de 25 au De.
5 10 15 20 25 Lieues
Houat
Belleisle I.
Hedic
Embouch de la Loire
Nantes
Angers
Anjou
Tours
Touraine
Bourges
Nivernois
Berry
Poitou
Poitiers
Bresse
SUISSE
Bourbonnois
Marche
Roane
Lyon
Saintonge
Angoumois
Angouleme
Limoges
Limosin
Riom
Mont Ferrand
Clermont
Mont Dor
Vaires
Issoire
Montbrison
Auvergne
Brioude
St. Flour
Velay
le Puy
SAVOYE
Embouch de la Garonne
GOLFE DE GASCOGNE
Perigueux
Greissensac
Grenoble
Dauphine
Bourdeaux
Guyenne
Les Landes
Marmande
Tonneins
Cahors
Quercy
Agen
Montauban
Viverais
Rhodez
Rouergue
Milhaud
Montelimar
Barcelonette
PIEMONT
Auch
Gascogne
Toulouse
Languedoc
Lodeve
Nismes
Montpellier
Avignon
Provence
Aix
Marseille
Toulon
Bayonne
St. Gaudens
Pamier
Mirepoix
Carcassone
Pezenas
Beziers
Narbonne
Embouch du Rhone
GOLFE DE LYON
Isle du Levant
Isle de Porquerolles
Isle de Portcros
MER MEDITERRANEE
Rousillon
ESPAGNE
PYRENEES

conſequently much more exact than that of Templeman; ſo it is equally fair to ſuppoſe, that the latter is as much below the fact in the contents of our iſlands, as he was in thoſe of France. Corrected by this rule, the areas will be

England*,	46,915,933† acres.	France,	131,722,295 acres.
Scotland,	26,369,695		
Ireland,	26,049,961		
	99,335,589		

Theſe numbers, I am upon the whole inclined to believe, are as near to the truth as may reaſonably be expected from calculations, when the *data* are not abſolutely correct.

CHAP. II.

Of the Soil, and Face of the Country.

THE modern French geographers, in a branch of that ſcience, to which they have properly given the epithet *phyſical*, have divided the kingdom into what they call *baſſins*; that is to ſay, into ſeveral great plains, through which flow the principal rivers, and which are formed of ſeveral ridges of mountains, either *original*, as they term it, of granite, or ſecondary of calcareous and other materials. Of theſe *baſſins* the chief are, 1. Of the Loire and all the rivers that fall into it. 2, Of the Seine and its branches. 3, Of the Garonne. 4, Of the Rhone and Soane. There are likewiſe ſome ſmaller ones, but of much leſs account. The reader who wiſhes to conſult the detail of theſe, may turn to the *Journal Phyſique*, tom. 30. for a memoir by M. là Metherie.

In reſpect to the geoponic diviſion of the ſoils of the kingdom, the rich calcareous plain of the north-eaſtern quarter firſt calls for our attention. I croſſed this in ſeveral directions, and from the obſervations I made, the following are the limits I would aſſign to it. On the coaſt it may be ſaid to extend from Dunkirk to Carentan in Normandy, for the northern promontory of that province, which projects into the ſea at Cherbourg, &c. is of a different ſoil. In M. la Metherie's map, is marked a ridge of granite mountains in this promontory; I ſhould remark, that I ſaw nothing in that country which deſerves the name of a mountain, any more than at Alençon; merely hills, and thoſe not conſiderable ones. I may terminate the rich track at Carentan, as thence to Coutances the land is chiefly poor and ſtoney, and holds, with many variations, quite to Breſt. In the line a little to the S. of the coaſt, before Caen, is ſeen the firſt conſiderable change of ſoil from Calais; it there becomes a red *ſtone braſh*; this rich tract is here, therefore, narrow. On re-entering Normandy on the ſide of Alençon, from Anjou and Maine, I firſt met with the rich loams on a calcareous bottom at Beaumont; at Alençon there is a noble ſoil, which I then loſt no more in advancing northwards. In another line I entered this rich diſtrict about ten miles to the ſouth of Tours. The hills on the Loire, though all calcareous that I noticed, are not all rich, though on ſome the ſoil is deep and good. Directly to the ſouth of Orleans begins the miſerable Sologne, which, though on a calcareous bottom of marl, is too poor to be included in the preſent diſtrict. From Orleans to Paris, and alſo Fontainbleau, no exceptions are to be made, but in the ſmall ſpace of poor ſand ſtone in the royal foreſt of the latter town. In a fourth direction this diſtrict is entered, but not ſo deciſively as in the preceding caſes, a few miles to the ſouth of Nemours. At Croiſiere the firſt chalk is viſible to the traveller. Advancing to the N. E. very good land is found near Nangis, and then bearing N. I entered the fertile plain of Brie. Some of the vales through which the Marne flows are rich, and what I ſaw calcareous; but the hills are poor. The plain of Rheims may be claſſed in the preſent diſtrict, but at Soiſſons and thence due N. all is excellent. Theſe limits incloſe one of the fineſt territories that I ſuppoſe is to be found in Europe. From Dunkirk to Nemours is not leſs than one hundred and eighty miles in a right line. From Soiſſons to Carentan is another right line of about two hundred miles. From Eu, on the Norman coaſt, to Chartres is one hundred miles; and though the breadth of this rich diſtrict at Caen, Bayeux, &c. is not conſiderable, yet the whole will be found to contain not a trifling proportion of the whole kingdom. This noble territory includes the deep, level, and fertile plain of Flanders, and part of Artois, than which a richer ſoil can hardly be deſired to repay the induſtry of mankind; two, three, and even four feet deep of moiſt and putrid, but friable and mellow loam, more inclining to clay than ſand, on a calcareous bottom, and from its marine origin (for there can be little doubt but that the whole plain of Flanders and Holland has been covered by the ſea, long ſince our globe has taken its preſent appearance), abounding with particles that add to the common fertility, reſulting from ſuch compounds found in other ſituations. The putridity of the *humus* in Flanders and its poſition, being a dead level, are the principal circumſtances that diſtinguiſh it from the better ſoils of the reſt of this fertile part of Europe. Every ſtep of the way from the very gate of Paris to near Soiſſons, and thence to Cambray, with but little variation of ſome inferior hills of ſmall extent, is a ſandy loam of an admirable texture, and commonly of conſiderable depth. About Meaux it is to be ranked among the fineſt in the world; they call it *bleaunemeau*; it tends much towards an impalpable powder, which betrays few ſigns of ſand, even when, to the eye, it has the appearance of a ſandy loam. It is of an admirable texture and friability. Monſ. Gibert informed me, that it is of the depth of eighteen feet where his well is digged, and under it a ſtratum of white marl, found under the whole country, at different depths. This marl has the appearance of a conſolidated paſte. The line through Picardy is inferior, yet, for the moſt part, excellent. But all the arable part of Normandy, which is within theſe limits, is of the ſame rich friable ſandy loam, to a great depth; that from Bernay to Elbœuf can ſcarcely be exceeded; four to five feet deep of a reddiſh brown loam on a chalk bottom, and without a ſtone. As to the paſtures of the ſame province, we have, I believe, nothing either in England or Ireland equal to them; I hold the vale of Limerick to be inferior. The famous Pays de Beauce, which I croſſed between Arpajon and Orleans, reſembles the vales of Meaux and Senlis; it is not, however, in general, ſo deep as the former. The limits I have traced are thoſe of great fertility; but the calcareous diſtrict, and even of chalk, is much more extenſive. To the E. it reaches acroſs Champagne; a ſtrong change, not having occurred to me till about St. Menehould. From Metz to Nancy all is calcareous, but not chalk. Lime-ſtone land I found plentifully in the ſouthern parts of Alſace; and from Befort acroſs Franche Compté to Dole, all the ſtones I tried, and many from quarries, were calcareous. Immenſe diſtricts in Dauphiné and Provence, &c. &c. are the ſame; I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that I remarked the chalk country to extend E. to about St. Menehould, and S. to Nemours and Montargis * in one line. In another, that all of the Angoumois which I ſaw is the ſame; much in Poitou, and through Touraine to the Loire. Had I penetrated more to the W. I ſhould probably have found the chalk of Angoumois, and that of the Loire to be connected uninterruptedly. Moſt of the courſe of the Loire is, I believe, chalk, and the whole of it calcareous. Hence it appears, that the chalk country of France is of very conſiderable extent; not leſs than two hundred miles E. and W. and about as much, but more irregularly, N. and S. and compriſes, by far, the richeſt and moſt fertile provinces of the kingdom.

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* It may be remarked, that Dr. Grew calculated the real contents of England and Wales at 6,080,000 acres. *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. 330, p. 266. Which ſeems a confirmation that we are not far from the truth.

† Equal to 73,306 ſquare miles.

The next conſiderable diſtrict, for fertility, is that which I may call, without impropriety, the plain of the Garonne. Paſſing to the S. from Limoſin, it is entered about Creiſſenſac, with the province of Quercy, and improves all the way to Montauban and Toulouſe, where it is one of the fineſt levels of fertile ſoil that can any where be ſeen. It continues, but not equally fruitful, to the foot of the Pyrenees, by St. Gaudents, &c. very even to the eye, when viewed from the promenade at Montauban, which commands one of the richeſt, as well as magnificent proſpects, to be met with in France. This plain I found, however, to be much indented and irregular; for to the W. of Auch, and all beyond it to Bayonne, is too inferior to be admitted; and to the E. Mirepoix, Pamiers, and Carcaſſonne are among the hills, and all the way from Agen to Bourdeaux, though the river flows through one of the richeſt vallies that is to be ſeen in the world, yet the breadth appeared to be every where inconſiderable. Through all this plain, wherever the ſoil is found excellent, it conſiſts uſually of a deep mellow friable ſandy loam, with moiſture ſufficient for the production of any thing; much of it is calcareous. White lime-ſtone and white chalky loams are found about Cahors, &c. and white loams more tenacious near Montauban. At Tonance, on the Garonne, they are red, and apparently as good at ten feet deep as on the ſurface.

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* I believe much further; and there is the more reaſon to think ſo, becauſe Mr. Townſhend found, that in another road it reached to Auxere, where he loſt it. *Journey through Spain*, vol. i. p. 46.

In travelling from Narbonne to Beziers, Pezenas, Montpellier, and Nimes, every one I converſed with repreſented that vale as the moſt fruitful in France. Olives and mulberries, as well as vines, render it very productive; but in point of ſoil (the only circumſtance I conſider at preſent), much the greater part of it is inferior to all I have named. The Bas Poitou, as I was informed by a perſon who reſides in it, is of a fertility that deſerves to be claſſed with the richeſt ſoils of France, extending 18 leagues by 12, or 216 ſquare leagues, which, at 5,786 arpents per league, are 249,776 arpents. 100,000 arpents of rich marſhes have been drained there *. Being alſo informed at Nantes, that there was a very rich track to the S. of the Loire, in the quarter of Bourgneuf and Macheoul, I have extended the region of good land to that river, as ſeen in the annexed map.

The narrow plain of Alſace, the whole fertile part of which hardly exceeds the ſurface of 1000 ſquare miles, muſt be claſſed among the richeſt ſoils of France. It reſembles Flanders a good deal, though inferior to that fine province. It conſiſts of a deep rich ſandy loam, both moiſt and friable, equal to the large production of all ſorts of crops. A more celebrated diſtrict is the Limagne of Auvergne, a flat, and chiefly a calcareous vale, ſurrounded by great ranges of volcanic mountains. It is certainly one of the fineſt ſoils in the world. It commences at Riom; the plain there is of a beautiful dead level of white calcareous loam, the whole ſurface of which is a real marl, but ſo mixed with *humus* as to be of prime fertility. The French naturaliſts, that have examined it, aſſert the depth to be twenty feet of beds of earth, formed of the ruins of what they ſtyle the primitive (granite) and volcanized mountains. At Iſſoire, Dr. Brés ſhewing me his farm, in an inferior part of the Limagne (for the beſt of it reaches no farther than from Riom to Vaires, which is ſcarcely more than twenty miles), made me obſerve, that the river had, in all probability, formed the whole plain, as it was adding rapidly to his land, and had given him a depth very perceptible in a few years, having buried the gravelly ſhingle of its bed, by depoſiting a rich ſurface of ſandy mud. The vale here, on the banks, is ſeven or eight feet deep of rich brown ſandy loam. On the contrary, there are philoſophers who contend for the whole having been a lake. The mountains that ſurround this vale are various. The white argilaceous ſtone, in the hills between Riom and Clermont, is calcareous. The volcanic mountains are found to be better than the others, except in the caſe of *tufa* or cinders, which are ſo burnt as to be good for nothing. The calcareous and clayey ones good, and the baſaltes decompoſed and become clay excellent. Their baſe is commonly granite. The calcareous ſandy ſtones, and the argilaceous calcareous earths are heaped on them by the action of volcanoes, according to the theory of the French philoſophers. The fertility that reſults from the volcanic origin of mountains, has been often remarked, and eſpecially in the caſe of Etna; the ſame fact appeared in many tracts of country as I paſſed from Le Puy to Montelimart, where many conſiderable mountains are covered with beautiful cheſnuts, and various articles of cultivation, which in diſtricts not volcanic are waſte, or in a great meaſure uſeleſs.

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* *Des Canaux de Navig.* Par M. de la Lande, p. 391.

I have now noticed all the diſtricts of France, which, to my knowledge, are of any remarkable fertility: they amount, as it will be ſhown more particularly in another place, to above 28 millions of Engliſh acres.

Of the other provinces, Bretagne is generally gravel, or gravelly ſand, commonly deep, and on a gravelly bottom, of an inferior and barren nature, but in many places on ſand ſtone rock. I tried various ſpecimens, but found none calcareous; and having ſeen a ſhip at Morlaix unloading lime-ſtone from Normandy, I may conclude, that the fact does not contradict the concluſion which I drew from the eye. All that I ſaw in the two provinces of Anjou and Maine are gravel, ſand, or ſtone—generally a loamy ſand or gravel; ſome imperfect ſchiſtus on a bottom of rock; and much that would in the weſt of England be called a *ſtone-braſh*, and that would do excellently well for turnips: they have the friability, but want the putrid moiſture and fertile particles of the better loams. Immenſe tracks, in both theſe provinces, are waſte, under ling, fern, furze, &c. but the ſoil of theſe does not vary from the cultivated parts, and, with cultivation, would be equally good. Touraine is better; it contains ſome conſiderable diſtricts, eſpecially to the ſouth of the Loire, where you find good mixed ſandy and gravelly loams on a calcareous bottom; conſiderable tracks in the northern part of the province are no better than Anjou and Maine; and, like them, it is not without its heaths and waſtes. Sologne is one of the pooreſt and moſt unimproved provinces of the kingdom, and one of the moſt ſingular countries I have ſeen. It is flat, conſiſting of a poor ſand or gravel, every where on a clay or marl bottom, retentive of water to ſuch a degree, that every ditch and hole was full of it: the improvement of ſuch a country is ſo obviouſly effected on the eaſieſt principles, that it is a ſatire on the French government, and on the individuals who are owners or occupiers of eſtates in this province, to ſee it remain in ſuch a miſerable condition. Berry is much better, though both ſandy and gravelly; but good loams, and ſome deep, are not wanted in ſome diſtricts, as that of Chateauroux, on quarries, and near Vatan on calcareous ones. La Marche and Limoſin conſiſt of friable ſandy loams; ſome on granite, and others on a calcareous bottom. There are tracts in theſe provinces that are very fertile; and I ſaw none that ſhould be eſteemed ſteril. Of the granite, they diſtinguiſh two ſorts; one hard, and full of micaceous particles; the grain rather coarſe, with but little quartz, hardening in the air in maſſes, but becoming a powder when reduced to ſmall pieces;—this is uſed for building. The other ſort is in horizontal ſtrata, mixed with great quantities of ſpar, uſed chiefly for mending roads, which it does in the moſt incomparable manner. I was aſſured at Limoges, that, on the hard granite, there grow neither wheat, vines, nor cheſnuts; but upon the other kind, thoſe plants thrive well: I remarked, that this granite and cheſnuts appeared together on entering Limoſin; and that, in the road to Toulouſe, there is about a league of hard granite without that tree. The rule, however, is not general; for ſo near as to the S. of Souilac, cheſnuts are on a calcareous ſoil.—Poitou conſiſts of two diviſions, the upper and the lower; the laſt of which has the reputation of being a much richer country, eſpecially the graſs lands on the coaſt. The ſoil of the upper diviſion is generally a thin loam, on an imperfect quarry bottom—a ſort of *ſtone-braſh*; in ſome tracts calcareous: it muſt be eſteemed a poor ſoil, though admirably adapted to various articles of cultivation. I have already obſerved, that all I ſaw of Angoumois is chalk, and much of it thin and poor. Thoſe parts of Guienne and Gaſcoign, not included in the rich vale of the Garonne, of which I have already ſpoken, muſt be conſidered in reſpect of ſoil as poor. The *landes* (heaths) of Bourdeaux, though neither unproductive, nor unimproveable, are in their preſent ſtate to be claſſed amongſt the worſt ſoils of France. I have been aſſured, that they contain 200 leagues ſquare; and the roots of the Pyrenees are covered with immenſe waſtes, which demand much induſtry to render profitable. Rouſſillon is in general calcareous; much of it flat and very ſtoney, as well as dry and barren: but the irrigated vales are of a moſt exuberant fertility. The vaſt province of Languedoc, in productions one of the richeſt of the kingdom, does not rank high in the ſcale of ſoil: it is by far to ſtoney:—I take ſeven-eighths of it to be mountainous.

I travelled near four hundred miles in it, without ſeeing any thing that deſerved the name of an extenſive plain, that of the Garonne, already mentioned (part of which extends within the limits of Languedoc), alone excepted. The productive vale, from Narbonne to Nimes, is generally but a few miles in breadth; and conſiderable waſtes are ſeen in moſt parts of it. Many of the mountains are productive, from irrigation, as I have obſerved too in the volcanic territory of the Vivarais. Some parts of the vale are however very rich; and indeed there are few finer ſoils in France than what I ſaw near the canal, in going from Beziers to Carcaſſonne. A rich mellow loam, tenacious, and yet friable; in ſome ſtates the particles adhere into clods; in others they recede and melt with friability. Provence and Dauphiné are mountainous countries, with the variation of ſome lovely plains and vallies, which bear a very inconſiderable proportion to the whole. Of theſe two provinces, the former is certainly the drieſt, in point of ſoil, in the kingdom. Rock and quarry-land, with ſandy gravels, abound there; and the courſe of the Durance, which in ſome countries would be a fine vale, is ſo ruined by ſand and ſhingle, that, on a moderate calculation, above 130,000 acres have been deſtroyed, which would have been the fineſt ſoil in the country, if it had not been for that river. All I ſaw in both the provinces is calcareous; and I was informed, that the greater part of the mountains of Provence are ſo. Theſe, towards Barcelonette, and in all the higher parts of the province, are covered with good graſs, that feeds a million of emigrating ſheep, beſides vaſt herds of cattle. With ſuch a ſoil, and in ſuch a climate, a country muſt not be thought unproductive becauſe mountainous.—The vales which I ſaw, are in general fine: that of the Rhone at Loriol, in Dauphiné, is rich,—an admirable ſandy clay, five or ſix feet deep, on a bed of blue marl, with many ſtones in it. But more to the S. from Montelimart to Orange, this great river paſſes through ſoils much inferior. The north plain of this province, as we go from Savoy to Lyons conſiſts much of a good deep red loam, on a gravel bottom. The county of Venaiſin, or diſtrict of Avignon, is one of the richeſt in the kingdom. Its admirable irrigation, is, of itſelf, ſufficient to make it appear ſo; but I found the ſoil to conſiſt of rich deep loam, with white and calcareous clays. The whole coaſt of Provence is a poor ſtony ſoil, with exceptions of very ſmall ſpaces under happier circumſtances. About Aix, the land is all calcareous, even the clays that are red and ferruginous. This province, however, contains one of the moſt ſingular diſtricts in the kingdom, namely, that of the Crau, which is a ſtony plain to the S. E. of Arles, not containing leſs than 350 ſquare miles, or 224,000 acres. It is abſolutely covered with round ſtones of all ſizes, ſome of which are as large as a man's head. The ſoil under them is not a ſand, but appears to be a kind of cemented rubble of fragments of ſtone, with a ſmall mixture of loam. The naturaliſt who has deſcribed this province, ſays, they are of a calcareous nature, with neither the grain nor texture of flint; in ſome quartzoſe molecules predominate—and others are metallic *. Vegetation is extremely thin, as I ſhall mention more particularly when I treat of the paſturage of ſheep in France.

The Lyonois is mountainous, and what I ſaw of it is poor, ſtony, and rough, with much waſte land. In paſſing from Lyons to Moulins, it is, near Roanne, on the limits of the province, before the gravelly plain of the Loire commences, the ſame which M. La Metherie calls the calcareous plain of Montbriſſon.

Auvergne, though chiefly mountainous, is not a poor province; the ſoil, for a hilly country, is in general above mediocrity, and the higheſt mountains feed vaſt herds of cattle, which are exported to a conſiderable amount. Beſide a variety of volcanic ſoils, Auvergne is covered with granite and gravelly and ſandy loams.

The Bourbonnois and Nevernois, form one vaſt plain, through which the Loire and the Allier paſs; the predominant ſoil, in much the greater part, is gravel; I believe commonly on a calcareous bottom, but at conſiderable depths; Some tracks are ſandy, which are better than the gravels; and others are very good friable ſandy loams. The whole, in its preſent cultivation, muſt be reckoned amongſt the moſt unproductive provinces of the kingdom, but capable of as great improvement, by a different management, as any diſtrict in France.

Burgundy is exceedingly diverſified, as I found in croſſing it from Franche Compté to the Bourbonnois by Dijon, I ſaw the beſt of it; that line is through ſandy and gravelly loams; ſome good vales, ſome mountains, and ſome poor granite ſoils. The ſubdiviſion of the province, called Breſſe, is a miſerable country, where the ponds alone, moſtly on a white clay or a marl, amount, as it is aſſerted by an inhabitant †, to ſixty-ſix ſquare leagues of 2000 toiſes, not much leſs than 250,000 acres. This is credible from the appearance of them in the map of Caſſini.

Franche Compté abounds with red ferruginous loams, ſchiſtus, gravel, with lime-ſtone in the mountains very common; and I ſhould remark, that all the ſtones I tried, ſome of which were from quarries between Befort to Dole, efferveſced with acids. From Beſançon to Orechamps the country is rocky, quite to the ſurface much lime-ſtone; a reddiſh brown loam on rock; with iron forges all over the country. The whole province is very improveable.

Loraine is poor in ſoil; from St. Menehould to the borders of Alſace I ſaw ſcarcely any other than ſtony ſoils, of various denominations; moſt of them would in England be called *ſtone-braſh*, or the broken and triturated ſurface of imperfect quarries, mixed by time, foreſt, and cultivation, with ſome loam and vegetable mould—much is calcareous. There are indeed diſtricts of rich, and even deep friable ſandy loams; but the quantity is not conſiderable enough to deſerve attention in a general view. I have already remarked, that the predominant feature of Champagne is chalk; in great tracks it is thin and poor; the ſouthern part, as from Chalons to Troyes, &c. has, from its poverty, acquired the name of *pouilleux*, or louſy. The appropriating of ſuch land to ſainfoin is little known there.

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* Hiſt. Nat. de la Povence. 8vo. 3 tom. 1782. tom 1. p. 290.

† Obſervations, expériences, & memoires ſur L'Agriculture; par M. Varenne de Fenille. 8vo. 1789. p. 270.

I have now made the tour of all the French provinces, and ſhall in general obſerve, that I think the kingdom is ſuperior to England in the circumſtance of ſoil. The proportion of poor land in England, to the total of the kingdom, is greater than the ſimilar proportion in France; nor have they any where ſuch tracks of wretched blowing ſand as are to be met with in Norfolk and Suffolk. Their heaths, moors, and waſtes not mountainous, what they term *lande*, and which are ſo frequent in Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, are infinitely better than our northern moors; and the mountains of Scotland and Wales cannot be compared, in point of ſoil, with thoſe of the Pyrenees, Auvergne, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc. Another advantage almoſt ineſtimable is, that their tenacious loams do not take the character of clays, which in ſome parts of England are ſo ſtubborn and harſh, that the expence of culture is almoſt equal to a moderate produce. Such clays as I have ſeen in Suſſex, I never met with in France. The ſmallneſs of the quantity of rank clay in that kingdom is indeed ſurpriſing.

Face of the Country.

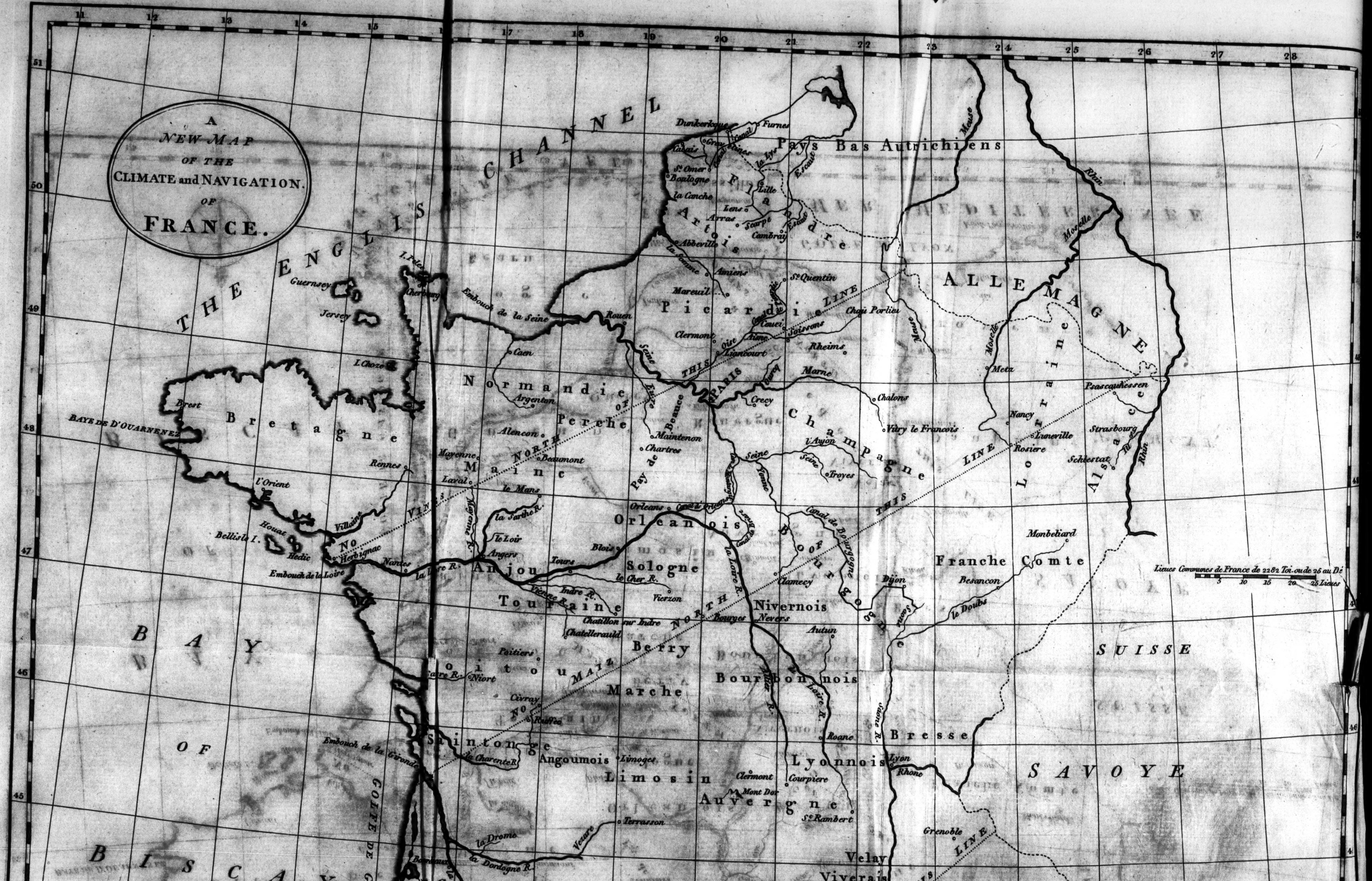
THE chief diſtinction that marks the faces of different countries, is that of being mountainous or level. In the language, as well as in the ideas common in France, mountains are ſpoken of, to which we ſhould give no other appellation than that of hills: the tracks really mountainous in that kingdom are to be found in the S. only. It is four hundred miles S. of Calais before you meet with the mountains of Auvergne, which are united with thoſe of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, but not with the Pyrenees, for I croſſed the whole S. of France, from the Rhone to the ocean, either by plains or ranges of inconſiderable hills. The mountains of Voge, in Loraine, deſerve, perhaps, that name, but yet are not to be ranked with the ſuperior elevations I have noticed. The inequalities of all the reſt of the kingdom are ſufficient to render the proſpects intereſting, and to give variety to the face of the country, but they deſerve not to be called mountains. Some of the hilly and mountainous tracks of France receive a very conſiderable beauty from the rich and luxuriant verdure of cheſnuts. To thoſe who have not viewed them, it is not eaſy to believe how much they add to the beauty of the Limoſin, the Vivarais, Auvergne, and other diſtricts where they are common. There is no doubt that the Pyrenees are more ſtriking than all the other mountains of France; I have deſcribed them ſo particularly in the Journal, that I would only obſerve in general here, that their verdure, their woods, their rocks, and their torrents have all the characters of the ſublime and beautiful. I ſaw nothing among the Alps that offered ſuch pleaſing ſcenes as thoſe of the northern parts of Dauphiné; which, however, are leſs varied than thoſe in the neighbourhood of Chambery ſo abounding in landſcapes. According to every account, the courſe of the Iſer is a ſcene of perpetual beauty. The Vivarais, and part of Velay, are moſt romantic.

Of the great rivers of France I prefer the Seine, which is every where an agreeable object. I ſhould ſuppoſe the reputation of the Loire muſt have originated from perſons who either had never ſeen it at all, or only below Angers, where in truth it merits every *eloge*. From that city to Nantes it is, probably, one of the fineſt rivers in the world, the breadth of the ſtream, the iſlands of woods, the boldneſs, culture, and richneſs of the coaſt, all conſpire, with the animation derived from the ſwelling canvaſs of active commerce, to render that line eminently beautiful; but for the reſt of its immenſe courſe, it exhibits a ſtream of ſand; it rolls ſhingle through vales inſtead of water, and is an uglier object than I could poſſibly have conceived, unleſs I had actually ſeen it. The Garonne receives more beauty from the country through which it flows than it confers upon it; the flat banks, fringed with willows, are deſtructive of beauty. I am not equally acquainted with the Rhone; where I ſaw it, from Montelimart to Avignon, and again at Lyons, it does not intereſt me like the Seine. The courſe of the Soane is marked by a noble track of meadows.

In regard to the general beauty of a country, I prefer Limoſin to every other province in France. The banks of the Loire below Angers, and thoſe of the Seine, for two hundred miles from its mouth, ſuperior, undoubtedly, in point of rivers, the capital feature of the country; but the beauty of the Limoſin does not depend on any particular feature, but the reſult of many. Hill, dale, wood, incloſures, ſtreams, lakes, and ſcattered farms, are mingled into a thouſand delicious landſcapes, which ſet off every where this province. Incloſures, which add ſo much ornament to the face of a country, would furniſh obſervations, but I muſt treat of them expreſſly in a more important view.

Of the provinces of the kingdom, not already named, none are of ſuch ſingular features as to demand particular attention. The beauties of Normandy are to be found on the Seine, and thoſe of Guienne on the Garonne. Bretagne, Maine, and Anjou have the appearance of deſerts; and though ſome parts of Touraine are rich and pleaſing, yet moſt of the province is deficient in beauty. The fertile territories of Flanders, Artois, and Alſace are diſtinguiſhed by their

utility.



A NEW MAP OF THE CLIMATE and NAVIGATION OF FRANCE.

THE ENGLISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
GOLFE DE GASCOGNE
GOLFE DE LYON
MER MEDITERRANÉE
Pays Bas Autrichiens
ALLEMAGNE
SUISSE
SAVOYE
PIEMONT
ESPAGNE
MONTS PIRENEES
Flandre
Artois
Picardie
Normandie
Bretagne
Perche
Maine
Orleanois
Anjou
Sologne
Touraine
Poitou
Berry
Nivernois
Bourgogne
Bourbonnois
Marche
Saintonge
Angoumois
Limosin
Auvergne
Lyonnois
Bresse
Franche Comte
Champagne
Lorraine
Alsace
Dauphine
Provence
Languedoc
Velay
Viverais
Rouergue
Quercy
Guyenne
Gascogne
Bearn
Foix
Roussillon
Pay de Beauce
Guernsey
Jersey
Bellisle I.
Houat
Hedic
BAYE DE D'OUARNENEZ
Brest
l'Orient
Rennes
Nantes
Angers
Laval
le Mans
Alencon
Caen
Argenton
Rouen
Cherbourg
Embouch. de la Seine
Embouch. de la Loire
Embouch. de la Gironde
Dunkerque
Furnes
St. Omer
Boulogne
Lille
Arras
Cambray
Abbeville
Amiens
St. Quentin
Soissons
Rheims
Chalons
PARIS
Chartres
Maintenon
Orleans
Blois
Tours
Vierzon
Chatellerauld
Poitiers
Niort
Civray
Limoges
Terrasson
Clermont
Mont Dor
Roane
Lyon
St. Rambert
Nevers
Autun
Dijon
Besancon
Monbeliard
Troyes
Vitry le Francois
Metz
Nancy
Luneville
Strasbourg
Schlestat
Grenoble
Montelimart
Avignon
Nismes
Montpellier
Cette
Aix
Marseille
Toulon
Bourdeaux
Bayonne
Cahors
Villefranche
Milhau
Toulouse
Mirepoix
Narbonne
Perpignan
Canal Royal
Seine
Marne
Oise
Aisne
Loire R.
Allier R.
Saone R.
Rhone R.
Garonne R.
la Dordogne R.
le Lot R.
Tarn
le Doubs
Rhin
Moselle
Meuse
Escaut
Canal de Bourgogne
Lieues Communes de France de 2282 Toi. ou de 25 au Dé
5 10 15 20 25 Lieues
NO VINES NORTH OF THIS LINE
NO MAIZ NORTH OF THIS LINE
NO OLIVES NORTH OF THIS LINE
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28
43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51

utility. Picardy is unintereſting. Champagne in general, where I ſaw it, ugly, almoſt as much ſo as Poitou. Loraine, and Franche Compté, and Bourgogne are *ſombre* in the wooded diſtricts, and want chearfulneſs in the open ones. Berry and La Marche may be ranked in the ſame claſs. Sologne merits its epithet, *triſte.* There are parts of the Angoumois that are gay, and conſequently pleaſing.

It may be uſeful to thoſe who ſee no more of France than by once paſſing to Italy, to remark, that if they would view the fineſt parts of the kingdom, they ſhould land at Dieppe and follow the Seine to Paris, then take the great road to Moulins, and thence quit it for Auvergne, and paſs to Viviers, on the Rhone, and ſo by Aix to Italy. By ſuch a variation from the frequented road, the traveller might ſuffer for want of good inns, but would be repaid by the ſight of a much finer and more ſingular country than the common road by Dijon offers, which paſſes, in a great meaſure, through the worſt part of France.

CHAP. III.

Of the Climate of France.

OF all the countries of Europe there is not, perhaps, one that proves the importance of climate, ſo much as France. In the natural advantages of countries, it is as eſſential as ſoil itſelf; and we can never attain to an idea tolerably correct, of the proſperity and reſources of a country, if we do not know how clearly to aſcertain the natural advantages or diſadvantages of different territories, and to diſcriminate them from the adventitious effects of induſtry and wealth. It ſhould be a principal object with thoſe who travel for the acquiſition of knowledge, to remove the vulgar prejudices which are found in all countries among thoſe who, not having travelled themſelves, have built their information on inſufficient authorities.

France admits a diviſion into three capital parts; 1, of vines; 2, of maiz; 3, of olives—which plants will give the three diſtricts of, 1, the northern, where vines are not planted; 2, the central, in which maiz is not planted; 3, the ſouth, in which olives, mulberries, vines, and maiz are all found. The line of ſeparation between vines and no vines, as I obſerved myſelf, is at Coucy, ten miles to the N. of Soiſſons; at Clermont, in the Beauvoiſois; at Beaumont, in Maine; and Herbignac, near Guerande, in Bretagne. Now there is ſomething very remarkable in this, that if you draw a ſtrait line on the map from Guerande to Coucy, it paſſes very near both Clermont and Beaumont; the former of which is a little to the north of it, and the latter a little to the ſouth. There are vines at Gaillon and La Roche Guyon, which is a little to the N. of this line; there are alſo ſome near Beauvais, the moſt remote from it which I have ſeen; but even this diſtance is inconſiderable; and the melancholy ſpectacle of the vintage of 1787, which I ſaw there in the midſt of inceſſant rains, is a proof that they ought to have nothing to do with this branch of culture: and at Angers I was informed, that there are no vines, or next to none, between that place and Laval and Mayenne. Having made this remark on the vine climate of France, I wiſhed to know how far the fact held true in Germany; becauſe, if the circumſtance aroſe from a difference of climate, it ought, by parity of reaſon, to be confirmed by vines in that country being found much farther north than in France. This happens preciſely to be the caſe; for I find, by a late author, that vines in Germany are found no farther north than lat. 52 *. The meeting with theſe in that latitude is a ſufficient proof of the fact in queſtion, ſince in France their limit is at 49½. The line, therefore, which I have drawn as the boundary of vines in France, may be continued into Germany, and will probably be found to aſcertain the vine-climate in that country, as well as in France. The line of ſeparation between maiz and no maiz is not leſs ſingular; it is firſt ſeen on the weſtern ſide of the kingdom, in going from the Angoumois and entering Poitou, at Verac, near Ruffec. In croſſing Loraine, I firſt met with it between Nancy and Luneville. It is deſerving of attention, that if a line is drawn from between Nancy and Luneville to Ruffec, that it will run nearly parallel with the other line that forms the ſeparation of vines: but that line acroſs the kingdom, is not formed by maiz in ſo unbroken a manner, as the other by vines; for in the central journey, we found it no farther north than Douzenach, in the S. of the Limoſin; a variation, however, that does not affect the general fact. In croſſing from Alſace to Auvergne, I was neareſt to this line at Dijon, where is maiz. In croſſing the Bourbonnois to Paris, there is an evident reaſon why this plant ſhould not be found, which is the poverty of the ſoil, and the unimproved huſbandry of all that country being univerſally under fallow, and rye, which yields only three or four times the ſeed. Maiz demands richer land, or better management.—I ſaw a few pieces ſo far north as near La Fleche, but they were ſo miſerably bad, as evidently to prove that the plant was foreign to that climate In order to give the reader a clearer idea of this, I have annexed a map, explaining, at one *coup d'œil*, theſe zones or climates, which may be drawn from the productions of France.—The line of olives is pretty nearly in the ſame direction. In travelling ſouth from Lyons, we ſee them firſt at Montelimart; and, in going from Beziers to the Pyrenees, I loſt them at Carcaſſonne: now, the line on the map drawn from Montelimart to Carcaſſonne, appears at once to be nearly parallel with thoſe of maiz and vines. Hence we may apparently determine, with ſafety, that there is a conſiderable difference between the climate of France in the eaſtern and weſtern parts: that the eaſtern ſide of the kingdom is 2½ degrees of latitude hotter than the weſtern, or, if not hotter, more favourable to vegetation. That theſe diviſions are not accidental, but have been the reſult of a great number of experiments, we may conclude from theſe articles of culture, in general, gradually declining before you quite loſe them. On quitting the Angoumois, and entering Poitou, we find maiz dwindling to poor crops, before it ceaſes to be cultivated: and in going from Nancy to Luneville, I noticed it in gardens, and then but in ſmall pieces in the fields, before it became a confirmed culture. I made the ſame remark with reſpect to vines. It is very difficult to account for this fact; it ſeems probable that the climate is better when remote from the ſea, than near it, which is contrary to numerous other facts; and I have remarked, that vines thrive even in the ſea air, and almoſt fully expoſed to it, at the mouth of the river of Bayonne, and in Bretagne. A great many repeated obſervations muſt be made, and with more attention than is in the power of a traveller, before ſuch a ſubject, apparently very curious, can be thoroughly aſcertained. In making ſuch enquiries as theſe, a general culture is alone to be regarded: vines will grow in England; I have maiz now on my farm—and I have ſeen it at Paris: but this is not the queſtion; for it turns ſolely on the climate being ſo well adapted to ſuch articles as to enable the farmer to make them a common culture.

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* *De la Monarchie Pruſſienne, par M. Ce Compte de Mirabeau.* tom. 2. p. 158.

Of the northern climate of France I may remark, that though vines will yield little profit in it for wine, yet there is a ſtrong diſtinction, in reſpect of heat, between it and England, at the ſame time, that much of it is, I believe, to the full as humid as the S. and E. of England. The two circumſtances to be attended to in this enquiry are, the quantity of fruit and the verdure and richneſs of paſtures. In regard to heat, we muſt attend neither to the thermometer nor to the latitude, but to the vegetable productions. I travelled in the fruit ſeaſon through Artois, Picardy, Normandy, Bretagne, Anjou, and Maine, and I found at every town, I might properly ſay at every village, ſuch a plenty of fruit, particularly plumbs, peaches, late cherries, grapes, and melons, as never can be ſeen in England in the very hotteſt ſummers. The markets of all the towns, even in that poor and unimproved province of Bretagne, are ſupplied with theſe in a profuſion of which we have no idea. It was with pleaſure I walked through the market at Rennes. If a man were to ſee no other in France, lighting there from an Engliſh balloon, he would in a moment pronounce the climate to be totally different from that of Cornwall, our moſt southerly county, where myrtles will ſtand the winter abroad; and from that of Kerry, where the arbutus is ſo ac-climated, that it ſeems indigenous, though probably brought from Spain by the original inhabitants of the country. Yet in this province of Bretagne I ſaw no maiz nor mulberries, and, except in the corner I have mentioned, has no vineyards. Paris is not ſupplied with melons from provinces to the S. but from Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine.

For the humidity of the climate, I may quote the beautiful verdure of the rich paſtures in Normandy, which are never irrigated. And I was a witneſs to three weeks of ſuch rain at Liancourt, four miles only from Clermont, as I have not known, by many degrees, in England. To the great rains in the N. of France, which render it diſagreeable, may be added the heavy ſnows and the ſevere froſts, which are experienced there to a greater degree than in the S. of England. I am aſſured that the N. of Europe has not known a long and ſharp froſt, which has not been much ſeverer at Paris than at London.

The central diviſion that admits vines without being hot enough for maiz, I conſider as one of the fineſt climates in the world. Here are contained the province of Touraine, which, above all others, is moſt admired by the French; the pictureſque province of Limoſin; and the mild, healthy, and pleaſant plains of the Bourbonnois; perhaps the moſt eligible countries of all France, of all Europe, as far as ſoil and climate are concerned. Here you are exempt from the extreme humidity which gives verdure to Normandy and England; and yet equally free from the burning heats which turn verdure itſelf into a ruſſet brown in the S.; no ardent rays that oppreſs you with their fervour in ſummer; nor pinching tedious froſts that chill with their ſeverity in winter; a light, pure, elaſtic air, admirable for every conſtitution except conſumptive ones. But at the ſame time that I muſt commend theſe central provinces of France, for every circumſtance of atmoſphere that can render a country agreeable to inhabit, I muſt guard the reader againſt the idea of their being free from great inconveniencies; they are certainly ſubject to thoſe in relation to agriculture, which are heavily felt by the farmer. They are ſubject, in common with the olive diſtrict, to violent ſtorms of rain, and what is worſe, of hail. Two years ago, one violent ſtorm of hail ſwept a track of deſolation in a belt acroſs the whole kingdom, to the damage of ſeveral millions of our money. Such extended ruin is not common, for if it were, the fineſt kingdoms would be laid waſte; but no year ever paſſes without whole pariſhes ſuffering to a degree of which we have no conception, and on the whole to the amount of no inconſiderable proportion of the whole produce of the kingdom. It appears, from my friend Dr. Symonds's paper on the climate of Italy *, that the miſchief of hail is dreadful to the utmoſt in that country. I have heard it calculated in the S. of France, that the damage

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* Annals of Agriculture, vol. iii. p. 137.

in ſome provinces amounted to one-tenth of the whole produce of them on an average. A few days before my arrival at Barbeſieux, there had fallen, at the duke de la Rochefoucauld's ſeat in the Angoumois, and ſome neighbouring pariſhes, a ſhower of hail that did not leave a ſingle grape on the vines, and cut them ſo ſeverely, as to preclude all hope of a crop the year following, and allowed no well founded expectation of any beneficial produce even the third year. In another place, the geeſe were all killed by the ſame ſtorm; and young colts were ſo wounded that they died afterwards. It is even aſſerted, that men have been known to be killed by hail, when unable to obtain any ſhelter. This ſtorm deſtroyed a copſe of the duke's, that was of two years growth. With ſuch effects, it muſt be obvious to every one, that all ſorts of corn and pulſe muſt be utterly deſtroyed. At Pompinion, between Montauban and Toulouſe, I was witneſs to ſuch a ſhower of rain as never fell in Britain; in that rich vale, the corn, before the ſtorm, made a noble appearance; but imagination can hardly picture a more entire deſtruction than it poured over the whole; the fineſt wheat was not only beaten flat to the ground, but ſtreams of liquid mud covered it in many places, in a manner that made all expectation of recovery hopeleſs. Theſe haſty and violent ſhowers, which are of little conſequence to a traveller, or to the reſidence of a gentleman, are dreadful ſcourges to the farmer, and immenſe drawbacks from the maſs of national products.

A circumſtance of leſs conſequence, but not undeſerving attention, is the froſts which happen in the ſpring. We know in England how injurious theſe are to all the fruits of the earth, and how much they are ſuppoſed to damage even its moſt important products. Towards the end of May 1787, I found all the walnut trees with leaves turned quite black by them, S. of the Loire; and farther to the S. at Brive, we no ſooner ſaw fig trees, for the firſt time, ſcattered about the vineyards, than we remarked them bound about with ſtraw to defend them from the froſts of June. Still more to the S. about Cahors, the walnut trees were black on the 10th of June by froſts, within a fortnight; and we were informed of rye being in ſome years thus killed; and that rarely there is any ſpring month ſecure from theſe unſeaſonable attacks. In the N. E. quarter I found, in 1789, the froſt of the preceding winter had made a ſad havock amongſt the walnut trees, moſt of which were killed in Alſace, and the dead trees made a ſtrange figure in ſummer; they were left in expectation of their ſhooting again, and ſome few did. From Autun, in Burgundy, to Bourbon Lancey, the broom was all killed. Spring froſts were alſo complained of as much as on the other ſide of the kingdom. About Dijon they ſaid that they have them often late, and they damage or deſtroy every thing. And all the countries within reach of the mountains of Voge are affected by the ſnow that falls upon them, which was in 1789, on the 29th of June. This renders the vineyard an uncertain culture. Perhaps it may ariſe from the late froſts in the

ſpring,

ſpring, that we meet with ſo few mulberries in France N. of the olive diſtrict. The profit of that tree is very great, as I ſhall explain fully in another place; yet the diſtricts, where they are found in France, are very inconſiderable, when compared with the extent of the whole kingdom. It has been conceived in England, that the mildew is owing to late froſts; when I found myſelf in a region where rye was ſometimes thus killed in June, and where every walnut hung with black, I naturally enquired for that diſtemper, and found in ſome places, near Cahors for inſtance, that their wheat was perfectly exempt from that malady in many ſprings, when other plants ſuffered the moſt ſeverely; and we met even with farmers whoſe lands were ſo little ſubject to the diſtemper that they hardly knew it. This ſhould ſeem to ſet aſide the theory of froſts being the cauſe of that malady. As ſpring froſts are as miſchievous in France as they can be with us, ſo alſo there are they troubled with autumnal ones earlier than is common with us. On the 20th of September 1787, in going on the S. of the Loire, from Chambord to Orleans, we had ſo ſmart a one, that the vines were hurt by it; and there had been, for ſeveral days, ſo cold a N. E. wind, yet with a bright ſun, that none of us ſtirred abroad without great coats.

The olive-climate contains but a very inconſiderable portion of the kingdom, and of that portion, not in one acre out of fifty is this tree cultivated. Several other plants, beſide the olive, mark this climate. Thus at Montelimart, in Dauphiné, beſides that tree, you meet with, for the firſt time, the pomgranate, the arbor judæ, the paliurus, figs, and the evergreen oak; and with theſe plants, I may add alſo that deteſtable animal the moſquito. In croſſing the mountains of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais, I met, between Pradelles and Thuytz, mulberries and flies at the ſame time; by the term flies, I mean thoſe myriads of them, which form the moſt diſagreeable circumſtance of the ſouthern climates. They are the firſt of torments in Spain, Italy, and the olive-diſtrict of France: it is not that they bite, ſting, or hurt, but they buz, teize, and worry: your mouth, eyes, ears, and noſe, are full of them: they ſwarm on every eatable, fruit, ſugar, milk, every thing is attacked by them in ſuch myriads, that if they are not driven away inceſſantly by a perſon who has nothing elſe to do, to eat a meal is impoſſible. They are, however, caught on prepared paper, and other contrivances, with ſo much eaſe, and in ſuch quantities, that were it not from negligence they could not abound in ſuch incredible quantities. If I farmed in thoſe countries, I think I ſhould manure four or five acres every year with dead flies. Two other articles of culture in this climate, which deſerve to be mentioned, though too inconſiderable to be a national object, are capers in Provence, and oranges at Hieres. The latter plant is ſo tender, that this is ſuppoſed to be the only part of France in which it will thrive in the open air. The whole of Rouſſillon is to the ſouth of this, yet none are to be found there. I went to Hieres to view them, and it was with pain I found

found them almoſt, without exception, ſo damaged by the froſt, in the winter of 1788, as to be cut down, ſome to the ground, and others to the main ſtem. Vaſt numbers of olives were in the ſame ſituation throughout the whole olive-diſtrict, and abundance of them abſolutely killed. Thus we find, that, in the moſt ſoutherly part of France, and even in the moſt ſheltered and ſecure ſituations, ſuch ſevere froſts are known as to deſtroy the articles of common cultivation.

In the deſcription I took of the climate of Provence, from Monſ. le Preſident, Baron de la Tour d'Aigues, he informed me, that hail, in ſome years, does not break glaſs; but it was mentioned as an extraordinary thing. The only ſeaſons in which is to be expected rain with any degree of certainty, are the equinoxes, when it comes violently for a time. No dependence for a ſingle drop in June, July, or Auguſt, and the quantity always very ſmall; which three months, and not the winter ones, are the pinching ſeaſon for all great cattle. Sometimes not a drop falls for ſix months together [*]. They have white froſts in March, and ſometimes in April. The great heats are never till the 15th of July nor after the 15th of September. Harveſt begins June 24th, and ends July 15th,—and Michaelmas is the middle of the vintage. In many years no ſnow is to be ſeen, and the froſts not ſevere. The ſpring is the worſt ſeaſon in the year, becauſe the *vent de bize*, the *mæſtrale* of the Italians, is terrible, and ſufficient, in the mountains, to blow a man off his horſe; it is alſo dangerous to the health, from the ſun, at the ſame time, being both high and powerful. But in December, January, and February, the weather is truly charming, with the *bize* very rarely, but not always free from it; for, on the 3d of January 1786, there was ſo furious a *mæſtrale*, with ſnow, that flocks were driven four or five leagues from their paſtures; numbers of travellers, ſhepherds, ſheep and aſſes in the Crau periſhed. Five ſhepherds were conducting eight hundred ſheep to the butcheries at Marſeilles, three of whom, and almoſt all the ſheep, periſhed [†]. To make a reſidence in theſe provinces agreeable, a man ſhould alſo avoid the great ſummer heats. For during the laſt week in July, and ſome days in Auguſt, I experienced ſuch a heat at Carcaſſonne, Mirepoix, Pamiers, &c. as rendered the leaſt exertion, in the middle of the day, oppreſſive: it exceeded any thing I felt in Spain. It was impoſſible to ſupport a room that was light. No comfort but in darkneſs; and even there, reſt was impoſſible from myriads of flies [‡]. It is true, ſuch heats are not of long duration; if they were ſo, nobody, able to quit the country, would reſide in it. Theſe climates are diſagreeable in ſpring and ſummer, and delicious in winter only. In the Bourbonnois, Limoſin, and Touraine, there is no *vent de bize*. On the mountains above Tour d'Aigues, are chiefly found lavendula—thymus—ciſtus roſea—ciſtus albidus—ſoralia bitumina—buxus ſempervirens—quercus ilex—pinus montana—roſmarinus officinalis—rhamnus cathartica—geniſtis montis ventoſa—geniſta hiſpanica—juniperus phœnicia—ſatureja montana—bromus ſylvatica, &c. In the ſtubbles of all the olive-diſtrict, and in every waſte ſpot are found centaurea calycitropa—centaurea ſolſtitialis,—alſo the eryngium campeſtrum, and the eryngium amethyſtinum:—they have ſown in Provence, the datura ſtrimonium, which is now habituated to the country. In the mountains, from Cavalero to Frejus, and alſo in that of Eſtrelles, the lentiſcus—myrtus—arbutus—lavendula—ciſtus—and lauruſtinus.

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[*] A writer, who has been criticiſed for this aſſertion, was therefore right—"Telle eſt la poſition des provinces du midi on l'on reſte ſouvent, ſix mois entiers, ſans voir tomber une ſeule goutte d'eau." *Corps complet d'Agri.* tom. 8. p. 56.

[†] *Traité de l'Olivier, par M. Couture.* 2 tom. 8vo. Aix, 1786. tom. 1. p. 79.

[‡] I have been much ſurpriſed, that the late learned Mr. Harmer ſhould think it odd to find, by writers who treated of ſouthern climates, that driving away flies was an object of importance. *Had* he been with me in Spain and in Languedoc, in July and Auguſt, he would have been very far from thinking there was any thing odd in it. *Obſerv. on divers paſſages of ſcripture,* vol. 4. p. 159.

Upon a general view of the climate of France, and upon comparing it with that of countries, not ſo much favoured apparently by nature, I may remark, that the principal ſuperiority of it ariſes from adapting ſo large a portion of the kingdom to the culture of the vine; yet this noble plant is moſt unaccountably decried by abundance of writers, and eſpecially by French ones, though the farmer is enabled to draw as extenſive a profit from poor and otherwiſe barren, and even almoſt perpendicular rocks, as from the richeſt vales.—Hence immenſe tracks of land may be ranked in France among the moſt valuable, which in our climate would be abſolutely waſte, or at leaſt applied to no better uſe than warrens or ſheep walks. This is the great ſuperiority which climate gives to that kingdom over England:—of its nature and extent, I ſhall treat fully under another head.

The object of the next importance is peculiar to the olive and maiz diſtricts, and conſiſts in the power of having, from the nature of the climate, two crops a-year on vaſt tracks of their arable land; an early harveſt, and the command of plants, which will not thrive equally well in more northern climates, give them this invaluable advantage. We ſee wheat ſtubbles left in England, from the middle of Auguſt, to yield a few ſhillings by ſheep, which, in a hotter climate, would afford a ſecond crop, yielding food for man, ſuch as millet, the fifty day maiz (the cinquantina of the Italians) &c.; or prove a better ſeaſon for turnips, cabbages, &c. than the common ſeaſon for them here. In Dauphiné, I ſaw buck-wheat in full bloſſom the 23d of Auguſt, that had been ſown after wheat. I do no more than name it here, ſince, in another place, it muſt be examined more particularly. Mulberries might in France be an object of far greater importance than they are at preſent, and yet the ſpring froſts are fatal impediments to the culture: that this plant muſt be conſidered for all important purpoſes, as adapted only to ſouthern climates, appears from this, that Tours is the only place I know in France, north of the maiz climate, where they are cultivated for ſilk with any ſucceſs: conſiderable experiments have been made (as I ſhall ſhew in the proper place) for introducing them into Normandy and elſewhere, but with no ſucceſs; and the force of this obſervation is doubled, by the following fact—that they ſucceed much better in the olive climate than in any other part of the kingdom. But that they might be greatly extended, cannot for a moment be doubted. In going ſouth, we did not meet with them till we came to Cauſade, near Montauban. In returning north, we ſaw them at Auch only—a few at Aguillon, planted by the duke—the promenade, at Poitiers, planted by the intendant—and another at Verteul, by the duke d'Anville; all which are experiments that have not been copied, except at Auch. But at Tours there is a ſmall diſtrict of them. In another direction, they are not met with after Moulins, and there very few. Maiz is an object of much greater conſequence than mulberries; when I give the courſes of the French crops, it will be found, that the only good huſbandry in the kingdom (ſome ſmall and very rich diſtricts excepted) ariſes from the poſſeſſion and management of this plant. Where there is no maiz, there are fallows; and where there are fallows, the people ſtarve for want. For the inhabitants of a country to live upon that plant, which is the preparation for wheat, and at the ſame time to keep their cattle fat upon the leaves of it, is to poſſeſs a treaſure, for which they are indebted to their climate. The quantity of all the common ſorts of fruits, which, through the greater part of France, is ſuch as to form a conſiderable object in the ſubſiſtence of the great maſs of the people, is a point of more conſequence than appears at firſt ſight. To balance theſe favourable circumſtances, other countries, not ſo happily ſituated (eſpecially England) have advantages of an oppoſite nature, which are very material in the practice of their agriculture: that humidity of atmoſphere, which the French provinces north of vines enjoy—which England has in a greater degree, and Ireland ſtill more, and which is better marked by the hygrometer than by the rain gage, is of ſingular importance in the maintenance of cattle by paſturage, and in adapting the courſes of crops to their ſupport. Artificial graſſes, turnips, cabbages, potatoes, &c. thrive beſt in a humid climate. It would take up too much room here fully to explain this; to mention it will be ſufficient for thoſe who have reflected on ſimilar ſubjects. From a due attention to all the various circumſtances that affect this queſtion, which, relatively to agriculture, is the beſt climate, that of France, or that of England?—I have no heſitation in giving the preference to France. I have often heard, in converſation, the contrary aſſerted, and with ſome appearance of reaſon—but I believe the opinion has ariſen more from conſidering the actual ſtate of huſbandry in the two countries, than the diſtinct properties of the two climates. We make a very good uſe of our's; but the French are, in this reſpect, in their infancy, through more than half the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

On the Produce of Corn, the Rent, and the Price of Land in France.

IN England, we have not the advantage of one uniform meaſure of land; there are three or four different acres in common uſe: but the general ſtatute meaſure of the realm has gained ground rapidly of late years, ſo that the greater part of the counties have rid themſelves of the peſt of cuſtomary meaſure; and where this beneficial effect has not taken place, yet almoſt every man one can converſe with, knows the proportion their own meaſure bears to the ſtatute, which greatly facilitates all agricultural enquiries in this kingdom. In Ireland, the uniformity is ſtill greater; for they have only the Iriſh and the Conyingham meaſure, except in a very few diſtricts that have adopted the Engliſh ſtatute acre. In the meaſure of corn alſo, we have only the variations of the buſhel to guard againſt; for the meaſure is every where a buſhel, and the difference of the contents, not much through the greater part of the kingdom; add to this, that the name and the contents of the ſtatute capacity of eight gallons, is every where underſtood; and that the gallon itſelf is of the ſame contents. In Ireland, the ſtatute barrel of four buſhels takes place univerſally; but in France, the infinite perplexity of the meaſures exceeds all comprehenſion. They differ not only in every province, but in every diſtrict, and almoſt in every town; and theſe tormenting variations are found equally in the denominations and contents of the meaſures of land and corn. To theſe ſources of confuſion, is added the general ignorance of the peaſantry, who know nothing of the Paris arpent, or the Paris ſeptier, the moſt commonly received meaſure of the kingdom. For the knowledge of a French farmer is limited abſolutely to his farm and his market; he never looks into a newſpaper or a magazine, where the difference of the meaſures of the kingdom would probably ſtrike his attention, many times in his life. And if he were rather better inſtructed, yet, as there are two national meaſures of land, they would occaſion a confuſion of which we can form no judgment: the arpent de Paris, and the arpent de France, are both legal and common meaſures; notwithſtanding which, they are of very different contents; and, what is ſtrange to ſay, are ſometimes confounded by French writers on agriculture, as I ſhall ſhew in more inſtances than one—even by ſocieties in their public memoirs. The denominations of French meaſure, as the reader will ſee, are almoſt infinite, and without any common ſtandard to which they can be referred: the number of ſquare feet in the contents is the only rule to adhere to: yet the foot itſelf varies, and contains, in ſome provinces, as Loraine,

raine, but ten inches and a fraction. Even the valuation of money itſelf there failed me; the meaſure of corn and land peculiar, and the *livre* and *ſol* no longer of the ſame value as in the reſt of France. The denominations of buſhel and acre pervade all England; and the mere denomination leads every where towards proportioning the contents to the common ſtandards; but in France, they have no common denomination: if you travel ſeventy miles from Paris, in ſome directions, you hear no more of the ſeptier, or the arpent: you find the *mine* of land, even within thirty miles of the capital,—and a little farther, you will be bewildered with *franchars* of corn, and *mancos* of land. The only clue tolerably general, that can be in the leaſt relied upon, is drawn from the quantity of ſeed ſown: the meaſure of wheat or rye, and of land alſo, hath often in France the ſame denomination, as *ſeptier*, *ſepteree*; *quartier*, *quarteree*; *manco* of corn and of land: *boiſeau*, *boiſelee*, &c.—Theſe generally imply, that the meaſure of corn is the quantity of ſeed ſown on the ſame denomination of land. But I have found variations even in this; ſo that great caution is neceſſary before a traveller can note his information. When to this confuſion of meaſures is added the almoſt univerſal ignorance of the people in the provinces, who often know nothing of their own meaſures, and give information totally erroneous, as I have found, from ſuſpecting their authority, by its militating with the idea I formed from the eye, and from applying for certainty to land-ſurveyors (*arpenteurs*), the reader will be ready to credit me in aſſuring him, that the labour, perplexity, and vexation, which the preſent chapter has given me, both in travelling and in writing, has much exceeded any thing I could have conceived before I went abroad; and which no perſon can believe to the extent of the truth, who has not been engaged under equal difficulties in ſimilar purſuits. After all my labour, it would be a want of candour were I to offer the reſult thus given as correct. I am confident, that in ſeveral articles, and perhaps in more than I ſuſpect, it is not ſo. I can only ſay, I think the material errors are not numerous; and that the reader will, in ſuch a labyrinth of difficulties, look rather for the information that is practically to be given, than for that ideal accuracy which is impoſſible for any individual, much leſs for a foreigner to attain. The French writers, I have conſulted, gave me little or no aſſiſtance, where I had ſo much reaſon to expect it. Monſ. Paucton's tables of the meaſures of land and corn, which contain thoſe of ſome of the provinces, would lead us aſtray as often as they would guide us. By going through the country, I have found, from five to ten different meaſures in a province, where he has noted only one—I ſuppoſe the legal one of the capital cities.—It is ſurpriſing to read French books of agriculture, deſcriptive of ſome provinces in France, yet without an explanation of the contents of the meaſures named repeatedly in thoſe works. Such omiſſions are totally inexcuſeable; for they render books uſeleſs, not to foreigners only, but to moſt of their own countrymen. But while accuracy is ſo difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to be acquired under ſuch circumſtances, it is ſome ſatisfaction to conſider, that the reader will here find the very intereſting parts of the produce, rental, and price of land in that vaſt empire, aſcertained upon a larger baſis of enquiry, than can be found in any book hitherto offered to the public; my library abounds more with French georgical authors, as well as thoſe branches of political œconomy which tend to elucidate ſuch queſtions, than any other I have had the opportunity to examine; yet theſe books contain little elſe beſide conjectures, looſe and general ideas, and calculations without data, particularly in giving the groſs produce of the whole kingdom. In a multitude of gueſſes ſome muſt, in the nature of chances, approximate the truth; but ſuch have little more merit, and no more authority, than the wildeſt efforts of imagination; for inquiries of this kind are not to be made inthe bureaus of great cities; books and papers will not afford the information: a man muſt travel through the country, or muſt always remain ignorant, though ſurrounded by ten thouſand volumes. Neither is it travelling for other purſuits that will allow this knowledge to be gained; nor moving in public *voitures*, nor flying with rapidity from town to town; nor is it eaſy for one or two men, or even three to effect it; many ſhould be employed for that purpoſe, and paid by government; for aſſuredly the object is of great national importance, particularly in the impoſing of taxes; a buſineſs in which all the legiſlators that have yet ariſen have gone ſo blindly to work, that their efforts in every country, and in none more than in France, cannot but excite a contempt of their ignorance and deteſtation of their injuſtice. To expect that men will be thus appointed and employed, and, above all, well choſen for the buſineſs, would be childiſh; governments are otherwiſe employed in every country. While, therefore, from the public nothing is to be expected, the private efforts of individuals are ſurely not devoid of merit; who, amidſt great diſadvantages, undertake a work of unqueſtionable utility.

Districts of Rich Loam.

Picardy.

This province has been, by ſo many French writers, extolled for its good and profitable cultivation, that I croſſed it with my attention every where awake to diſcover ſuch merit. I have already obſerved, in ſpeaking of ſoils, that this is uſually very good; the exceptions, where the under ſtratum of chalk riſes too near the ſurface, as is the caſe about Berney, and more ſtill at Flixcourt, are not of great extent, compared with the rich deep friable loams on a calcareous bottom. The nature of the country demands that I ſhould conſider it as one from Calais to the woods of Chantilly, where a poor country begins; and, though in the neighbourhood of Paris, it again becomes good, yet we ſhould conſider it ſeparately. From Calais to Bolougne and Montreuil the good land lets at 24 liv. the journal or arpent of Paris, and the inferior at 12 liv.; the firſt is 1l. 5s. per Engliſh acre *, which is a higher rent than ſimilar land would produce in England, if rent only were conſidered; but our heavy tythes and poor rates being added do occaſion nearly an equality. Near Berney the ſoil, and with it the rent, declines, riſing from 8 to 12 liv. the arpent. It would be uſeleſs to add always the proportion per Engliſh acre; I juſt obſerved, that 24 liv. per arpent equals 25s. per acre; 12 liv. are palpably the half, and 8 liv. two-thirds of that. It riſes to 24 liv. again at Ally-le-haut Clochers, where they reckon their wheat crops at 5½ louis, when corn ſells high, this is 20 buſhels per acre; and ſpring corn the ſame, which, on ſuch land, is a miſerable produce. At Flixcourt the chalk riſes to the ſurface, and the rents are ſo low as 2 liv. to 5 liv. which would be much under the value, if they knew what to do with it, yet the country is not without ſainfoin. At Picquigny rent regains the 24 liv. but at Hebecourt and Breteuil not more than 15 or 16 liv.; here they value wheat at 60 liv. the arpent, and ſpring corn at 30 liv. Near Clermont the land is good and the rent high, and from thence to Creil by Liancourt is a vale of exceedingly rich loam. The rent from Calais to Clermont is pretty regular, the beſt land 24 liv. the middling 15 liv. and the chalks 4 liv. to 8 liv. The produce of the firſt is about 24 buſhels per acre, and of the ſpring corn 22. Landed property, upon an average, through Picardy pays 3 per cent.; but if bought with judgment and attention 3½, and in ſome caſes 4. On the other hand, I was told that ſome eſtates did not return more than 2½, but this is rare. They have in general in France a very falſe idea of the good huſbandry of this province: Monſ. Turgot was not free from the error, when he named it in the ſame breath with Flanders †.

Iſle of France.

In the country about Arpajon rents vary from 15 to 24 liv. and ſome capital arable lands are at 30 liv.; but here we enter upon a new meaſure of land, for the arpent of the Gatinois is 100 perch of 20 feet, or 40,000 feet, 24 liv. may be taken as the medium; in general in the Gatinois the good land is at 20 liv. and the ordinary at 10 liv.; at 20 liv. it is 16s. 9d. per acre. The product of wheat is ſtated at ſix ſeptiers of Paris, of 240 lb. per arpent, which, if we attend to the French pound, is to the Engliſh as 1,0000 to 0,9264, and alſo as to meaſure equals twenty-three buſhels per acre, ſpring corn thirty buſhels. Within two leagues of Eſtampes there is much ſand, the rent of which is 3 liv. 10ſ. and

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* Wherever *acre*, *quarter*, *buſhel*, *gallon*, &c. are named, Engliſh meaſure is implied.

† *Lettre ſur les Graines*, p. 43.

4 liv. the arpent; this yields rye only; the good wheat land in the neighbourhood gives rent and produce as above noted. From hence through Toury, to the foreſt of Orleans, is part of the great plain called the *Pays de Beauce*, ſo much celebrated in France for its good huſbandry:—it is, like all Picardy, fallowed for wheat, and conſequently there is no good huſbandry; but the ſoil is a rich loam on a white marl, and therefore, by fallow and dung, gives good wheat. I have three notes of the produce;—1, five Paris ſeptiers per arpent; 2, twenty-one mines, each 60 lb.; 3, to the value of 100 liv. and ſpring corn 50 liv. The firſt is about 19½ buſhels; the ſecond is 22 buſhels; the third is the ſame nearly as the firſt: they agree tolerably well, and unite with what I ſaw to calculate the wheat produce at twenty-one buſhels per acre. I ſaw no ſpring corn of any tolerable appearance. The rent is from 15 to 18 liv. per arpent, or 15s. per acre. Price 500 liv. that let at 20 liv. per annum (20l. 18s. 9d.) On my return to Paris, I croſſed another part of this rich tract, in going from Orleans to Fontainbleau. I gained information at Shiloar, Denainvilliers, Malſherbs, and La Chapel la Reine: the intelligence was pretty uniform. Rent of the good land 20 to 24 liv. (18s. 5d.); of the inferior 14 liv. (12s.) Price 350 to 600 liv. The notes of the produce of wheat are not equally uniform; at Denainvilliers ſix to eight ſacks, each 250 lb. this is thirty buſhels an acre; oats four to ten ſacks. At Malſherbs they aſſured me that wheat has been known, not uncommonly, to yield twenty-five mines, each four boiſeau, of 25 lb. this is about forty-three buſhels an acre; but they admitted that fifteen mines were much more common. At La Chapel good crops, eighty to an hundred boiſeau, each 15 lb. or twenty-three buſhels; alſo, that an arpent of wheat is commonly of the value of 90 liv. and oats of 50 liv. Paſſing the vaſt foreſt of Fontainbleau, which of courſe affords nothing to the preſent purpoſe, I renewed the inquiries at Meulan: the ſoil in that vicinity, and for ſome extent of country, conſiſts of two kinds, which are diſtinguiſhed by their productions, wheat and rye;—the wheat land lets at 18 liv. per arpent (15s. 2d.) and ſells at 500 liv. (20l. 18s. 4d.) The rye ſoil lets at 6 liv. (5s. 2d.) and ſells at 220 liv. (8l. 16s.) The arpent the ſame meaſure as hitherto, an hundred perch of twenty feet. The product of wheat is ſix ſeptiers (twenty-three buſhels), and of oats the ſame, that is three double ſeptiers. A late writer ſtates the common produce of ordinary land, in the environs of Paris, at two hundred gerbs or ſheaves per arpent, yielding four ſeptiers *. Paſſed Paris and its neighbourhood, by St. Denis to Liancourt. The rich vale which extends to Clermont, and which I mentioned before, ſome of which is arable, lets ſo high as 33 liv. the mine, or half an arpent of an hundred perch, of twenty-two feet, or 48,400 feet; this is 46s. Engliſh money and meaſure: much, however, is at 25s. or 35s. the acre, and 18 liv. more com-

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* *Correſpondence rurale*, par M. Bretonniere. Tom. ii. p. 86.

mon; poor hills 3 to 5 liv. The wheat produce of theſe fine lands was ſtated to me at ſixteen to eighteen quintals (hundred pounds), ſeventeen are equal to twenty-four one-half buſhels an acre; but I know not how to think it poſſible that ſuch a rent ſhould be paid for lands which give no better produce, and yet the wretched appearance of the crops of ſpring corn late in autumn would ſeem to juſtify the calculation. Oats, they ſay, produce on an average fourteen quintals, which is the crop from land of half the value in England. The price of good arable in general 800 to 1000 liv. equal to 31l. 10s. an acre; but the beſt is higher. Eſtates pay 2½ to 3½ per cent. net; and conſiderable purchaſes, not being ſold with equal eaſe, yield ſomething more. This fertile vale paſſes Clermont, in the way to Beauvais, for at Brane I found land letting at 30 liv. and at Beauvais gardens at 80 liv. the mine; but there the chalk hills take up much of the country. From that place to Pontoiſe the features continue juſt the ſame: the hills ſand ſtone loams, that let at 8 liv. the arpent of an hundred perch, of twenty feet, equal to 6s. 10d. the acre; but good loams at Marenne 16 to 20 liv. (20 liv. is 16s. 9d.) and produce ſix ſeptiers of wheat (twenty-three buſhels). At Commerle the ſoil is better; the hills let at 12 liv. and much good land up to 30 liv. (1l. 5s. 1d.) where wheat alſo yields ſix ſeptiers and oats eight. The price per arpent in this line is commonly 400 to 500 liv. (the latter 20l. 18s. 9d.); but near Pontoiſe there are lands that riſe to 800 liv. at 600 liv. it is 25l. 2s. 6d. Returning to Paris, I took the road to Soiſſons, where is a continued line of noble ſandy loams in this rich diſtrict. From the capital to Dugny rents are 40 liv. for the Paris arpent, or 2l. 1s. 7d. and ſells at 1200 to 1300 liv. or 64l. 18s. 10d. At Dugny it lets at 24 liv. equal to 1l. 5s. To Louvres and Dammertin it ſinks to 20 liv. or 1l. 9½d. and ſells at 700 liv. (35l. 19s.) At the latter place the meaſure changes to one hundred perch at twenty-two feet. Rents there 32 liv. or 1l. 2s. 4d. and the price 1000 liv. equal to 35l. Here wheat produces ſeven ſeptiers, which is twenty-four one-half buſhels: not a good average crop for ſuch a truly fertile ſoil, fallowed and receiving all the dung. They made a great boaſt of wheat riſing ſometimes ſo high as twelve ſeptiers, or forty-two buſhels: oats produce twelve ſacks. At Nanteuil rents are 20 liv. equal to 13s. 2d. The price 5 to 600 liv. or 19l. 4s. 3d. and the product ſix ſeptiers, or twenty-one buſhels. Oats eight ſeptiers. In the way to Villers Coterets rent ſinks to 15 liv. or 9s. 10½d.; and price to 300 liv. (10l. 3s. 8d.); and wheat to five ſeptiers, (ſeventeen one-half buſhels.) At Soiſſons rent 15 liv. price 400 liv. and product five ſeptiers. To Coucy, hill and vale, one with another, rent 12 liv. and price 350 liv. At St. Gobin rent 12 to 15 liv.

Picardy.

At La Fere re-enter Picardy, but do not here meet with the arpent of the province. The meaſure eighty verge of twenty-two feet, 38,720 feet. Variations of of meaſure now occur at almoſt every town. At St. Quintin they reckon by the ſeptier of land being eighty verge of twenty-four feet, 46,080 feet; this ſpace ſells for 500 to 600 liv. or 20l. 1s. 0½d. What throws great perplexity into theſe inquiries here, is the payment or the reckoning of rent by corn. Thus they pay here four to ſeven ſeptiers of wheat, each 60 lb. and four of them making a ſack, as rent for each ſeptier of land. Suppoſe wheat, as at preſent, 20 liv. the ſack, it is 5 liv. the ſeptier, and if ſix are paid it is 30 liv. the ſeptier. In ſome caſes, but not all, this rent frees the land for the three years courſe of, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn; in which caſe the 30 liv. become 10 liv. At La Belle Angloiſe the rent is three ſeptiers of wheat per ſeptier of land. The product twelve ſeptiers on bad land, and twenty on good. On a farm of eight hundred ſeptiers thirty-five horſes are kept; on another, of four hundred ſeptiers, there are twenty. This evidently makes the meaſure about an arpent, as well as the price noted above, and agrees alſo with the produce; hence the St. Quintin meaſure continues here of 46,080 feet,—but the ſeptier of wheat cannot be the quantity of ſeed for a ſeptier of land, which is uncommon. From hence to Cambray, the ſeptier of land produces, on an average, ſix ſacks of wheat, worth now 22 liv. the ſack. And the rent is five ſeptiers of both ſorts of corn; this appears to be five ſeptiers of wheat, or at 5½ or 27½ liv. and five of oats, which, at 10 ſols the Paris boiſeau, the preſent, price is 1 liv. 7*ſ.* the ſeptier, or for five 6 liv. 15*ſ.* in all 34 liv. five for three years, which is 11 liv. 8*ſ.* per annum; a rent very inadequate to the goodneſs of the ſoil and its product.

Flanders.

In the way from Cambray to Valenciennes, enter this celebrated province, which, among the French themſelves, has the reputation of being the beſt cultivated in the kingdom. The difficulties, however, of gaining intelligence increaſed every ſtep, for not one farmer in twenty ſpeaks French; and all the way to Valenciennes, the confuſion of meaſures, both of land and corn, makes the utmoſt circumſpection neceſſary. The manco of land is ſown with the manco of ſeed wheat, which weighs 80lb. being one-third of a Paris ſeptier; the preſent price is 7 liv. 10*ſ.*—and of a ſack, 22 liv. 10*ſ.* If they ſow as we do, which, from their earlineſs, and the appearance of the young plant, I believe they do, this makes the manco two-thirds of an acre, which agrees very well with the meaſure I took by my eye of a piece, which I was informed contained ſix mancos of land, the rent, I was informed, was five to ſeven mancos of the corn produced, or the value per manco of land, ſix will be 480lb. of wheat, or two ſacks 45 liv.; add 2 ſacks of oats at 5½ liv. it is 56 liv. for three years, or 18 liv. rent per manco, which agrees well enough with the quality of the ſoil, and other circumſtances of the country; it is 23s. 7¼d. per acre. For the beſt land, the rent riſes to eight manco of produce, this makes 1l. 11s. 6d. Between Bouchaine and Valenciennes, end the open fields, which have travelled with me, more or leſs, all the way from Orleans. After Valenciennes, the country is incloſed; here alſo is a line of diviſion in another reſpect. The farms in the open country are generally large; but in the rich deep low vale of Flanders, they are ſmall, and much in the hands of little proprietors. A fourth diſtinction alſo is in the huſbandry; from Orleans, nearly to Valenciennes, the courſe is every where ſimilar,—1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn. But in Flanders the land is cropped every year. All theſe circumſtances are ſufficient to prove, that near Bouchaine is the agricultural diviſion between French and Flemiſh huſbandry; and it is to be noted, becauſe the fact is curious, yielding much food to thoſe political reflections, which ariſe in the mind on the contemplation of different governments, that Bouchaine ſtands but a few miles on the Auſtrian ſide of the old frontier of the kingdom. Hence the line of diviſion, formed by theſe four agricultural circumſtances mentioned above, and being a real diviſion between good and bad huſbandry, are found pretty exactly to agree with the ancient line of ſeparation of the two ſtates of France and Flanders. The conqueſts of the French, as every one knows, puſhed their preſent dominion much further, but this does not obliterate the old diviſions; and it is moſt curious to ſee, that the merit of huſbandry forms, to this day, a boundary that anſwers not to the political limits of the preſent period, but to ancient ones, forming a line diſtinctly traced between the deſpotiſm of France, which depreſſed agriculture, and the free government of the Burgundian provinces, which cheriſhed and protected it. The diſtinction certainly is not owing to ſoil, for there can hardly be a finer than much the greater part of the vaſt and fertile plain, which reaches, with ſcarcely any interruption, from Flanders nearly to Orleans, a deep mellow friable loam, on a chalk or marl bottom, capable of being applied in all the principles of the Flemiſh huſbandry, but lying under the unprofitable neglect of open fields, and diſgraced with the execrable ſyſtem of fallowing, never found with any degree of regularity, but to the baniſhment of adequate product, profit, and improvement. Paſſing Valenciennes, the flax lands of St. Amand preſent themſelves: they ſpeak of them, on the ſpot, as being the moſt celebrated in Europe,—and the accounts I received at ſeveral towns juſtified the report; but this ſubject being diſtinctly treated, I have only to obſerve, that a quartier of arable land, containing one hundred verge of twenty feet, or 40,000 feet, ſells at 1350 liv. equal to 56l. 10s. 6d. and the rent is 36 liv. for the farm all round per quartier, or 1l. 9s. 9d.—Another account I received, made the average rent of farms 30 liv. or 1l. 6s. 3½d. and the price 1200 liv. (50l. 4s. 6d). The product of wheat twenty-five to thirty-ſix meaſures per quartier, each 50 lb. Thirty ſuch meaſures are equal (as the pound here is nearly the ſame as the Engliſh) to twenty-four buſhels. Not a great produce; but the land is better adapted to flax, than it is to wheat. At Orchies, repeating my enquiries, find, that land is meaſured by the centier, a ſquare of one hundred feet, four of which make a quartier, and four quartiers a bonier. This is therefore the ſame meaſure as at St. Amand's. Rent in common 24 liv. the quartier, equal to 1l. 1s. but ſome at 30 liv. or 1l. 5s. 1d. And the price of land 1200 liv. the quartier, equal to 50l. 6s. Their meaſure of wheat is the boiſeau of 36 to 40lb. four of which make a razier or coup; they ſow a boiſeau of 40 lb. on a centier of land:—this, proportioned to Engliſh meaſure, is 153 lb. to the acre, or about 2½ buſhels. They ſeed, therefore, nearly as we do. On ſo fertile a ſoil, they probably would not ſow ſo much, but for the circumſtance of all their crops ſucceeding ſome other, which will often neceſſarily make their ſeaſon late. In the vicinity of Lille, rents are 36 liv. the quartier, or 1l. 10s. 2¼d. Some not more than 24 liv. (1l. 1s. 1d.) The price 1200 liv. (50l. 6s.) To Bailleul, rent 24 liv. and price 3120 liv. the bonier, or 780 the quartier, or 32l. 13s. 3d. To Montcaſſel, ſoil and huſbandry both decline; the latter circumſtance is remarkable. That excellent management I have admired ſo much in this province on the richeſt ſoils, ſhould not extend, with proper variations, to the poorer, ſeems to indicate, that the general fact of the whole kingdom of France, extends, in ſome meaſure, even hither. Is the ſame fact found in the Auſtrian Flanders?—I ſhall always conſider myſelf as ignorant in huſbandry, till I have well viewed theſe provinces. In this line, from Lille to Montcaſſel, there is a great deal of land, which does not let for more than 12 to 15 liv. the quartier, or 11s. 3¼d.—To Berg I was informed, that cuſtom has ſubſtituted a meaſure under the ſame denomination but one-fifth larger than what we have hitherto been guided by. Land ſells at 900 liv. or 30l. 2s. 8½d.—rent 26 florins of 25*ſ.* or 1l. 7s. 7½d.——Here finiſhed the notes of this journey; and as, in the following, I did not paſs into Flanders, I ſhall make one or two obſervations appropriated to that province. In the following notes, the rent and the price were both minuted.

Price	1350 liv.	—	Rent	36 liv.
	1200	—		30
	1200	—		30
	1200	—		36
	780	—		24
	5730	—		156

This proportion is ſcarcely 2¾ per cent. It is then to be conſidered, that the landlord has his own taxes to pay out of this, when, if he ſtates his account, he probably will not receive more than two per cent. on his capital. This I attribute to the number of ſmall properties, and the conſequent paſſion of the people to become proprietors. They are induced to give more for land than it is worth, and thus raiſe the price of that of all the country. The whole province is full of rich manufacturing and commercial towns; many perſons in theſe are always ready to inveſt their ſavings in land, and to retire to the cultivation of it, circumſtances which ought neceſſarily to have the effect of raiſing the price beyond the proportion of the rent. In the minutes of produce, there does not appear ſo great a ſuperiority over other provinces, as the ſoil and excellent huſbandry ſeem to imply; but it is to be remembered, that in other parts of the kingdom, a year's fallow, two years rent, and all the dung of the farm go for wheat, which makes a moderate crop in Flanders yield more net profit to the farmer, than three larger crops in Picardy, or the Pays de Beauce, afford to the cultivators of thoſe diſtricts. Wheat is not here the only dependence; flax and cole-ſeed excel it: and beans, carrots, turnips, and a variety of products, receive the farmer's attention, ſufficiently to cover the whole country with cultivation every year: and where this is not the caſe, aſſuredly the products generally taken, and with them the net profit, will be much inferior. The ſecond journey began in the ſame rich diſtrict, by paſſing from Calais to St. Omers.

Picardy.

At Recouſſe, the price of the pooreſt land is 200 to 300 liv. the arpent of one hundred perch, of eighteen feet, or 12l. 19s. 9d.; but the beſt riſes to 1000 liv. or 51l. 19s. 1d. and ſuch lets at 30 liv.—In general rents are 15 to 20 liv. equal to 18s. 2d. the price proportioned. A good crop of wheat, on good land, riſes to ſeven ſeptiers per arpent, and is to be conſidered as extraordinary; common crops four one-half ſeptiers, or twenty-three buſhels. Beans yield eight ſeptiers, or forty-one buſhels; and oats produce eight to ten. It is plain, that this vicinity, on the borders of Artois, partakes more of that province than the miſerable fallowing of Picardy.

Artois.

To St. Omers, price 800 liv. in the vale, and 600 liv. on the hills; rents in the vale 15 to 18 liv.—and on the hills 12 liv.—Oats yield ſixteen raziers, each 120lb. of wheat. Near Aire, the price of the beſt land 1500 liv.; rent 30 liv. and ſome even to 36 liv. But much ſold at 600 liv. and from that price to 1000 liv. Lilliers to Bethune, an Artois meaſure of good wheat is worth 200 liv. but this is not general. To Doulens, price 600 liv.; and rent 12 liv.—Here we re-enter

Picardy.

At Beauval, the price per journal is 700 liv. (25l. 19s.) Good wheat produces ten raziers of 180lb. (thirty-one buſhels). In paſſing from Poix to Aumale, the chalk land ſells at 240 liv. (12l. 9s. 4d.) Better lands 500 liv. (25l. 19s. 6d.) and the rent 16 liv. (16s. 7½d.)

Normandy.

Normandy.

Near Aumale enter this province, where the meaſure of land is the acre of an hundred and ſixty perch, of twenty feet, or 64,000 feet. Arable here ſells at 800 liv. (21l.); rent, 24 liv. to 30 liv. (14s. 10½d.) Wheat produces to the value of 100 liv. to 120 liv, (2l. 12s. 10d.) Oats, 60 liv. to 70 liv. (1l. 12s. 3d.) In paſſing from Neufchatel to Rouen, price of good arable, 700 to 800 liv. (19l. 13s. 8d.) Open fields, 400 liv. (10l. 10s.) About Rouen, much at 40 liv. (1l. 1s.) and price 1200 liv. (31l. 10s.) Eſtates in Normandy, pay 3 per cent.—From Rouen croſs the Pays de Caux to Havre. At Yvetot, price 1000 liv. (26l. 5s.) and rent 35 to 40 liv. (19s. 7½d.) At La Botte, rents riſe from 30 to 50 liv. (1l. 1s.) But at Havre, where I had opportunities of being very well informed, I underſtood that the whole Pays de Caux, on an average, let at 50 liv. (1l 4s. 3d.) that the taxes deducted 10 liv. (5s. 3d.); and that the net rent was, to the landlord, 40 liv. (1l. 1s.) the price 1200 liv. (31l. 10s.) conſequently, making about 2½ per cent. The produce of wheat, upon theſe noble ſoils, is not more than thirty to forty boiſeau, of 50lb. per acre (thirty is ſixteen buſhel) and forty-five or fifty a large crop. Of Oats, they get fifty ſuch boiſeau. Shameful products! This for the great maſs of the country, here and there are to be found crops ſomething better. I muſt, upon this, obſerve, that the whole Pays de Caux is a manufacturing country; the properties uſually ſmall; and that farming is but a ſecondary purſuit to the cotton fabric, which ſpreads over the whole of it. Wherever this is the caſe, we may take for granted, that land ſells much above its value; for there is a competition to get it, that ariſes from views diſtinct from the produce which it is expected to yield. And we may alſo be equally aſſured that, in ſuch caſes, the ſoil is badly cultivated, and produces little, on compariſon with what mere farmers would make it do. There wants no inquiries into products in the Pays de Caux; the appearance of moſt I ſaw was miſerable, and ſuch as proved the land to be in an execrable ſyſtem of management; yet was this the country to which ſeveral gentlemen at Paris referred me for examining the immenſe benefits to agriculture, from manufactures ſpreading over a whole country, but of this queſtion more in another place. I will only obſerve here, that wherever this effect takes place every poſſible effort ſhould be applied to convert the whole country to graſs, in which ſtate even manufactures can hardly hurt it; and let it always be kept in mind, that it is not the price, but the product of land, that a politician ſhould regard. Croſſing the Seine at Havre, and paſſing from Honfleur to Pont au de Mer, rents are from 20 to 40 liv. (13s. 1½d.) Enter here the rich paſturages, or grazing lands, of the Pays d'Auge, of which the valley of Corbon is the moſt famous, and claſſes with the fineſt in the world; the beſt here ſell at 2000 to 3000 liv. (54l. 13s. 9d.); let at 70 to 100 liv. (1l. 17s. 2½d.); the price of others, not equally good, 1200 liv. (26l. 5s.) and to 1500 liv. (32l. 16s. 3d.); on the hill ſides there are ſome at the ſame price of 1500 liv. and that let at 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10½d.); woods here ſell at not more than 600 liv. (13l. 2s. 6d.) Examine a paſture, that was ſold at 3000 liv. (65l. 12s. 6d.), in the way from Liſieux to Caen. In the valley of Corbon, reckoned to contain the richeſt paſturages of Normandy, they have been ſold ſo high as 4000 liv. (87l. 10s.), which were rented at 200 liv. (4l. 7s. 6d.), theſe prices of the acre, meaſured by the perch of twenty-two feet: ſome confuſion, however, is always found in reports, owing to their uſing alſo the perch of twenty-four feet, which gives 92,160 feet in an acre; if attention is not paid to this variety of the Norman acres, errors may be the conſequence. Rent of the arable land, for ſome miles from Liſieux, 30 liv. to 50 liv. (17s. 6d.) Caen to Falaiſe, rent 20 liv. to 40 liv. average 25 liv. (10s. 11¼d.). To Argentan rent 35 liv. (15s. 2d.); they ſow five boiſeau of wheat, each 40lb. equal to 110lb. Engliſh per acre, and they reap fifty ſuch (18 buſhels) an acre. Eſtates pay four per cent being now, 1788, at 24 years purchaſe. Woods in general through Normandy yield 20 liv. but theſe, I believe, are meaſured by the national, and not by the provincial meaſure. About Iſigny the ſalt marſhes let at 100 liv. (2l. 3s. 9d.); arable 50 to 60 liv. (1l. 4s. 3½d.). And to Carentan the marſhes are 40 liv. the verge of 40 perch, of 24 feet, (2l. 18s. 4d.), ſome ſo high as 60 liv. (4l. 7s. 6d.) At that place rent 40 to 50 liv. (3l. 5s. 7½d.), but much at 30 to 40 liv. (2l. 11s. ¼d.) If a farm in this vicinity coſts 10,000 liv. it will commonly let at 400 liv.; the price of arable 700 liv. (30l. 12s. 6d.) At Nonant come again to the common Norman acre, arable ſells at 800 liv. (17l. 10s.) The rent of which is 40 liv. (17s. 6d.); but in general the price is 500 to 600 liv. (12l. 7½d.); paſturage ſells at 1200 to 1500 liv. (29l. 10s. 7½d.) Again entering this great province from Maine at Leſſiniole wheat produces 20 to 40 boiſeau of 60 lb. (16½ buſhels.) In the vicinity of Bernay, there is ſome of the fineſt arable land to be ſeen in the world, which lets at the low rent of 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10½d.) The produce of wheat on it 250 to 300 gerbs of ſix per boiſeau of 90lb. (37 buſhels); but not ſo high on an average. At Brionne, the rent of fine arable is 60 liv. (1l. 6s. 3d.) And here alſo wheat has yielded ſo high as 45 to 50 boiſeau, which equals the Bernay crops. It is to be noted, that theſe rents are thoſe of farms on an average of all their lands, ſome of which are not equal to thoſe noble ſoils, which hardly have an equal. Near Louviers, the rich arable vale lets at 50 liv. (1l. 1s. 10d.) to 80 liv. (1l. 15s.) Paſſing the poor lands to Rouen, and by the chalk hills to Vernon, croſs the country to La Roche Guyon, where we come once more to the arpent de Paris; good arable ſells at 600 liv. (31l. 3s. 4d.) but in general, at 400 liv. the rent 20 liv. (1l. 9½d.) and eſtates pay in common 3 to 3½ per cent. In the rich plain of Magny, the rent is 20 liv. and the product of wheat, on the beſt land, riſes, in a good year, to eight ſeptiers of 240 lb. but in common ſix (thirty-one buſhels) on good land. Return to Rouen, and again croſs the Pays de Caux to Dieppe, having my former intelligence confirmed in every particular concerning the rent and price of land in that celebrated diſtrict. And as I here quit Normandy, I may, in general, obſerve, on that noble territory, which is conſiderable enough for a kingdom, rather than a province, that its character, for huſbandry, is very much miſtaken in France: before I viewed Normandy, I heard it repreſented as a very finely cultivated province. Nothing too great can be ſaid of the rich paſturages which are applied in fattening bullocks to the higheſt advantage, except in the article of the breed of the ſheep that are found amongſt the cattle. They ought to be large, and bearing long combing wool; except this point, their herbages, as they call them, are very well managed, and no want of capital appearing among them. But as to arable land, I did not ſee a well cultivated acre in the whole province. You every where find either a dead and uſeleſs fallow, or elſe the fields ſo neglected, run out, and covered with weeds, that there can be no crop proportioned to the ſoil. A finer ſoil, than this province in general poſſeſſes, can hardly be ſeen, and would yield a very different product from what is found on it at preſent. The beſt lands, ſays Monſ. Paucton *, in Normandy, yield but a little above ſix fold; the leſs good, or middling, but five, and the greateſt part only four fold.

Iſle of France.

In my third journey, I entered ground new to me, in paſſing from Paris to Guignes. About that place rents are 15 to 20 liv. the arpent de Paris (18s. 3d.) At Nangis, the beſt arable is 15 liv. (15s. 8½d.); middling 12 liv. and the worſt 8 liv. Wheat produces, upon the beſt, five ſeptiers, or twenty-five buſhels in a good year; that of the middling land four ſeptiers; and of the worſt three. From Columiers to Meaux rent 20 liv. (1l. 9½d.) At that diſtrict, and Neufmoutier, they meaſure by the perch, of twenty-two feet, or the arpent de la France. Rent 40 liv. (1l. 8s.) for great tracks together, and for ſmall ones 50 liv. and even to 60 liv. (2l. 2s.): and I heard that ſome pieces have reached 100 liv. (3l. 10s.) the higheſt rent I have heard of in France for arable land; the ſoil, however, is amongſt the fineſt to be met with in the world. Such of theſe ſoils, as let commonly at 40 liv. ſell for 15 or 1600 liv. (54l. 4s. 11¾d.) In regard to products, wheat, on the beſt land, gives ten ſeptiers, (35 buſhels), and fifteen are known † (52½ buſhels). But the common produce is ſeven, tythe deducted (24½ buſhels), much below what it ought to be on this land, which in England, I am confident, would not give leſs than 32 buſhels on an average, without any fallowing. I eſtimate the crops I viewed on the farm of Monſ. Gibert at 36 buſhels an acre on an average. But as to the ſpring corn all is, ſoil conſidered, miſerable. I ſaw none that would reach forty buſhels an acre; it ought, in a good courſe of crops, to produce eighty.—As here terminate my notes on this noble diſtrict of rich loam, the fineſt plain in Europe, Lombardy only excepted, for all the level of Auſtrian Flanders and Holland are parts of it, I ſhall draw, into one view, the various minutes of rent, price, and product of wheat—it is uſeleſs to name ſpring corn, for it is every where really contemptible, except in Flanders, and there the quantity cultivated is not conſiderable.

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* Metrologie. 4to. 1780. p. 610. The paſſage is a ſtrong confirmation of my notes.

† It is aſſerted, that on the farm of Puiſeux, near Meaux, M. Bernier, farmer, reaped twenty-two two-fifths ſeptiers, or above ſeventy buſhels. *Recherches ſur la Houille d'Engrais.* t. 2. p. 5.

Average *,—Rent, 1l. 3s. 10d. Price, 29l. 13s. 3d. Product of wheat, 23½ buſh.

The average of twenty-ſix articles, where both rent and price are noted, is, rent, 1l. 1s. 5d. price, 31l. 5s.

PLAIN OF THE GARONNE.

This diſtrict, though of no ſuch extent as the former, is one of the richeſt in the world. The ſoil is very fine, but not equal, I am inclined to think, to the deep loams of Bernay, Meaux, and Flanders. In climate, however, it far exceeds the northern territory. This is ſo ſuperior, that the products of every kind are much more exuberant, and more valuable, even on inferior ſoils; and the tracks which, in the north of France, would be under ſheep-walk or wood, are here covered with vines, that yield as rich crops as the moſt fertile ſpots of the vales themſelves. As I treat of that branch of culture in a ſeparate chapter, no notice is taken of it in this; a point eſſential for the reader to have in his contemplation, as he examines the ſums here minuted.

Quercy.

The meaſure of land is the cartonat, which contains 19,100 feet. In paſſing from Creiſſenſac to Souillac, meadow lets at 30 liv. (2l. 12s. 6d.); the price of arable 400 liv. (35l.) and the rent 10 liv. (17s. 6d.) Advancing to the Dordogne the cartonat changes its contents to 30,000 feet; rent of arable here 10 liv. (11s. 3d.) and ſome higher. At Pellecoy they reckon by the ſeſterée, which ſells from 100 to 300 liv. but meadows in vallies up to 1200 liv. At Cauſſade the rent of a cartonat is a quartier of wheat, of 150 lb.; reckoning wheat at 20 liv. the ſeptier of 240 lb. this is 12½ liv. (13s. 9d.) To Montauban, we heard of the arpent once more, though not the common meaſure of the country. That of an hundred perch, of twenty-two feet, ſells from 800 to 1000 liv. (31l. 10s.) and the rent of ſuch land is 35 to 40 liv. (1l. 6s. 2½d.) At Pompinion, the price of ordinary land 400 liv. (14l. 8s.); but of rich 800 liv. (28l. 16s.) From thence to Tolouſe, I paſſed through the fineſt plain of wheat I have ever beheld, the ſpace at many views very conſiderable, and promiſing to the eye to produce full five quarters Engliſh per acre on an average. From Tolouſe to Nohe, an arpent 400 liv. (14l. 18s.) At Ourooze meadows 600 liv. the journal; ſome arable ſo low as 100 liv. In returning from the Pyrenees northwards, I entered this rich diſtrict again between Fleuran and Leitour, and here met with a new meaſure, the cuzan, which ſells at 1000 to 1200 liv.—and there are that riſe to 3000 liv. Near Leitour, the cuzan ſells for 3200 liv. Towards Eſtafort, they meaſure land by the ſack, being the quantity ſown with a ſack of wheat of 145 lb. good land to 600 liv. The vale from Eſtafort to Port de Leyrac, contains much admirable land. It ſells at 3000 liv. the carterée. I was much perplexed to diſcover the contents of the carterée, and eſpecially as they are not regular in the quantity of ſeed, ſowing in ſome places two quartiers or ſacks, each of 145 lb. and in others only 1½: I am however, from comparing the various circumſtances with M. Paucton's meaſure of Agen, in this immediate vicinity, inclined to calculate the carterée at 70,000 feet, at that meaſure 3000 liv. is 72l. 5s. 9d. Wheat produces 33 ſacks of 145 lb. on the beſt land, and in a good year, (40 buſhels). We were ſhewn a field that had produced 48 ſacks (57½ buſhels). In this reduction, I attend to the weight of the country, which is here not *poid de marc*, but *poid de table*. In the vicinity of Agen, the common price is 2000 liv. (48l. 4s. 2d.) The product of wheat is 30 ſacks (36 buſhels.) Hemp yields ten quintals on the ſame carterée, at 40 liv. the quintal. Rye land, of which there is ſome on the hills, ſells at 1000 liv. (24l. 2s. 1d.) At Port St. Marie, common price 2000 liv. (48l. 4s. 2d.) At Aguillon the price of the beſt land 4000 liv. (96l. 8s. 4d.) much at 3000 liv. (72l. 5s. 9d.) Wheat here yields twenty for one of the ſeed. I was ſhewn a ſmall field, that was twice ſold for 3000 liv. I ſtepped it carefully, and made it 3600 ſquare yards, which aſcertains the price per Engliſh acre to be (155l. 17s. 3½d.); but it is cloſe to the town, though never uſed for a garden. The ſame piece has often produced in wheat twenty ſacks of 125 lb. this is forty-nine buſhels. It is remarkable, that they ſow but one-third of a ſack on it, the produce being ſixty for one. It is under a buſhel an acre Engliſh. At Tonneins the price of a journal, which, by Mr. Paucton, is to the arpent as 0,9516 to 1,0000, is 1000 to 1200 liv. (80l. 4s. 2d.) To La Motte Landron, the very worſt land in the country bears the price of 400 liv. the journal (20l. 6d.) In one ſtage farther we are plagued with a new meaſure, as it has been ſo often in this diſtrict, it is here 150 perch of 15 feet, or 33,750 feet. The general rate is 1000 liv. (50l.) and much riſes to 1500 liv. (75l.) They ſow this meaſure with a ſack of 140 lb. of wheat, which is about 2½ buſhels: the product from 16 to 20 ſacks (43 buſhels). They plough one of theſe journals in a day with a pair of oxen. Advancing toward Langon, the pooreſt land is 500 liv. (25l.) In general from 1000 to 1500 liv. (62l. 10s.) They ſow a ſack per journal, and reap twenty. At Caſtres the price of a journal, of thirty toiſes by ſeven, is 300 liv. (56l. 15s. 7½d.) And paſſing Bourdeaux and the Garonne, in the way to Cubſac, we find the journal changed again; it is to the arpent of France as 0,6218 is to 1,0000; the price of arable 500 liv. (27l. 17s. 2d.) Wheat produces eight ſacks of 180 lb. each (31 buſhels.) They ſow three-fourths of a ſack. At Cavignac rich land ſells at 1600 liv. (89l. 4s. 11½d.) but they have alſo ſome ſo bad as to be worth no more than 100 liv. (5l. 11s. 6¾d.) From hence we enter another diſtrict, and it will not be improper to pauſe for a moment, and review the intelligence received in this region of uncommon fertillity; premiſing, however, that the principal feature of the whole is vines, which do not come into the preſent enquiry, but add immenſely to the products, rendering the inferior ſoils almoſt equal to the beſt.——Average,—Price, 51l. 10s. Product, 37 buſhels *.

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* The articles of 4l. 7s. 6d. and 80l. 4s. 2d. not included.

It is to be obſerved, that the reaſon why a money rent is ſo ſeldom minuted, ariſes from the land being generally at half produce, conſequently no rent in money can be aſcertained; but this is not the ſole reaſon, it reſults alſo from ſmall properties being very numerous in the vicinity of the Garonne, to which circumſtance we muſt have recourſe for explaining ſome of theſe prices. Land always ſells beyond its value where there is much competition for ſmall parcels of it, as we have found in other diſtricts, and the fact will often occur. From the prices at which theſe lands ſell, their prodigious fertility may be imagined. At Aguillon I was aſſured, that they have many fields that have produced what I calculated on the ſpot to be equal to 9l. ſterling per acre in wheat, and 15l. in hemp, yielding no other crop but thoſe valuable ones in the rotation, 1, hemp; 2, wheat. If the average of the twelve minutes from Port de Leyrac to Caſtres be taken, it amounts to 70l. an acre, for a line of between fifty and ſixty miles. I am inclined to think that the richeſt ride and moſt flouriſhing country in France, for the eye of a traveller to command, as he keeps the great road, is that from Bourdeaux to Montauban and Toulouſe. Parting from the noble city of Bourdeaux, equalled by very few in the world for commerce and beauty, the magnificent river Garonne, alive with inland trade; one of the moſt fertile vales in Europe; the hills covered with the moſt productive vineyards to be met with perhaps in the world; the towns frequent and opulent; the whole country an inceſſant village, and all gilt and invigorated by a genial ſun. He who has not viewed this animated ſcenery has not ſeen the fineſt thing in France. Flanders, with all its fertility of ſoil, has the foggy climate of the N. and yields a *coup d'œil* every where flat and *ſombre*, nor are her productions, flax excepted, of equal value.

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* Rejecting the articles of 155l. 17s. 3d. and 5l. 11s. 6d. and alſo the produce of 57½ buſhels.

Plain of Alſace.

I entered this rich plain at Wiltenheim, where the meaſure of land is one hundred verge, at twenty-two feet; the price from 1500 to 2000 liv. (61l. 5s.) Good wheat crops twelve ſacks of 190 lb. (thirty-three buſhels). Poppies are much cultivated here as well as in Flanders and Artois; they yield ſix ſacks, at 30 liv. a ſack (6l. 6s.) The wheat of the year through this country I ſhould gueſs, from its appearance, at three and a half quarters per acre, and the barley at five. From hence to Straſbourg is by one of the richeſt and beſt cultivated plains to be ſeen, crouded with crops in endleſs and quick ſucceſſion. Land not immediately contiguous to that city, deſigned for gardens, but not planted, ſells at 2000 liv. the arpent of 24,000 feet (138l. 5s. 1d.) Arable land in general, and it appears to be almoſt all ſo, 600 to 800 liv. (48l. 9s. 9½d.); on ſuch land wheat yields four ſacks of 180 lb. (20 buſhels) which is inadequate to the ſoil; barley and beans ſix ſacks. They ſow 60 lb. of wheat (100 lb.), and half that quantity, by meaſure, of beans. Eſtates here, as in all the rich diſtricts where the diviſion of property is great, pay but little intereſt for money, in general 2½ to 3 per cent. About Benfelt the price of land riſes to 1200 liv. (58l. 6s. 8d.) and lets at 24 liv. on an average (1l. 3s. 4d.), but this is farms through, one with another. Eſtates pay no more than 2½ per cent. At Scheleſtadt the average price of arable is 300 liv. (14l. 11s. 8d.), but there are ſome pieces that riſe to 1000 liv. (48l. 12s. 2½d.) Wheat yields five ſacks of 190 lb. (twenty-five buſhels); barley ſix; beans ſix to eight; and maiz five to ſix. Upon the whole, this plain of Alſace, though the ſoil is exceedingly fertile, and the cultivation very excellent, is not ſo productive, with a much better climate, as Flanders, and not comparable to the Garonne; it is, however, proper to obſerve, that I was not in the part of the province where hemp is a principal article of culture, for which it is famous; there I ſhould probably have found the lands more productive. On an average good land may be reckoned at 50l. per acre.

Plain of Limagne.

Amidſt the mountains of the province of Auvergne, which are moſtly volcanic, there is a ſmall but level plain, which ſome of the French naturaliſts think was once a lake, and ſome, who ſeem to have more probability in their ſuppoſition, that it is the gift of the river Allier that runs through it, having waſhed from the great region of mountains, from which itſelf and its kindred ſtreams flow, that rich mud or ſediment of which this plain, to a conſiderable depth, is formed. I was ſhewn ſome places where the river ſeemed, even to the eye, to be in the act of raiſing its bed by depoſitions of mud, which in the memory of man has formed ſolid ground. It is not wonderful that a plain of this nature and origin ſhould be of extraordinary fertility; it was repreſented to me as by far the moſt fertile diſtrict in all France, and it will remain a queſtion whether the idea be not a juſt one. I entered this beautiful plain at Riom, from whence to Montferrand arable ſells from 1000 to 1200 liv. the ſepterée of eight hundred toiſes (64l. 3s. 4d.); ſome lands are known to have been ſold even for 4000 liv.; and to Clermont the average of arable lands 800 liv. (46l. 13s. 4d), much riſing higher. Meadows near Clermont ſell to 1500 liv. the arpent of ſix hundred toiſes (116l. 13s. 4d.); the medium of meadows is 1200 liv. (98l. 6s. 8d.); the rent 50 liv. (3l. 17s. 9½d.) and that of arable 30 to 40 liv. (2l. 14s. 7½d.) The produce of wheat from ſeven to ten times the ſeed, which, for the land, is nothing at all; but I met afterwards with ſomething of an explanation, that the beſt lands are too rich for that grain, giving little beſide ſtraw; for which reaſon they ſow rye on the beſt ſoils, and wheat only on the worſt:—barley gives fifteen ſeeds. From Vertaiſon to Chauriet price 2400 liv. for eight hundred toiſes (140l. 12s.) At Izoire and its vicinity good arable 800 liv. the ſepterée of eight cartonats, each one hundred and fifty toiſes, 43,200 feet (31l. 2s. 4d.); bad arable 400 liv. (15l. 11s. 1½d.); watered gardens and hemp grounds 2000 liv. (79l. 5s. 9½d.); watered meadows 1200 liv. (46l. 13s. 5½d.) but theſe, if alſo planted with apples and well incloſed, will yield 2000 to 3000 liv. (97l. 12s. 3d.) The ſeptier of wheat is eight cartonats, each of 32 lb.; of theſe they ſow ſix of wheat (173 lb.) and they gain forty-eight (23 buſhels); of rye they ſow ſix cartonats alſo, and they gain ſixty (29 buſhels); of barley they ſow eight and get ſixty-four of the ſame meaſures; of oats they ſow eight, and the crop is eighty, (which is about ſeventy-two of ſuch meaſures per acre, or more than thirty-ſix buſhels); and in their tillage they keep eight working oxen to one hundred ſepterées of land. In this plain of Limagne, which, by the way, never repoſes in a fallow, we are to regard the price at which the land ſells. Cultivation is ſo ill underſtood here, and I ſaw ſuch execrable ploughing, that I am clear the products of common crops are not by half, certainly by one-third, equal to what they ought to be, except in caſes of meadow, hemp grounds, gardens, or orchards, in all which the management is excellent, and the produce adequate to the ſoil and culture. The price of the land riſes very high indeed; the beſt arable may be calculated on an average at about 60l. One circumſtance demands particular attention, relative to the Limagne, which is its ſituation being cut off from all immediate connection with the ſea, any inland navigation, or any great city *, or even any conſiderable manufacture, for the fabrics of Auvergne are of no account. It is a circumſtance from which political concluſions may be drawn, that agriculture is here able to ſupport itſelf without

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* I have read of apples being ſent from Auvergne to Paris for ſale; it may be ſo, but the obſervation in the text is little affected by it; they muſt be particular ſorts to ſupply, at a high price, the demand of luxurious conſumption.

the aid of any of thoſe aſſiſtants commonly ſuppoſed to be ſo eſſentially neceſſary to give a value to landed property.

Upon theſe four principal diſtricts of the fertile plains of France, to dwell on general obſervations would be uſeleſs; I ſhall not, however, quit them without remarking the ſimilarity which may be found between them, diſtant and unconnected as they are with relation to each other.

In the chapter of the general produce of France, it appears, that the proportion of theſe plains to each other, is as follows:—Diſtrict of the N. E. 57.—The Garonne 24.—Alſace 2.—The Limagne is not equal to 1.—I mention them here, not to draw an average of the whole, becauſe I do not conceive the *data* to be ample enough for that: but to caution the reader againſt ſuppoſing, that a proportion of the plain of the Garonne, equal to twenty-four in this table, is of the value of 51l. 10s. per acre. My journey was ſo much on the richeſt part of that plain on the river, that the ſoil is, beyond queſtion, ſuperior to what it is on an average, of ſo large an extent as the number twenty-four here marks.—The ſame objection does not hold in relation to the north eaſtern diſtrict, which is more equal: *that* may very generally be averaged at about 30l. an acre: and the *better parts* of the plain of the Garonne, at 51l. 10s. The good land in Alſace at 50l. and in the Limagne at 60l. And when it is conſidered that theſe plains, including the Bas Poitou, amount to twenty-eight millions of acres; that is, to a larger extent, by about a fifth, than is to be found in the kingdoms either of Scotland, Ireland, or Portugal—a fact which muſt neceſſarily give us a very high idea of the natural fertility of this noble kingdom, as well as of the internal wealth that ſupports ſuch immenſe tracks of land, at ſo vaſt a price.

DISTRICT OF HEATH.

It is abſolutely neceſſary, to explain one circumſtance to the reader, without which, he would form a very erroneous judgment from the following notes:—The title of *heath* is not unaptly given to the countries I now treat of. The quantity of actual waſte, producing heath or ling *(erica vulgaris)*, is immenſe; and, independent of this, the general aſpect of the country preſents a widely ſpreading gloomy view from vaſt tracks of cultivated lands having been exhauſted and abandoned to ſpontaneous growths. In ſuch countries, the real average rent, or value, or produce, is not to be attained. Converſe with any perſon on the topics of agriculture, and you will always find him referring to the land actually profitable at the preſent time, of which there are every where tracks that never are abandoned, and which bear a value that has nothing in common with the country in general. Sometimes, with difficulty, I got preciſe ideas of the price, &c. of the waſtes, but theſe notes I ſhall give under the head of waſte land, a very important article, and highly deſerving the attention of ſuch as wiſh to cultivate the moſt profitable fields of French agriculture. Normandy, notwithſtanding its general fertility, has a large diſtrict contiguous to the weſtern coaſt, which, though much better than Bretagne, has more reſemblance to it than to the richer parts which we have deſcribed; I therefore unite them here. This diſtrict is entered before Vologne, in the road to Cherbourg. At Carentan, there are ſome rich paſtures, but none afterwards, and a deciſive change of ſoil.—rent 5 to 6 liv. (8s.); but good land to 15 liv. (1l. 1s. 10d.) Carentan to Pery, 5 to 10 liv. (10s. 11½d.) Coutances to Granville 12 liv. (17s. 6d.)

Bretagne.

From thence, in the way to Doll, enter this province. The price of good land 500 or 600 liv. (19l. 12s. 9½d.) the journal of two Norman verge, or 46,080 feet. Bad land, but cultivated, price 300 liv. (10l. 18s. 9d.); the good lets at 25 liv. (18s. 2¼d.); product of wheat 20 boiſeau of 72 lb. (20 buſhels.) From Hedé to Rennes rent of middling land 10 liv. (7s. 4½d.); but ſome riſes to 20 and 30 liv. (18s. 2¼d.); ſells at twenty-five years purchaſe, and pays 5 per cent. At Rennes, and its vicinity, rents, near the town, 50 liv. (1l. 16s. 5d.) At a diſtance commonly about 12 liv. (8s. 9d.) but ſome to 30 liv. (1l. 2s. 1d.) Waſtes, *landes*, to be had for ever at 10*ſ*. Of wheat, they ſow five boiſeau of 40lb. (166lb.) Of buck-wheat, they ſow one one-half boiſeau, and gain thirty-two. At St. Brieux ſpots near the town, of very rich land, ſell at 2000 to 3000 liv. (91l. 10s. 5d.) and let at 80 to 100 liv. (3l. 5s. 7½d.) Wheat, on ſuch land produces up to 90 boiſeau, of 40 lb. (50 buſhels). Price at a diſtance from the town 300 liv. (10l. 18s. 9d.); and lets at 12 liv. (8s. 9d.) At Morlaix improved land lets at 20 to 30 liv. but the rough waſtes are thrown into the bargain. At Breſt I was informed, that the biſhoprics of St. Pol de Leon and Traguer do not, on an average of cultivated land, let at more than 12 to 15 liv. (9s. 7d.); but they have good land that riſes to 20 and 24 liv. (15s. 10d.) Three-fourths of all Bretagne waſte, and half of thoſe biſhoprics, which are the richeſt parts of the province. At Roſporden they have meadows, in their waſte country, that let at 24 liv. (17s. 6d.) and that ſell at 600 or 700 liv. (24l. 13s. 11d.); but large tracks cultivated, that would not yield more than from 100 to 150 liv. (4l. 11s. 1d.) At Quimperl no rent per journal known; farms are taken in the lump, rough, waſte, and good land. In the neighbourhood of Muſilac the beſt improved meadows ſell at 1500 liv. (65l. 12s. 6d.); almoſt incredible in a country where waſtes are to be had at 10*ſ*. capable of yielding ſainfoin and other graſſes. At Auvergnac wheat yields eight ſeptiers of 240lb. (26¼ buſhels); but this is on good land, and a fine crop; average five ſeptiers. Meadow ſells at 1200 liv. (43l. 15s.); but arable not more than 400 liv. Eſtates pay 5 per cent.; and ſome more. Of thirty-nine parts of Bretagne, twenty-four are waſte. Arrive at the great city of Nantes, near which rents are 60 liv. (2l. 3s. 9d.); but at a diſtance 20 to 30 liv. (18s. 3d.) I cannot quit this immenſe province of Bretagne without remarking, that in moſt circumſtances it wears a ſingular aſpect. The products, which are not to be collected ſo much from theſe notes, as from a general idea formed from having viewed it, are contemptible; and the tolerable rent which appears in ſome of theſe minutes, with the immenſe value put upon ſcraps of very good land, as at Brieux, and every where for good meadow are all three equal proofs of the poor and miſerable ſtate in which agriculture is found throughout this province, St. Pol de Leon alone excepted, where are ſome exertions that mark a better ſpirit. But the circumſtance of half a province being waſte, and to be rented for ever at 10*ſ.* a journal, of near five roods Engliſh; which is every where maritime, abounding with ports and commerce, and having in it the the royal ports of Breſt and l'Orient; the great city of Nantes, and the very commercial one of St. Maloes; containing in its boſom one of the greateſt linen manufactures in Europe; enjoying privileges and freedom from taxation beyond any other province; and yet, with all theſe palpable advantages, which ought to give the greateſt activity and vigour, according to received ideas, the whole forms a picture of miſery hardly to be equalled in the whole kingdom, in point of a contemptible culture. The *triſte* and wretched Sologne is, I think, ſuperior. It is neceſſary that this fact ſhould be in the reader's contemplation, while he reflects on the produce, rent, and price of land in Bretagne; but the developement of the circumſtances, that cauſe ſo extraordinary a ſpectacle, will be treated of, when I attempt to explain the political principles that have governed agriculture in France.

Anjou.

There is not much diſtinction between this province and the preceding; the quantity of heath and waſtes is immenſe, but it has not, in the line I travelled, ſo *ſombre* and neglected an appearance. In the neighbourhood of Angers and Mignianne, the meaſures are the arpent of Anjou, which contains an hundred cords of twenty-five feet, or 62,500 feet. But the journal is more commonly uſed, which is eighty of theſe cords, or 50,000 feet. Of wheat, they ſow eight boiſeau of 28lb. (172lb. per acre); and get forty-eight (17 buſhels). At Duretal, rye land ſells at 100 liv. the boiſelée. From thence to Le Mans, there is ſuch a mixture of heaths and waſtes to ſo great an extent, that what I have to offer concerning it will come in more properly under the head of waſte lands.

Gaſcoign.

I ought not to begin the detail of this diſtrict without obſerving, that as a conſiderable part of it is within what may be called the roots of the Pyrenees, which conſiſt of rough tracts of mountain, interſected by rich and cultivated vallies, the prices minuted will have, as in many other caſes, a reference more to the latter than to the former; the generic term, land, will always be applied to thoſe fields in the contemplation of the perſon that ſpeaks; as for waſte mountains it is, when let, thrown into the bargain. Thus prices may run apparently high, and yet the country, taken in general, not a tenth part cultivated. At the famous valley of Campan and near Bagnere they meaſure by the journal of ſeven hundred cannes, each canne eight pann of eight inches. Land in culture ſells on the hills at 300 or 400 liv. (30l. 12s. 6d.); in the country between Bagnere and Lourd the journal of arable ſells at 240 liv. (21l.) Maiz here is worth 40 liv. the journal (3l. 10s.) Such land lets at 15 liv. (1l. 6s. 3d.); and the ſoils that yields and lets at thoſe ſums, ſells at 300 liv. (26l. 5s.) paying 5 per cent. At Leſcu the arpent ſells in the vale at 500 liv. From Pau, in Bearn, to Monen, an arpent that is ſown with four meaſures each of 36 lb. ſells for from 300 to 400 liv.; this may be calculated, without apprehenſion, about an Engliſh acre (15l. 8s. 3d.) From Navareen to Sauveterre the ſame meaſure by ſeed continues; wheat produces forty meaſures, which, if my conjecture is right, equals twenty-four buſhels per acre; in general twenty-ſeven (ſixteen buſhels). Maiz, from half a meaſure of ſeed planted at two feet ſquare, yields ſixty meaſures; the price now, 1787, is 54*ſ.* to 55*ſ.* but in common varies from 18*ſ.* to 30*ſ.* In the vale an arpent ſells at 500 liv. (21l. 17s. 6d.) but near towns to 800 liv. (35l.) From St. Palais to Anſpan there are vaſt fern waſtes, which the communities ſell; afterwards, when cultivated and ſold by the proprietors, the price is about 300 liv. (26l. 5s.) Paſſing Bayonne I met, at St. Vincent's in the Landes, ſome difficulties in aſcertaining what their arpent was. They ſow four meaſures of rye, each of 36 lb. and a pair of good oxen plough two arpents a day, which in this light ſand, and with their double breaſt plough in ridging, agreed well enough with the ſeed rye. At laſt I was ſhewn a garden that contained juſt an arpent; on ſtepping I found it 3366 ſquare yards, whence it appears that their rye is ſown exceedingly thick. Pine land, which is here very bad, ſells at 60 liv. the arpent (3l. 16s. 1d.) It muſt not be imagined from hence that the pine land of the Landes of Bourdeaux ſells in this proportion in general. Vaſt tracks are greatly preferable to theſe, and, if well planted, yield from 10s. to 20s. per acre, and ſell at 10l. to 20l. an acre, but uſually 12l. or 13l. Cultivated land 120 liv. (7l. 12s. 2d.) Maiz yields thirty meaſures per arpent, or forty-three meaſures per acre. The produce of rye the ſame, twenty-ſix buſhels; but this is a great crop. At Tartaſs incloſed and cultivated land ſells at 300 liv. (18l. 18s. 10d.) the beſt at 400 liv. but that is uncommon. At St. Severe 500 liv. (33l. 10s.) It is ever thus; when a country like this is in general waſte, and the cultivated ſpots rich, they ſell them as they would do in diſtricts the whole of which are in culture. About Aire the arpent ſown with

240 lb. of wheat, that is, with two ſacks, each four meaſures of 30 lb. ſells at 1000 liv. If they ſow 150 lb. per acre, this is 27l. 16s. 10d. To Plaiſance at 600 liv. From all which prices of this diſtrict of heath it appears, that the cultivated and improved lands, or thoſe naturally rich and good, have been here in contemplation. But certainly not one-tenth of this line of country is in that ſtate; for the general and predominant features of the whole are waſtes, of which in another chapter.——Average,—Rent, 16s. 3d. Price, 19l. 18s. 4d.

It is to be noted in calculating theſe averages, that I reject the firſt articles of St. Brieux to Muſilac, and the ſecond of Campan; they are too much exceeding the common rates to be admitted, depending on merely local or extraordinary circumſtances; 20l. an acre may, on a general idea, be conſidered as the price of the land in theſe diſtricts that is improved and in regular culture; and when it is recollected that the enormous waſtes are, generally ſpeaking, of as good a ſoil naturally, and by very eaſy and practicable means capable of being made equally productive, and that they are to be hired for ever at 5d. an acre, the ignorance of the people in breaking up and improving uncultivated lands will appear amazing; it is indeed, of all the other branches of agriculture, that which is leaſt underſtood in France. The few notes taken of the year's purchaſe, at which land ſells, give twenty-five. The intereſt for money paid by land, 5 per cent.; and the ratio of the crop of wheat and rye to the ſeed, ſix for one; and laſtly, taking the average of Doll, St. Brieux, Roſporden, and Lourd, being thoſe places where rent and price are both minuted, it is 1l. 7s. rent, and 34l. 11s. 2d. price; the groſs receipt of the landlord therefore does not amount to 5 per cent.

DISTRICT OF MOUNTAIN.

The ſame obſervation is applicable in the preſent caſe; for though the provinces of Rouſſillon, Languedoc, Auvergne, Dauphiné, and Provence are the moſt mountainous in France, yet the great roads lead moſtly along vales; and when they do not, but croſs the higheſt ridges of thoſe mountains, which is the caſe in the Velay and Vivarais, and ſomewhat ſo in Provence, yet when the price of land is demanded, the anſwer from every tongue always refers to appropriated and cultivated ſpots, which probably ſell higher than ſimilar ones would do in the beſt countries. Another circumſtance, in countries where irrigation is well underſtood, is, that the waters of great tracks of mountains being directed over ſmall ones of vallies, to their prodigious improvement, muſt of neceſſity add a value to them, which would groſſly deceive us, if the ſlighteſt general idea was formed from it.

Rouſſillon.

Bellegarde to Perpignan, a meaſure of watered arable ſells for 1200 liv. and lets for 50 liv. Their meaſure is to the arpent de Paris as fifteen to eleven, this therefore is 880 liv. for that arpent (50l. 1s. 10d.), and the rent 1l. 11s. 6d. At Pia watered arable ſells at 1000 liv. (32l. 1s. 3d.); good arable not watered at 600 liv. (19l. 4s. 8d.); the vale not watered 30 liv. rent (18s. 10d.)

Languedoc.

At Cauſſan the ſeſterée of arable land is ſown with 96 lb. of ſeed. Mr. Paucton makes the ſeſterée to the arpent de France, as 0,3979 is to 1,0000, or 19,158 feet; this is 192 lb. per acre. At Beziers I ſaw a farm of 250 ſeſterées, that was ſold for 70,000 liv. or 250 liv. per ſeſterée (21l. 17s. 6d.) At Carcaſſonne the ſeptier of wheat is 150 lb. and they got on good land ſix per ſeſterée, the ſeſterée here being 1024 cannes of eight pans, this makes 25,000 feet; the produce therefore is 23 buſhels. Extraordinary crops riſe to ten ſeptiers. This province bears a much greater character for fertility than it deſerves. Monſ. Aſtruc ſays of it, "Je ne pretens point parler ni du bled ni de la laine: ces deux articles ſont portés dans la Languedoc à peu pres au plus haut point où ils puiſſent aller.*" A pretty reaſon for the natural hiſtorian of a province to ſay no more about them! At Narbonne there is good wool, but the culture of corn there has little merit. Another writer is near the truth when he ſays, "If we except what we call the Plain of Languedoc, the lower grounds, and the low Cevenois, the reſt, which makes half the province, is, of all the countries I know, the moſt ungrateful and the leaſt fertile †."

Auvergne.

At Briude and its vicinity, the ſepterée of mountain land contains 1800 toiſes, and ſells at 50 to 80 liv.; there are 64,800 feet in it, or two arpents of Paris (1l. 13s. 3d.); of middling land cultivated, the ſeptier contains 1600 toiſes, and the price is 1000 liv. (29l. 3s. 7d.); the beſt land meaſures 1400 toiſes, and ſells at 2000 liv. (66l. 14s. 4d.) What a perplexity to have a different meaſure, according to the quality of the ſoil! At a diſtance from the town, good land ſells for 500 liv. (16l. 13s. 7d.); and middling 200 liv. (5l. 16s. 8d.) At Fix the ſepterée contains 1800 toiſes, and the price of good land is 800 liv. but one with another, not more than 400 liv. (10l. 7s. 9d.) Rent 10 liv. and produce 30 liv. conſequently pays only 2½ per cent.; but it is to be recollected, that few will hire land on ſuch elevated ſpots; it is generally in the hands of the proprietors. From hence reach Pradelles, where the meaſure changes again; four cartonats make a journal, and ſell at 300 liv. but bad land down to 30 liv.; ſome near towns riſes to 1000 liv. A man mows, and a pair of oxen ploughs a journal

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[*] *Mem. pour l'Hiſt. Nat. de la Prov. de la Languedoc.* 4to. 1737. Pref.

[†] *Hiſt. Nat. de la Prov. de la Languedoc.* Par M. Genſane. 8vo. 4 tom. 1777. Tom. iv. p. 193.

a day. At Villeneuve de Berg wheat yields four for one of the ſeed, in good years. The meaſure ſells for 400 liv.

Dauphiné.

At Montilimart, the meaſure is the ſepterée, which they ſow with a ſeptier of wheat of 103 lb. ſuppoſing them to ſow, as uſual in the ſouth of France, their crop, which is eight for one, amounts to (23½ buſhels.) Good arable in the vale, that admits watering, ſells at 400 liv. (27l. 19s. 1d.) Not watered 200 liv. (13l. 19s. 6d.); the worſt 150 liv. (10l. 9s. 7d.) Rent of good land in the vale, when let 24 liv. (1l. 13s. 3d.); of the middling 18 liv. and of the bad 10 liv.— Eſtates pay 4 per cent.

Provence.

At Avignon, we meet with the ſame difficulty in diſcovering the meaſure of land accurately as at Montilimart. I muſt therefore take the ſeed for my guide here alſo. The ſalma of wheat weighs 400 lb. but the pound is not the poid de marc; it is to that weight as 0,8375 is to 1,0000, or 477 lb. Their meaſure of land is the ſalma alſo; but it is not to be aſcertained by the ſuppoſition of ſeed. Arable land, near the city, ſells at 1200 to 3000 liv. Wheat yields eight, ten, and twelve for one of the ſeed. Meadows are meaſured by the *eymena*, which ſpace yields a ton of hay. At Lille arable ſells at 400 liv. the *eymena*, if planted with mulberries; if without them 200 liv. and down to 120 liv. Paſs from hence, by the Crau to Aix, where they meaſure by the carterée of 600 cannes,—the canne eight pans; the pan nine inches and three lines, or 21,600 feet. Arable 600 liv. the carterée (47l. 5s.) Land pays 4 per cent. At Tour d'Aigues, their meaſure is the ſomma of 1400 cannes, or 50,400 feet. Arable ſells at 200 to 500 liv. average 400 liv. (13l. 6s. 10d.) Of wheat, they ſow eight pannaux of 32 lb. 256 lb. on good land; but the pound here is the poid de table; theſe make, therefore, only 220 lb. poid de marc. (167 lb.) On bad land, however, they ſow but one-fourth of this quantity, which is a moſt extraordinary circumſtance. A good product is eight for one; a bad one four for one; and the medium of the diſtrict five (14 buſhels), which is a ſad proof of miſerable huſbandry. If, however, the wheat is put in with their hough inſtead of the plough, in which way the ground is ſtirred deeper and better, they get ſeven or eight for one (20 buſhels). The beſt purchaſes do not pay more than 4 per cent. At Marſeilles, the celebrated Abbé Raynal aſſured me, that he had been informed by many agriculturiſts, who well know France, that the whole kingdom does not produce more than 4½ for one of the ſeed, on an average. And on my return from Italy, paſſing near Lyons, I was informed, that that province does not yield more than four for one; and alſo, that the common price of arable land is half that of meadow. And as at this place I am in the neighbourhood of the ſub-province of Breſſe, which is a part of the generality of Dijon, I ſhall add here, from the information of the very ingenious Monſ. Varenne de Fenille, that throughout that province, the meaſure of land is the coupée of 6250 feet, which is ſown with a coupée of wheat of 22lb. the average value of which, for many years, is 2 liv. but on an average of the laſt ten years, at 45*ſ*.—the common product is five for one (12½ buſhels); but maiz yields at leaſt twelve for one. Before I take leave of this diſtrict of mountain, I ſhould obſerve, that by far the greater part of all theſe provinces bears no rent at all, and yields no other produce than what reſults from paſturing cattle in the mountains during the ſummer ſeaſon, the amount of which is very trifling *. Perhaps ſeven-eighths of Languedoc are mountainous; half of Provence or more; three-fourths of Auvergne; and two-thirds of Dauphiné. Theſe immenſe diſtricts of mountain, abound, it is true, with lovely vallies, but their breadth is uſually inconſiderable; nor do the cultivated ſlopes bear any proportion to the parts abſolutely waſte. Theſe vaſt tracks uninclosed, unappropriated, and generally common to the reſpective communities, have no other fixed price than what they ſometimes are ſold for to individuals, which is noted under the head of waſte lands. The value is too ſmall to be an object in this inquiry. The ſeigneurs, who poſſeſs the ſame rights, ſell and fief them at a ſtill cheaper rate. The vicinity of ſuch great tracks of mountains is a cauſe for vale lands ſelling at a much higher price than they otherwiſe would. In France, hay and ſtraw are almoſt the only articles of the winter food of cattle and ſheep. This miſerable œconomy gives a value to meadow-ground, which in a better ſyſtem would probably ſink full half: and for the ſame reaſon arable lands are greatly raiſed in their price. The more cattle the poſſeſſors can keep on the mountains in ſummer, ſo much the more valuable are all cultivated lands.——Average,—Rent, 17s. 7d. Price, 21l. 7s. 7d.

The average thus ſtated is that of land improved and cultivated, and chiefly vales, in this mountainous diſtrict. I may add alſo, that the rate per cent. paid by purchaſes varies from two one-half to four, which are the extremes; the mean may be ſtated at three one-half, perhaps three three-fourths. The product of wheat and rye, proportioned to the ſeed, riſes from four for one, to ten for one, but the latter is in watered vales; ſuch advantages excepted, about four or five for one. Laſtly, let me obſerve, that on ſelecting Rouſſillon, Languedoc, and Dauphiné, articles which have both rent and price minuted, I find the average of them to be, rent 1l. 3d. price 22l. 4d.

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* The beſt mountains in this reſpect, that I heard of, are thoſe that begin at Colmars, and at Barcelonetta, which are covered with a good turf, and in ſummer feed an immenſe number of cattle and ſheep.

DISTRICT OF STONY SOILS.

Loraine.

At St. Menehoud, good arable ſells for 250 to 300 liv. the journal of 21,384 feet (21l. 11s. 4d.); but ſome is ſo low as 10 liv. (15s.) To Braban the ſame price: but near that place, whole farms through, the land of all ſorts included, 80 liv. (6l. 6s.) At Verdun good arable 300 to 500 liv. (31l. 10s.); but upon the hills ſome ſo low as 10 to 20 liv. (1l. 2s. 9d.) At Mar-le-Tours arable 400 liv. (31l. 10s.); and in the way to Metz, where the meaſure changes to 22,575 feet, by one account, and to 480 perch, at eight feet two inches, by another; the latter is 31,680 feet, and they meaſure wheat by the franchar of 42 lb. The uncertainty of the meaſure makes a good deal of intelligence which I received uſeleſs. At Metz, where the meaſure is 22,575 feet, on the beſt land wheat yields 5½ for one, viz. one quartier of ſeed, at 5 liv. 15*ſ.* yields 5½ quartiers, or 31 liv. 12*ſ.*; ſome ſo low as 3½ for one. Arable ſells at 150 liv. (11l. 4s.) Eſtates produce neat 3½ to 4 per cent. and ſell for 24 years purchaſe. At Pont à Mouſſon another meaſure 300 verge of 10 feet, the foot 10 inches, or 16,200 feet. I ſhall enter the intelligence as I received it, but ſome of the rates appear extraordinary; I am not, however, allowed to doubt, as my authority was the beſt the country could afford. Bad arable land in the plain ſells at 300 liv. this is (reducing both meaſure and money, for here 31 liv. make but 24 liv. in France) 24l. 13s.; of a middling quality it ſells at 500 liv. (40l. 12s. 1d.); ſome at 1000 liv. (79l. 12s. 2d.) The beſt wheat produces ſeven quartiers, at 130 lb. but this is uncommon; the general produce is four ſuch quartiers (23 buſhels). One perſon here informed me, that the beſt produce is 10 quartiers, the middling ſeven, and the worſt three; but as this would make the average 40 buſhels, I reject the intelligence, and adhere to what I have noted above. I have been recommended to at leaſt a dozen perſons in France connected nearly with agriculture, who did not know and could not diſcover the meaſure of the place where they lived, if, unfortunately, the arpenteur was abſent, or non-reſident in the town. Rents in the plain from 30 to 50 liv. (3l. 3s. 10d.). Eſtates pay 3 to 3½ per cent. At Nancy the arpent contains 19,360 feet, or 250 toiſes of 10 perch. Arable land ſells at 500 liv. (33l. 17s. 6d.); ſome at 700 liv.; the worſt at 250 liv. (16l. 8s. 9d.) Eſtates ſubject to feudal honorific rights pay 3 to 3½ per cent.; others not ſubject five. At Luneville finding alſo ſome difficulty in aſcertaining the meaſure of land, I ſtepped a piece that was exactly a journal, and found it to contain 1974 yards, or 15,620 French feet. Arable land near good villages ſells at 300 liv. (24l. 17s. 10d.) but more commonly at 124 liv. (10l. 7s. 3d.) A good produce of wheat is three razeau of 180 lb. this, the pound being to the poid de marc as 0,9309 is to 1,0000, equals 23 buſhels; a middling two razeau (15½ buſhels); the worſt 1½ (11½ buſhels). To Haming arable ſells at 100 to 200 liv. the journal (12l. 8s. 11d.), and lets at 10 liv. (8s. 9d.)

Alſace.

To Befort the beſt land 600 liv. but in general arable 250 liv. the journal of 800 toiſes (14l. 11s. 4d.) They ſow this meaſure with four quartiers of wheat, each 42 lb. (224 lb.) produce thirteen to ſixteen quartiers (14½ are 12 buſh.) The common price of the ſack is 16 liv. or for 4, 64 liv. Barley half the value, 32 liv.—total produce, in three years, as the courſe is,—1, fallow,—2, wheat, 3, ſpring corn, 96 liv.—Rent of ſuch land 11 liv. (12s. 3d.) At Iſle, the journal contains four quartiers, each ninety perch, at nine feet, or 29,160 feet. Land, in general, ſells from 240 to 400 liv. (18l. 5s. 9d.) The produce of wheat, twelve to twenty quartiers, at 40 lb. (15½ buſhels.)

Franche Compté.

The journal of Beſançon is 360 perch, at 9½ feet, or 33,507 feet. Very bad arable land is to be had for 50 liv. (2l. 11s. 10d.); but ſome riſes to 1500 liv. (77l. 15s.) and theſe prices are the extremes; in common, 500 liv. (25l. 18s. 4d.) The produce of wheat is two to five meaſures of 40 lb. (from 36 to 50 lb.) on an *œuvre*, the eighth of a journal,—at three, this is 20 buſhels. Eſtates pay ſcarcely 4 per cent.; and in the mountains, on the frontiers of Switzerland, only 2½. To Orechamps, in the flat rich vale, a journal ſells at 700 liv. (36l. 5s. 8d.) All I ſaw of Franche Compté, is under a wretched culture; fallows very general, yet the corn poor; and where there are exceptions, which do not often occur, ſtill the management is without merit. The culture of maiz is a good feature, but it is neither flouriſhing nor clean, and much mixed with hemp.

Burgundy.

About Longeau, the meaſure is the journal of 360 perch, of nine feet, or 28,800 feet. The common price of land 600 liv. (34l. 19s. 2d.) The meaſure of wheat holds 32 lb. and a journal yields to 50 (41 buſhels); but this is an extraordinary crop,—thirty are more common (24 buſhels); maiz yields forty meaſures (32 buſhels), beſides ten to twenty-five meaſure of harricots: barley thirty-five meaſure. In the neighbourhood of Dijon, where the journal is the ſame as the arpent de Paris, arable ſells for 200 liv. (10l. 7s. 9d.) to 600 liv. (31l. 3s. 3d.) And the half produce of wheat, which the landlord receives from the *metayer*, five meaſures of 45 lb. (5 buſhels). The land yields, however, much more than 10 buſhels, for there are deductions for certain expences of culture before he takes his half, as tythe, harveſt, and threſhing. At Nuys the journal of arable ſells at 300 to 400 liv. (18l. 3s. 6d.) It has been impoſſible to avoid, in this diſtrict, general errors flowing from the intelligence received, being much more in reference to good land, and ſuch as has been long cultivated and improved, than an average of the whole. In the chapter of univerſal produce, which includes every ſpecies of land, this diſtrict does not claſs high; it is, on the contrary, among the worſt cultivated in the kingdom, after the diſtrict of heath, Sologne, the Bourbonnois, and Nivernois, I know none worſe: much is waſte, and more under culture is neglected, yet land in the rich flat vales, through which the rivers lead, is fertile enough to command great prices, and to yield large products, even with bad management. Immenſe tracks in Loraine are plagued with common rights, which are more general than in moſt of the other provinces. Where theſe are found, huſbandry cannot flouriſh. The good duke of Loraine, the wiſeſt and moſt benevolent ſovereign of his age, ſeems to have done nothing in this reſpect, and without it the province will continue what it is, one of the pooreſt in France. It is a bad ſign, when you find the pay of troops reckoned a great bleſſing. If you believe the people of theſe provinces, Loraine, without her garriſons, and Franche Compté without her forges, would both be deſolate; a ſure mark, that agriculture is ill underſtood, and overſtocked with uſeleſs hands, or rather mouths.——Average,—Price, 21l. 10s. 2d.—Product, 18 buſhels.

In calculating this average, I reject merely local advantages of the vicinity of Beſançon. I ſhould add here, as before, that land, in this diſtrict, ſells at twenty-four years purchaſe, and yields from 2½ to 5 per cent.;—average 3¾. The average of the minutes, where both rent and price are noted,—rent, 1l. 8s. 3d.; price 35l. 10s. 9d.

DISTRICT OF CHALK.

Sologne.

Sologne has not a chalk ſoil; but I ſaw in ſeveral places a very good clay marl, and as the province is nearly ſurrounded by a calcareous one, I think I am juſtified in my arrangement of it, notwithſtanding Monſ. d'Autroche ſays it has no calcareous ſtones *. In paſſing from Orleans to La Ferté Lowendahl, this moſt wretched of the French provinces is entered. Poverty and miſery pervade the whole; agriculture is at its loweſt ebb, and yet every where it is capable of being made rich and flouriſhing. Between theſe towns are twelve miles of a poor flat ſandy gravel; for the firſt mile from Orleans improved; but all the reſt in a miſerable ſtate; many neglected lands covered with heath. It yields nothing but rye, the crops are wretched, that being ſown is a ſatire upon the kingdom. Rent of an arpent of France, 4 liv. (3s.); but waſte for ſheep-walk given into the bargain, which is of a much greater extent. Near La Ferté 4½ liv. all here gained through the medium of *metayers*. To La Motte Beuvron 400 liv. for 150 mines of land, three mines making two arpents; this is not quite 4 liv. but much rough ground for cattle and ſheep thrown in.—Miſerable rye and buck-wheat, the only crops: the farmers think the former promiſing this year, which I am clear will not produce two quarters the acre. To Nonan-le-Fuzelier, the ſame country and huſbandry, and the rye this year no more than one-half to one quarter per acre. To La Loge, nearly the ſame, and not one-tenth of it cultivated. They ſow here a vernal rye, which is a true ſpring corn, that will not ſucceed if ſown in autumn. It is committed to the ground in March or April, yet the crop is out only one week later than the common rye; the produce not quite ſo large. Buck-wheat yields 8 to 12 ſeptiers per ſepterée—the ſeptier holds 120 lb. rye; this is ten buſhels upon the land that is ſown with two. Rye yields three to one of the ſeed. At Salbris, newly broken up land yields 12 boiſeau of rye, of 13 lb. per meaſure of land, of which there are 12 in a ſepterée, or 12 ſeptiers of 156 lb.; and advancing, rye produces three ſeptiers the ſepterée; it is nearly an acre—the crop is therefore about one quarter per acre. Upon Sologne, in general, I ſhould obſerve, that a gentleman of the province has calculated it to contain 250 leagues ſquare, or a million of arpents *;—and that the net rent of it, without the landlord furniſhing the cattle, is only 20*ſ.* to 25*ſ.* per arpent one with another. Another writer ſays, the worſt lands in the province, ſell at 110 liv. per arpent † de Paris (5l. 14s. 3d.); he means cultivated I preſume, for certainly the waſtes bring no ſuch price.) I can believe this from the view I took of it; and ſurely nothing can be a more ſevere ſatire on the agriculture of a country!—Government and the gentry are equally to blame. I have ſeldom ſeen a country ſo eaſily capable of improvement, for the ſoil is ſand or gravel, and under it is every where found clay, or clay marl.

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Saintonge.

In returning northwards, re-enter the chalk diſtrict in this province. At La Grawle the meaſure is thirty-two carreaux, each eighteen feet ſquare, or 10,368 feet; ſells at 10 liv. (1l. 12s. 4d.) being very bad, but better ſoils at 30 liv. (4l. 17s.) At Rignac the ſoil being ſtrong and good, the Paris arpent, which is the common Saintonge meaſure, ſells for 600 liv. (31l. 3s. 10d.) Wheat produces ten ſacks of 150 lb. (32 buſhels) but this is an extraordinary crop, ſeven and a half much more common (24 buſhels). At Barbeſieux they ſow wheat two years in ſucceſſion; the firſt crop twelve to fifteen boiſeau per journal; the ſecond eight or nine: a ſufficient proof of their barbariſm.

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* Memoire ſur l'amelioration de la Sologne, par M. d'Autroche. 8vo. 1787. p. 4.

† *Credit National*, p. 114.

Angoumois.

The journal is to that of France, as 0,674 is to 1,000, which is ſomething more than the arpent de Paris. At Petignac good land ſells at 400 liv. (20l. 16s. 9d.) but bad, by which they mean chalk ſoils, yields little or nothing, if others are bought with them. At Roulet the arpent is one and a half journal of 200 carreaux, each twelve feet, or 28,800 feet. Maiz here producees thirty to forty boiſeau, which contains 45 lb. of wheat (38 buſhels). Wheat twenty-five boiſeau the firſt crop (26 buſhels), but the ſecond not above ſixteen (17 buſhels); and all theſe crops are on the beſt lands only; inferior ones produce much leſs. At Angoulême wheat yields twelve boiſeau the journal, the boiſeau 78 to 92 lb. Strong land ſells at 200 liv. (11l. 12s. 9d.) At Verteuil the journal is 200 carreaux, each 12 feet ſquare, which is the ſame as at Boulet; land ſells at 300 liv. (17l. 10s.) being from 20 to 25 years purchaſe; rent 12 liv. (14s.) They ſow more than a boiſeau of wheat, of 80 lb. per journal (90 is 120 lb. per Engliſh acre); produce five (10 buſhels). At Caudac wheat three ſacks per journal, the ſack two boiſeau, the boiſeau 70 to 80 lb. (11 buſhels); maiz 4½ ſacks (16½ buſhels). Upon Angoumois in general I may obſerve, that the only poſſible method of cultivating land well in ſuch a province, would be by ſainfoin and turnips being well underſtood; of the latter they have not an idea; and the former, though not abſolutely unknown, is yet ſo very weakly and ſparing cultivated, that there is not one acre where there ought to be a thouſand. When chalks are farmed upon the common routine of management that pervades all France, no wonder we hear of ſuch miſerable crops. The province does not, on an average, produce one-fourth of what ſimilar land in England yields.

Poitou.

At Ruffec they take their crops of wheat in ſucceſſion; produce of the firſt, 12 to 16 boiſeau of 80 lb.; of the ſecond, ſix to nine; and of the third, three. At Coute Verac 12 boiſeau per journal, on land that ſells at 100 liv. For many miles to Poitiers, the country all appears as badly cultivated as it is *ſombre* to the eye, being one of the moſt dreary I have ſeen in France. The products run very low, if I may judge by the ſtate of the ſtubbles, and from the ſcattered hints, rather than information, I received; it does not yield the half of what a little better huſbandry would enable it to do. At Clain the meaſure is the boiſerée of 16 chains ſquare, each chain 10 feet, or 25,600 feet, which ſpace yields 12 to 18 boiſeau of 32 lb. of rye (13 buſhels). The ſame meaſure of land ſells at La Tricherie at 60 to 90 liv. (4l. 18s.); at Chateaurault for 60 liv. (3l. 18s. 9d.) Rye produces 10 boiſeau (8 buſhels). Advancing, the ſoil improves a little; it ſells at 100 liv. (6l. 11s. 2d.) and produces 12 to 14 boiſeau of rye.

Touraine.

At Beauvais loamy land ſells at 100 liv. the arpent, but chalky ſoils at only half that ſum. Wheat after ſainfoin yields 80 boiſeau, but after fallow only 20. I am ſo much in doubt what the arpent is, and what the boiſeau, that I give no reduction; they told us the former was 100 chain of 12 feet. At Montbazon the arpent of 100 chain, each 25 feet ſquare, or 62,500 feet, ſells at 3 to 8 liv. the chain, or 300 to 800 liv. the arpent (14l. 16s. 7d.) Wheat yields 50 gerbs, each 1½ boiſeau (16 buſhels): barley now cutting, and not two quarters per Engliſh acre. At Tours large purchaſes pay 5 per cent. but ſmall ones 3½. Amboiſe, an arpent of land 200 liv. To Blois the beſt land 300 liv. (15l. 12s. 4d.) There are 12 boiſerée in the arpent, ſown with a boiſeau of ſeed of 10 lb. (157 lb.)

Sologne.

Re-enter this province, where it has no ſuch miſerable countenance as in the part we paſſed before. To Chambord the arpent is 1600 toiſes, the rent of which is 24 liv. (14s.) but this is the beſt land only; the general produce being, vines excepted, very low. To Orleans paſs ſome buck-wheat, that will not yield more than five or ſix buſhels an acre; rent of ſands 8 liv. (4s. 2d.)

Champagne.

To Chateau Thiery the vale arable lets at 12 liv. the arpent (8s. 2d.); but the hills are poor and yield much leſs. All the products I ſee are miſerably poor, yet the ſoil is a good loam. Near Mareuil farms are let at the third franc, paying the landlord by that diviſion 20 to 24 liv. the arpent (16s.) Land ſells at thirty years purchaſe, and pays 5 per cent. At Epernay eſtates in general pay 3 per cent. The chalky marl of the vale, for four miles before Rheims, has not much wheat, but a great deal of rye, which is by far the cleaneſt corn I have ſeen this year in France, unleſs the poor have weeded the ſtubble for their cows. Price 200 to 250 liv. the arpent of France (7l. 16s. 7d.) In the country between La Loge and Chalons there is much that has been ſold at 30 liv. the arpent (1l. 1s.) and ſome even at 6 liv. (4s. 2d.); and many tracks let at 20ſ. (8d.); and much is left waſte to weeds, not being deemed worth ſowing, that would yield ſainfoin worth three guineas an acre. To Ove, the miſerably poor chalky ſoils ſell at 48 liv. the journal (1l. 13s. 3d.) and ſome at 27 liv. (18s. 4d.); nor can any thing be more wretched than the products. With regard to the whole province I ſhould note here, that the provincial aſſembly, in their return of the whole, ſtated, that Champagne contained four millions of arpents, the rental of which was 20,000,000 liv. and the groſs product 60,000,000 liv.; this makes the produce 15 liv. (10s.)—and the rent 5 liv. (3s. 6d.); which valuations clearly ſhew, that great waſtes are ſuppoſed to yield little or nothing; for the product of vines, and the lands on the rivers, is conſiderable. Land ſells in Champagne as it ſells elſewhere, according to the intereſt expected to be made by it; the price, therefore, follows the culture; the rent, where *metayers* are the tenants, depends abſolutely upon the produce; while agriculture, therefore (vineyards excepted), is at ſuch a low and miſerable pitch, the landlord can reaſonably expect nothing more than the pittance he receives at preſent. But the improvements to be made in this country are immenſe, by means of artificial graſſes, turnips, and ſheep. But the ſtupid ignorance of the landlords, and the pernicious prejudices they inherit for the army, in common with other Frenchmen, remove all pity of their condition; they receive the full meaſure of their merit; but the poverty of the peaſantry truly deſerves compaſſion. Upon the whole, the poor chalk provinces muſt be conſidered as the worſt cultivated in France; and no wonder; the proper management of this ſoil depends abſolutely on three things, turnips, graſſes, and ſheep, neither of which is known here any more than among the Hurons. This circumſtance is deciſive.

Average,—Rent, 6s. 9d. Price, 9l. 1s. 5d. Product, 13½ buſhels.

Land in theſe diſtricts ſells, at an average, at 25 years purchaſe; yields 4 per cent. intereſt on the capital inveſted; and the produce of wheat and rye is four for one of the ſeed. There are but two minutes that contain, in the ſame article, both rent and price. The average is 10s. 4d. rent, and 12l. 13s. 3d. price: it pays, therefore, about 4 per cent. by this account; and it ſhould be obſerved, that the rent is not a net produce—for the landlord has his vingtiémes to pay out of it.

DISTRICT OF GRAVEL.

Burgundy.

At Autun is the ſeparation between the various ſtony ſoils of the reſt of this province, the lands of which are high, and the plain gravelly through which the Loire runs. The meaſure is the boiſelée, the ſpace which a boiſeau of rye ſows, that contains 40 lb.; at 160 lb. per Engliſh acre, the boiſelée would be about 9600 French feet. As to rent, nothing can be diſcovered accurately, without details, which few landlords would know how to give; for graſs, waſte, and wood are thrown into the bargain to the farmer, and he divides rye and cattle with the landlord; as to price, the only information I could get from a perſon who I ſhould have thought qualified to anſwer many queries was, that an eſtate which yields 500 boiſeau of rye with graſs, waſte, and wood proportioned to the practice of the country in general, would ſell for 30,000 liv. At Luzy rye, in a good year, yields five or ſix for one of the ſeed. The whole country from Autun to Bourbon Lancy is a granite, or gravel ſoil, and no produce to be ſeen but very miſerable rye.

Bourbonnois.

At Chavanne they ſow a boiſeau of rye of 20 lb. on a boiſelée of land, the produce in a good year five or ſix for one. An eſtate to be ſold here, conſiſting of three farms, which yield, by *metaying*, 3000 liv. a year, and the price aſked 80,000 liv. but to be had for 60,000 liv. conſequently pays 5 per cent. At Moulins the arpent contains eight boiſelées, each of 168 toiſes ſquare, or 48,384 feet, and in the boiſelée 6048 feet. Good arable ſells at 150 to 200 liv. the arpent (5l. 19s. 10d.), but there is much ſo bad as to be had for 12 liv. the arpent (7s. 10d.) All purchaſes pay 5 per cent. They ſow 160 lb. of rye per arpent (140 lb.), and get four or five times the ſeed. In the neighbourhood an eſtate of 10,000 liv. a year to be ſold, the price aſked 300,000 liv. but timber, &c. &c. given in reduce it to 250,000 liv.; it would pay 4 per cent. neat for the money, by the miſerable produce of 3¼ or 4 liv. (2s. 6d.) per arpent for the landlord's half, to gain which he is obliged, like all his neighbours, to provide the whole live ſtock of the farms; take the price at 250,000 liv. (10,937l.) and the annual rent at 10,000 liv. (437l.) at 2s. 6d. per Engliſh acre, and there will be 3496 acres, at the price of 3l. 2s. 6d. per acre. This eſtate yields annually 5381 boiſeau of rye, at 20 lb. (at 55 lb. Engliſh the buſhel, this is 2150 buſhels, and at 3s. the buſhel is 322l. 10s.); the produce is five for one of the ſeed. At La Paliſe rye produces four for one. The gravelly plain continues to Neufmoutier.

Nivernois.

All I ſaw of this province reſembles the Bourbonnois in ſoil, culture, and produce; rye here, as there, is almoſt the only crop; but there are more variations, for oats are ſometimes taken after the rye, and there are diſtricts that produce ſome wheat. The gravelly plain of the Loire, which includes theſe two provinces, commences to the S. at Roanne, in the Lyonnois. I ſhall in general obſerve upon this gravelly diſtrict, that it is one of the moſt improveable I have any where ſeen; much might be done in it, by a huſbandry well adapted to ſheep, for which ſpecies of ſtock both the provinces are admirably calculated; and I ſhould add, that it is hardly poſſible to conceive any thing more deſpicable than the breed of that animal which is found here; rye-ſtraw, the winter proviſion, inſtead of turnips, is ſufficient to explain it. Nothing can hardly be poorer than the *metayers* of the Bourbonnois; and the landlords feel the effects of their poverty in a manner that one would think ſufficient to open their eyes to their real ſituation. They receive about 2s. 6d. an acre, on an average, not for the rent of the land only, but alſo for running the hazard of all the live ſtock, which they provide for the eſtate; thus they have the principal part of the ſtock and hazard of farming, without any of the profit of it; for the ignorance of the *metayers* is ſuch, that it is in vain to expect any improvement from them. If in ſuch a ſituation gentlemen will not take their lands into their own hands, at leaſt enough to prove that the country might yield far other crops, they muſt be as torpid as their *metayers*, and receive from their poverty the juſt reward of prejudice and indolence.——Average,—Price, 3l. 3s. 4d.

I ſhould ſuppoſe the rental, on an average of the whole diſtrict, might, from the *metayers*, be about (2s. 6d.) an acre, from which, however, ſhould be deducted the intereſt of the ſums inveſted in ſtocking the farm with cattle, ſheep, horſes, and hogs, which is a conſiderable deduction. On the other hand, timber, underwood, ſome meadows, always kept in hand—vines, ponds, of which there are many; the rent of mills, &c. more than balance that deduction, and may probably raiſe the total receipt to (3s.) an acre, or ſomething more. Eſtates, in thoſe provinces, pay about 4½ per cent.; and the produce of rye may be calculated at five for one.

DISTRICT OF VARIOUS LOAMS.

Berry.

In paſſing from the *triſte* Sologne into this province, the ſoil improves, and with it the products, but continue, however, very moderate, and far inferior to what they ought to be. A few leagues before Verſon, where the count d'Artois's foreſt ends, rye and buck-wheat yield 5½ to ſix ſeptiers on the ſeſterée of land, but barley leſs; this is five or ſix for one. A farmer occupies 50 ſeſterées of land for 150 liv. rent. The boiſeau of rye is 15 lb. and twelve make a ſeptier of 180 lb. which quantity of ſeed makes the ſeſterée to be more than an acre; five roods at leaſt. Wheat and barley yield five or ſix ſeptiers. Advancing toward Vatan, the ſoil improves much; the product of wheat 3½ ſeptiers of 204 lb. the boiſeau being 17 lb.; and they ſow a ſeptier of all ſorts of corn per ſeſterée, on all ſorts of land. On good land, the *metayers* pay half the produce; but on middling, the rent is a ſeptier per ſeſterée. This makes the rent equal only to the ſeed, and the landlord conſequently gets nothing for the fallow year. They very amply merit ſuch rents. Wheat, on the beſt land, yields five or ſix for one. At Vatan, I converſed with a farmer, who, for thirty ſeſterées of arable, and ſix of meadow, pays 600 liv. and eighteen ſeptiers of corn, each twelve boiſeau, that now ſells at 25*ſ*. He has two oxen, ſix horſes, eight cows, and 700 ſheep. His whole rent, therefore, is about 37l. which, for ſuch a ſtock, appears ridiculous: but it ſeems to be a feudal rent to the ſeigneur, the property of the land being in the man. He ſpoke of his whole farm being thirty-ſix ſeſterées, paying no regard to woods and waſtes that ſupport his live ſtock. At Argenton, wheat produces five or ſix boiſeau of 25 lb. per boiſerée, eight of which make a ſeſterée; oats and barley three boiſeau. Advancing, find that they ſow a boiſeau of wheat, of 25 lb. per boiſerée of land. Upon the whole of this intelligence concerning Berry, I muſt obſerve, from the portions of ſeed, 180 lb. 204 lb. 200 lb. we may, in a rough way, eſtimate that the arpent, journal, or ſeſterée, nearly equals the arpent of France; and that the reſpective products which amount to 1122 lb. 1080 lb. and 1096 lb. amount, on an average, to about two quarters per acre. M. du Pré de St. Maur ſays, that ordinary land, *terres mediocres*, let in Berry at 15 *ſ.* the arpent[*]. But all rents are riſen ſince his time.

La Marche.

Near Boiſmandé, much ſandy land, that produces rye only, and the crops exceedingly poor; I ſaw much that will not yield more than a quarter per acre, yet the ſand is good, but it is all fallowed. Produce eight boiſeau, of 25 lb. per boiſerée. At La Ville au Brun good ſand yields five boiſeau per boiſerée, but on a general average not more than three. The ſeptier is eight boiſeau, and the ſeſterée, or arpent, eight boiſerée. From theſe proportions it ſhould ſeem, that the Berry meaſure continues here.

Limoſin.

In this province the ſeſterée is 625 toiſes, or 21,500 feet; it is ſown with four quartiers of 28 lb. or 112 lb. (218 lb.) Rye produces four times the ſeed, but no trifling quantity is ſown, that hardly yields more than the ſeed, by reaſon of poverty and bad management. At Limoge I was informed, that the whole province, on an average, does not yield more than ſix for one of the ſeed of all ſorts of grain; this cannot be more than 4½ of wheat[†]. The price of land is much increaſed; ſells now at 33 years purchaſe, and yields 3 per cent.; common price 100 liv. (7l. 8s. 9d.) From Limoge to St. George the country is much better than La Marche; there is ſome wheat every where, and the crops are rather ſuperior. Arable 100 liv. the ſeſterée, and at Douzenac 100 to 150 liv. (9l. 5s. 11d.)

In this diſtrict the price of land, on an average, is 7l. 8s. 9d. per acre. The produce is 14 buſhels; the return for ſeed is five for one; and the intereſt paid by purchaſes may be eſtimated at 4 per cent.

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[*] *Eſſai ſur les Monnoyes.*

[†] In the Cahier of the nobility of Limoge it is aſſerted, that the ſoil is the moſt ungrateful in the kingdom, and gives at moſt but three net for one, but this is an exaggeration.----P. 4.

GENERAL RECAPITULATION.

Price.

North Eaſtern Diſtrict,	£. 29	13	3	Alſace, -	£. 50	0	0
The Garonne, -	51	10	0	Limagne, -	60	0	0

It would fill too much of theſe papers if I were to inſert the reaſons for ſuppoſing the average of theſe, proportioned to the extent of each, to be 33l. per acre, at which I calculate it.

Diſtrict of Heath, -	£. 19	18	4	Diſtrict of Chalk,	£. 9	1	5
Mountain,	21	7	7	Gravel,	3	3	4
Stone, -	21	10	2	Various,	7	8	9

Average of the whole, proportioned to the extent of each, rejecting fractions, 20l.

Rent.

North Eaſtern Diſtrict,	£. 1	3	10	Chalk, - -	£. 0	6	9
Heath, - -	0	16	3	Gravel, - -	0	3	0
Mountain, -	0	17	7				

This table is too incomplete to draw any average from it: the moſt ſatisfactory way of aſcertaining the rent, that is proportioned to the price minuted, is to have recourſe to thoſe notes that contain, at the ſame places, both rent and price; theſe are, on a medium,

	Rent.			Price.				Rent.			Price.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Loam, N. E. Diſtrict,	1	1	5	31	5	0	Stone, - -	1	8	3	35	10	9
Heath, -	1	7	0	34	11	2	Chalk, - -	0	10	4	12	13	3
Mountain, -	1	0	3	22	0	4	Gravel, - -	0	2	6	3	2	6

Average,—Rent, 18s. 3d. Price, 23l. 3s. 10d. This is 3l. 18s. per cent.

And from hence we may venture to aſſign the rent fairly proportioned to the above general average price of 20l. per acre, viz. 15s. 7d. Monſ. Papillon de la Tapy calculates that, on an average, lands that ſell for 520 liv. per arpent, yield a *product* of 7 liv. 11 *ſ.* * by which I ſuppoſe he means rent, this is 1½ per cent.; I quote it only to ſhew what mere calculations are worth, that are founded on ſuppoſitions.

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* *Tableau Territorial de la France.* Folio. 1789. P. 9.

Produce.

Loam, N. E. -	23½ buſhels.	Mountain, - -	18 buſhels.
——— Garonne,	37	Stony, - -	18
——— Alſace, -	26	Chalk, - -	13½
Average of Loam *,	25	Gravel, - -	12
Heath, - -	19	Various, - -	14

Average of the whole, proportioned to the extent of each, 18 buſhels.

Quantity of Seed ſown.

		lb.			lb.
Flanders,	Orchies,	153	Anjou,	Angers,	172
Normandy,	Falaiſe,	110	Languedoc,	Cauſſan,	192
Guienne,	Landron,	160	Provence,	Tour d'Aigues,	167
	Cubſac,	169	Angoumois,	Verteuil,	120
Alſace,	Straſbourg,	100	Orleanois,	Blois,	157
	Befort,	224	Bourbonnois,	Moulins,	140
Auvergne,	Izoire,	173	Limoſin,	Limoge,	218
Bretagne,	Rennes,	166			

Average, 161 lb. per Engliſh acre.

Return for Seed.

Diſtrict of Loam, -	8 for 1.	Diſtrict of Stone, -	4 for 1.
Heath, -	6	Gravel, -	5
Mountain,	5	Various,	5

The average may probably be ſtated at ſix for one. It is hardly to be conceived by what miſerable management they can contrive to get ſuch a wretched produce; but as they are univerſal fallowiſts, except on the richeſt ſoils, we may conſider it as an exact picture of the conſequences that flow from this abſurd practice. The French writers depreſs the products of their kingdom even below this: Monſ. Queſnay ſays it is only five for one on good lands †; and Monſ. l'Abbé Raynal four and a half on an average of all.

Intereſt per cent.

Diſtrict of Loam, N. E. -	3	Diſtrict of Stone, - -	3¾
Alſace, -	2¾	Chalk, -	4
Heath, -	5	Gravel, -	4½
Mountain, -	3¾	Various, -	4

Average, 3¾.

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* In calculating this average, I aſſign thirty as the produce of the Garonne diſtrict, and then give it the proportion of its full extent.

† *Encyclopædia*. Tom. i. p. 189. Folio.

And now, drawing the whole into one view, we may ſay,

That the average price of all the cultivated land in the kingdom is, per Engliſh acre, 20l.
That the rent of ſuch part as is let is 15s. 7d.
That the average produce of wheat and rye is 18 buſhels.
That the ſeed yields return 6 for 1.
That land pays per cent. 3¾.

Observations.

I muſt, in the firſt place, caution the reader againſt ſuppoſing, that theſe proportions are applicable to the whole territory of France; vines, and waſtes, and gardens, and ſpots of extraordinary fertility are excluded; and the price of 20l. per acre, and the rent of 15s. 7d. are thoſe of the cultivated lands commonly found throughout the kingdom. No waſte, no ſheep-walk, nor any tracks neglected, and not in profitable produce, are included. But whenever rent is mentioned, we muſt recollect, that much the greater part of the lands of France are not let at a money-rent, but at one-half or one-third produce, and that in thoſe places, in the central and ſouthern provinces, and in ſeveral of the northern ones, where rent occurs in the notes, it is probable that for one acre ſo let, there are twenty at half produce. This will ſerve in a good meaſure to explain the height of the rent here minuted, on compariſon with the huſbandry.—Such management in England would not afford any ſuch rent; but as the landlord in France is obliged to ſtock his farms at his own expenſe, the greatneſs of this rent is more apparent than real; for it muſt not only pay him for the uſe of his land, but alſo for that of the capital which he is obliged, through the poverty of the farmers, to inveſt upon it. Another circumſtance, which raiſes rent beyond all compariſon with it in England, is the freedom from poor rates; to which may be added, the very moderate demands made for tythes. By combining the preceding tables, there appears ſome reaſon to believe, that the perſons who, in different parts of the kingdom, gave me intelligence of the intereſt per cent. accruing from land had in contemplation rather the *groſs receipt*, than the *net profit*. The two accounts of rental and price give 3l. 18s. per cent. groſs receipt;—if the two vingtiémes, and 4*ſ.* per livre, being the landlord's tax, are deducted, there will remain about 3½ per cent.—from which there muſt be a further deduction for incidental loſſes; and for the intereſt of the capital inveſted in live ſtock; which will certainly demand ſome deduction. It ſhould therefore ſeem, that 3, or 3¼ per cent. abſolutely net, is as much as can be reckoned by this account; whereas the direct intelligence was 3¾. Theſe little variations will for ever ariſe in ſuch inquiries, when founded, as they muſt be, on the intelligence received from ſuch a variety of perſons, who have different degrees of knowledge and accuracy.

In order to judge the better of theſe particulars, ſo intereſting to the political arithmetician, it will be neceſſary to contraſt them with the ſimilar circumſtances of England; by which method their merit or deficiency may be more clearly diſcriminated. In reſpect to England, may be remarked, in the firſt place, a very ſingular circumſtance, which is the near approximation of the two kingdoms, in the two articles of *price* and *rent*. The rent of cultivated land in England, excluſive of ſheep-walks, warrens, and waſtes, if it could be known accurately, would be probably found not much to exceed 15s. 7d. per acre; at leaſt I am inclined to think ſo, for ſeveral reaſons, too complex to give here: I have indeed none for fixing on that *exact* ſum; but I ſhould calculate it ſomewhere between 15s. and 16s. Now 15s. 7d. at twenty-ſix years purchaſe, which I take to be the preſent average price of land in this kingdom (1790 and 1791), is 20l. 5s. 2d. The two kingdoms are, therefore, on a foot of equality in this reſpect. The intereſt paid by land 3½ in France, is higher than in England, where it cannot be calculated at more than three, perhaps not more than 2½. If it be thought extraordinary, that land ſhould ſell for as high a price in France as in England, there are not wanted circumſtances to explain the reaſon. In the firſt place, the net profit received from eſtates is greater. There are no poor rates in that kingdom; and tythes were much more moderately exacted, as it has been obſerved above. Repairs, which form a conſiderable deduction with us, are a very trifling one with them. But what operates as much, or perhaps more than theſe circumſtances, is the number of ſmall properties. I have touched ſeveral times on this point in the courſe of the notes, and its influence pervades every part of the kingdom; all the ſavings which are made by the lower claſſes in France, are inveſted in land; but this practice is ſcarcely known in England, where ſuch ſavings are uſually lent on bond or mortgage, or inveſted in the public funds. This cauſes a competition for land in France, which, very fortunately for the proſperity of our agriculture, does not obtain here.

As to the next article, namely, the acreable produce of corn land, the difference will be found very great indeed; for in England, the average produce of wheat and rye (nineteen-twentieths the former) is twenty-four buſhels, which form a vaſt ſuperiority to eighteen, the produce of France; amounting to twelve for one of the ſeed, inſtead of five for one. But the ſuperiority is greater than is apparent in the proportion of thoſe two numbers; for the corn of England, as far as reſpects *dreſſing*, that is cleaning from dirt, chaff, ſeeds of weeds, &c. is as much better than that of France, as would make the difference at leaſt twenty-five (inſtead of twenty-four) to eighteen; and I am inclined to think even more. There is not a plank threſhing-floor in France; and no miller can grind corn as he receives it from the farmer, without further cleaning. Another point, yet more important, is, that Engliſh wheat, in much the greater part of our kingdom, ſucceeds other preparatory crops; whereas the wheat of France follows almoſt univerſally a dead fallow, on which is ſpread all the dung of the farm. A circumſtance, which ought to give a conſiderable ſuperiority to the French crops, is that of climate, which in France is abundantly better for this production than in England; and, what is ſtill of greater moment, the ſpring corn of France, compared with that of England, is abſolutely contemptible, and indeed unworthy of any idea of compariſon. While, therefore, in France, the wheat and rye are relied on for the almoſt total ſupport of the farm and farmer, reaſon tells us, that the wheat ought to be much ſuperior to the produce of a country, in which it does not bear an equally important part. Laſtly, let me obſerve, that the ſoil of France is, for the moſt part, better than that of England. Under theſe various circumſtances, for the average produce of the former, to be ſo much inferior, is truly remarkable. But eighteen buſhels of wheat and rye, and miſerable ſpring corn, afford as high a rent in France, as twenty-four in England, with the addition of our excellent ſpring corn: this forms a ſtriking contraſt, and leads to the explanation of the difference. It ariſes very much from the poverty of the French tenantry; for the political inſtitutions and ſpirit of the government having, for a long ſeries of ages, tended ſtrongly to depreſs the lower claſſes, and favour the higher ones, the farmers, in the greater part of France, are blended with the peaſantry; and, in point of wealth, are hardly ſuperior to the common labourers; theſe poor farmers are *metayers,* who find nothing towards ſtocking a farm but labour and implements; and being exceedingly miſerable, there is rarely a ſufficiency of the latter. The landlord is better able to provide live ſtock; but, engaged in a diſſipated ſcene of life, probably at a diſtance from the farm, and being poor, like country gentlemen in many other parts of Europe, he ſtocks the farm not one penny beyond the moſt preſſing neceſſity:—from which ſyſtem a wretched produce muſt unavoidably reſult. That the tenantry ſhould generally be poor, will not be thought ſtrange, when the taxes laid upon them are conſidered; their tailles and capitation are heavy in themſelves; and the weight being increaſed by being laid arbitrarily, proſperity and good management are little more than ſignals for a higher aſſeſſment. Under ſuch a ſyſtem, a wealthy tenantry, on arable land, can hardly ariſe. With theſe farmers, and this management, it is not much to be wondered at that the land yields no more than eighteen buſhels. Such a tenantry, contributing ſo little beyond the labour of their hands, are much more at the landlord's mercy than would be the caſe of wealthier farmers, who, poſſeſſing a capital proper for their undertakings, are not content with a profit leſs than ſufficient to return them a due intereſt for their money; and the conſequence is, that the proprietor cannot have ſo high a rent as he has from *metayers*, who, poſſeſſing nothing, are content merely to live. Thus, in the diviſion of the groſs produce, the landlord in France gets half; but in England, in the ſhape of rent only, from a fourth to a tenth; commonly from a fourth to a ſixth. On ſome lands he gets a third, but that is uncommon. Nothing can be ſimpler than the principles upon which this is founded. The Engliſh tenant muſt not only be able to ſupport himſelf and his family, but muſt be paid for his capital alſo,—upon which the future produce of the farm depends, as much as on the land itſelf.

The importance of a country producing twenty-five buſhels per acre inſtead of eighteen, is prodigious; but it is an idle deception to ſpeak of twenty-five, for the ſuperiority of Engliſh ſpring corn (barley and oats) is doubly greater than that of wheat and rye, and would juſtify me in proportioning the corn products of England, in general, compared with thoſe of France, as twenty-eight to eighteen *; and I am well perſuaded, that ſuch a ratio would be no exaggeration. Ten millions of acres produce more corn than fifteen millions; conſequently a territory of one hundred millions of acres more than equals another of one hundred and fifty millions. It is from ſuch facts that we muſt ſeek for an explanation of the power of England, which has ventured to meaſure itſelf with that of a country ſo much more populous, extenſive, and more favoured by nature as France really is; and it is a leſſon to all governments whatever, that if they would be powerful, they muſt encourage the only real and permanent baſis of power, AGRICULTURE. By enlarging the quantity of the products of land in a nation, all thoſe advantages flow which have been attributed to a great population, but which ought, with much more truth, to have been aſſigned to a great conſumption; ſince it is not the mere number of people, but their eaſe and welfare, which conſtitute national proſperity. The difference between the corn products of France and England is ſo great, that it would juſtify ſome degree of ſurpriſe, how any political writer could ever expreſs any degree of amazement, that a territory, naturally ſo inconſiderable as the Britiſh iſles, on compariſon with France, ſhould ever become equally powerful; yet this ſentiment, founded in mere ignorance, has been very common. With ſuch an immenſe ſuperiority in the produce of corn, the more obvious ſurpriſe ſhould have been, that the reſources of England, compared with thoſe of France, were not yet more deciſive. But it is to be obſerved, that there are other articles of culture to which recourſe muſt be had for an explanation: vines are an immenſe object in the cultivation of the latter kingdom, and yield all the advantages, and even ſuperior ones to thoſe afforded by the aſſiduous culture of corn in England. Maiz is alſo an article of great conſequence in the French huſbandry; olives, ſilk, and lucerne are not to be forgotten; nor ſhould we omit mentioning the fine paſtures of Normandy, and every article of culture in the rich acquiſitions of Flanders, Alſace, and part of Artois, as well as on the banks of the Garonne. In all this extent, and it is not ſmall, France poſſeſſes a huſbandry equal to our own; and it is from well ſeconding the fertility of nature in theſe diſtricts, and from a proper attention to the plants adapted to the ſoil, that there has ariſen any equality in the reſources of the two kingdoms; for, without this, France, with all the ample advantages ſhe otherwiſe derives from nature, would be but a petty power on compariſon with Great Britain. In order the better to underſtand how the great difference of product between the French and Engliſh crops may affect the agriculture of the two kingdoms, it will be proper to obſerve, that the farmer in England will reap as much from his courſe of crops, in which wheat and rye occur but ſeldom, as the Frenchman can from his, in which they return often.

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* In the *Cahier de la Nobleſe de Blois*, p. 26, it is aſſerted, that the land products of England are to thoſe of France, arpent for arpent, as forty-eight to eighteen. But on what authority?

An Engliſh Courſe.		*A French Courſe.*	
1, Turnips,		1, Fallow,	
2, Barley,		2, Wheat, - -	18
3, Clover,		3, Barley, or oats,	
4, Wheat, - -	25	4, Fallow,	
5, Turnips,		5, Wheat, - -	18
6, Barley,		6, Barley, or oats,	
7, Clover,		7, Fallow,	
8, Wheat, - -	25	8, Wheat, - -	18
9, Tares, or beans,		9, Barley, or oats,	
10, Wheat, - -	25	10, Fallow,	
11, Turnips,		11, Wheat, - -	18
	75		72

The Engliſhman, in eleven years, gets three buſhels more of wheat than the Frenchman. He gets three crops of barley, tares, or beans, which produce nearly twice as many buſhels per acre, as what the three French crops of ſpring corn produce. And he farther gets, at the ſame time, three crops of turnips and two of clover, the turnips worth 40s. the acre, and the clover 60s. that is 12l. for both. What an enormous ſuperiority! More wheat; almoſt double of the ſpring corn; and above 20s. per acre per annum in turnips and clover. But farther; the Engliſhman's land, by means of the manure ariſing from the conſumption of the turnips and clover is in a conſtant ſtate of improvement, while the Frenchman's farm is ſtationary. Throw the whole into a caſh-account, and it will ſtand thus:——

Engliſh Syſtem.

	£.	s.	d.
Wheat 75 buſhels, at 5s. -	18	15	0
Spring corn three crops, at 32 buſhels, 96 buſhels, at 2s. 6d.	12	0	0
Clover two crops, - -	6	0	0
	36	15	0
Per acre per annum, -	3	6	10

French Syſtem.

	£.	s.	d.
Wheat 72 buſhels, at 5s. -	18	0	0
Spring corn three crops, at 20 buſhels, 60 buſhels, at 2s. 6d.	7	10	0
	25	10	0
Per acre per annum, -	2	6	4

In allowing the French ſyſtem to produce twenty buſhels of ſpring corn, while I aſſign thirty-two only to the Engliſh, I am confident that I favour the former conſiderably; for I believe the Engliſh produce is the double of that of France: but ſtating it as above, here are the proportions of thirty-ſix on an improving farm to twenty-five on a ſtationary one; that is to ſay, a country containing 82,000,000 acres produces as much as another, whoſe area contains 119,000,000, which are in the ſame ratio as thirty-ſix and twenty-five.

CHAP. V.

Of the French Courſes of Crops.

THERE is no circumſtance, which ſo ſtrongly diſtinguiſhes the knowledge of the preſent age, in the theory and practice of huſbandry, on compariſon with that of all preceding periods, as this of the right arrangement of the crops cultivated on arable land. Compared with this, all other articles are of very little importance. And were the preſent the proper place to expatiate on it, I ſhould not be ill employed in explaining the amazing ignorance or negligence of the generality of writers in either totally omitting, or groſsly miſtaking, a ſubject ſo eſſential to every ſpecies of good management *. Unleſs this part of the farmer's conduct be well underſtood, the greateſt exertion and improvement in other branches of his buſineſs, loſe their effect; and a nation finds the cultivation of its territory, producing wealth and proſperity, almoſt exactly in proportion to the intelligence with which its huſbandmen obſerve this leading principle of the art. As the difference between good and bad farmers depends more on this point than on any other, ſo the difference between well and ill cultivated countries is almoſt wholly reſolvable into the effects derived from the rotation of crops,—a ſubject ſo important, that an ample diſſertation would be neceſſary fully to elucidate it; for the preſent, I can only inſert the miſerable rotations commonly practiſed in France; and briefly explain in how great a degree the errors and deficiencies of the huſbandry of that kingdom, and of every other, flow from this ſource. The moſt ſatisfactory method will be to arrange the courſes according to the ſoils in which they are found.

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* It is a ſingular circumſtance, that till the year 1768, there did not appear a ſingle work (as far as I can judge from my collection, which is conſiderable), where this ſubject was treated with any tolerable attention to thoſe rules of practice, which are now ſo well known.

DISTRICT OF RICH LOAM.

Through the provinces of Picardy, Iſle of France, Normandy, and part of Artois, the prevalent courſe is, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn;—there are ſome variations, but not of conſequence. In Flanders, and the reſt of Artois, the management is exceedingly good; crops are in conſtant ſucceſſion, without a fallow being known:—the ſuperiority of the huſbandry between Valenciennes and Lille may be eaſily conceived, from this common courſe:—1, wheat,—and after it turnips the ſame year; 2, oats; 3, clover; 4, wheat; 5, hemp; 6, wheat; 7, flax; 8, coleſeed; 9, wheat; 10, beans; 11, wheat.

Obſervations.

Of this great portion of the richeſt and moſt fertile part of France, it is only an inconſiderable diſtrict, viz. the conquered province of Flanders and part of Artois, that are well cultivated. Hence it ſhould appear, that the inſtitutions of the French government have been unfavourable to agriculture; and indeed we ſhall find a confirmation of this remark in Alſace, another territory very well cultivated, and alſo conquered. When we ſee ſome of the fineſt, deepeſt, and moſt fertile loams that are to be met with in the world, ſuch as thoſe between Bernay and Elbeuf, and parts of the Pays de Caux, in Normandy, and the neighbourhood of Meaux, in the Iſle of France, deſtined to the common barbarous courſe of, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn; and the produce of this ſpring corn beneath contempt; the whole exertion and produce being ſeen in a crop of wheat, we muſt be convinced, that agriculture, in ſuch a kingdom, is on the ſame footing as in the tenth century. If theſe lands were then tilled at all, they were, in all probability, as well tilled as at preſent. The country, in ſome parts of this N. E. diſtrict, being in open fields, and mixed properties, accounts very well for the ſyſtem there purſued; but it is a very partial anſwer to my objection, ſince there are large portions much incloſed, in which the farmer might vary his rotation as he pleaſed; and we accordingly ſee Monſ. Cretté, at Dugny, rejecting fallows:—I truſt it is more a want of light and knowledge, than of power: and the cleareſt proof of this fact, is the ſame huſbandry being purſued in accidental incloſures that are found in open diſtricts, as in the fields, burthened with deteſtable common rights. However, as far as theſe extend, it muſt be confeſſed, that there is no power of improvement; and if the preſent conſtitution of France be entirely ſettled at laſt on mere democratical principles, no improvements, *in this reſpect*, can ever be looked for; becauſe common rights uſually give, to the loweſt of the people, who have no property, a power of invading the properties of others; and the omnipotence of *the people* (by which term, ſhould be underſtood men without property) in a pure democracy will give more efficacy to their right of injury, than to any right of preſervation. Where the people have no rights over arable lands, the common conſent of proprietors and farmers might do much; but how is ſuch a conſent to be looked for?—We may aſk ourſelves this queſtion, as we well know that nothing among us, but legiſlative authority, will force men to follow their own manifeſt intereſts. The general ignorance of good agriculture is not, in this reſpect of courſes of crops, more obvious in the fields of the farmer, than in the French books of rural œconomy. I could quote ſome hundred writers who boaſt of the culture of the Pays de Beauce, and of Picardy; yet thoſe very diſtricts are totally void of all merit, being bound in the thraldom of regular fallows, and producing but one good crop in three years.

PLAIN OF ALSACE.

In this flat vale of rich land the fields are never fallowed; the crops ſubſtituted, and preparatory to wheat, &c. are potatoes, poppies for oil, peaſe, maiz, vetches, clover, beans, hemp, tobacco, and cabbages.

Obſervations.

The rich plain of Alſace reſembles Flanders, but is inferior in ſoil and management, yet both are excellent. The importance of getting two crops a year is better underſtood in Flanders, or at leaſt more ſpiritedly practiſed; yet we are not to ſuppoſe them deficient in Alſace; but there is not an equal number of great towns to yield equal quantities of manure. The variety of crops in culture, however, is here a conſiderable merit; and ſhews a freedom from the ſilly and bigotted notion of the French (if I may uſe the expreſſion), ſo common throughout the kingdom, of conſidering every thing as inferior to wheat; and of looking upon thoſe rotations only as deſerving of notice, in which it quickly recurs. It is remarkable that the good principles of management, in reſpect to courſes of crops in Alſace, have not the power to baniſh, or even leſſen, fallows an inch beyond the capital ſoils. It does not extend beyond Savern one way, nor beyond Iſenheim another; the ſoil declining, the management

ment declines; and you immediately find barren fallows on ſand that would give the fineſt crops of turnips. The ſame remark is applicable to the rich diſtrict of the N. E. The methods of Flanders and Artois have no effect beyond the deep fertile ſoils; nor the principles of thoſe methods, which are to the full as applicable to poor land as to that which is rich. They would demand turnips for the preparation on poor land, as much as beans or cabbages on the richer ſoils; but though ſuch principles are vigorouſly carried into execution on the latter, they are abſolutely unknown in the neighbourhood on the former. In this circumſtance, as I ſhall ſhew more at large in another chapter, conſiſts the material difference between Engliſh and French agriculture. The barren ſands of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the poor flints of Buckinghamſhire, and the chalks of Hertford, are as well cultivated as the rich loams of Kent and Berkſhire. There is as much merit in the turnips upon ſand, as in the beans upon clay. The ſainfoin on chalk and flints lay claim to the ſame merit as the wheat and hops of the deeper loams. Such ſpectacles are common in England, the ſame principles governing the cultivation of counties abſolutely diſtinct in ſoils; but ſtep out of Flanders or Artois into Picardy, or out of the plain of Alſace into Loraine or Franche Compté, and all principles, connections, combination, and ideas are all broken; you are in a new kingdom; you paſs a line of ſeparation between common ſenſe and folly. Here you are in a garden; croſs a river, and it is the field of the ſluggard:—on one ſoil the human mind ſeems active and alive, on the other it is torpid and dead. It will, perhaps, be found that this ſingular fact depends on government; but this is not the proper place for the inquiry.

PLAIN OF LIMAGNE.

Some pieces fallowed: ſtubbles ploughed to put in another crop. No fallow ever known at Vertaiſon Chauriet. Rye after hemp, and then dung for hemp again. Wheat after beans, and after rye alſo, and rye after wheat. Plant cabbages directly after hemp: 1, barley; 2, rye; 3, hemp; 4, rye. The reaſon for ſowing rye in this rich vale is ſingular; they aſſert that it is too fertile for wheat. Dr. Brés ſhewed me his beſt land ſown with rye, and his worſt with wheat: this plant on the rich land runs ſo much to ſtraw, that the produce is ſmall. It is evident from theſe few *traits*, that they underſtand the right management of their fertile plain very indifferently; and that, in this material part of the farmer's art, they are backward and uninformed.

PLAIN OF THE GARONNE.

In travelling ſouthward from the Limoſin, it is a remarkable circumſtance that fallows never ceaſe till maiz is met with; but that afterwards this plant becomes the preparation for wheat in the courſe, 1, maiz; 2, wheat; and this huſbandry commences at no great diſtance from Creiſſenſac, in Quercy; here begins alſo the culture of what they call *gieyſe*, which is a *lathyrus*, I believe *ſitifolius*, and alſo *jaraſh*, the *vicia lathyroides*. Theſe plants are ſown both in September and the ſpring, and aſſiſt in baniſhing fallows. Turnips are there found likewiſe, and more than in moſt other parts of France; they are a ſecond crop ſown after wheat and rye. Not far from Cahors four other articles are found in common cultivation, viz. a *vicia ſativa varietas*, the *cicer arietinum*, the *ervum lens*, and the *lupinus albus*; but maiz as a preparation is of much more conſequence, and hemp of yet greater; by means of which articles, fallows on the rich lands are unknown; but upon the inferior ones they are found as every where elſe in France.

The leading features of huſbandry in this rich plain of the Garonne, are ſimilar to what I have already remarked in the preceding diſtricts. Where the ſoil is of ſuch capital fertility, as to demand nothing that bears the reſemblance of improvement, crops the moſt profitable are crouded in; and the land is well cultivated, though with little merit in the cultivator; but where inferior ſoils demand ſomething more of exertion, there is here, as in all other parts of France, an abſolute blank; a fallow is the immediate reſource, and you ſtep at once from good into execrable management. The turnip culture of Quercy is a ſingular circumſtance in French huſbandry; I was not there at a ſeaſon that enables me to ſpeak of the methods in which that plant is cultivated, nor of the ſucceſs; but as we ſaw many fields, uncropped, in preparation for it, I am willing to believe that they really have the culture; and yet the univerſality of *raves* in France, called *rabbet*, *rabbioules*, &c. &c. another plant, and much inferior to the real turnip, do not leave me entirely free from ſuſpicion. I thought the queſtion merited attention, and I procured a few ſeeds, which I ſowed at Bradfield; I had but two plants; one was a turnip, but of a habit and ſize very much inferior to our own; the other was a rave, that is to ſay, with a carrot root (not at all like a tankard turnip), long, thin, poor, and, compared with turnips, of no worth. They have many of them in culture near Caen, in Normandy, in the road to Bayeaux. It is plain the *navets*, cultivated in Breſſe, are alſo the ſame plant, from the deſcription of Monſ. Varenne de Fenille, who ſays they are like turnips, *à cela près que ſa forme eſt plus alongée*[*]. The culture of the *lathyrus*, of vetches, and of the varieties of peaſe, &c. in the ſame province, are points of merit; and the more ſo, as they are found in conſiderable quantities on ſoils which, though rich, do not equal the exuberant fertility of the lower vales. The moſt ſingular circumſtance in the preceding minutes, is the infinite importance of the culture of maiz. From Calais to Creiſſenſac, in Quercy, you never once quit fallows; but no ſooner do you enter the climate of maiz, than fallows are abandoned, except on the pooreſt ſoils: this is very curious. The line of maiz may be ſaid to be the diviſion between the good huſbandry of the S. and the bad huſbandry of the N. of the kingdom. Till you meet with maiz, very rich ſoils are fallowed; but never after; perhaps it is the moſt important plant that can be introduced into the agriculture of any country whoſe climate will ſuit it. It is a more ſure crop than wheat; its product, in the food of man, is ſo conſiderable, that the populouſneſs of a country is neceſſarily very different without, or with this article of culture; it is, at the ſame time, a rich meadow for a conſiderable part of the ſummer, the leaves being ſtripped regularly for oxen, affording a ſucculent, and moſt fattening food, which accounts for the high order of all cattle in the ſouth of France, in Spain, and in Italy, in ſituations that ſeem to deny all common meadows. It is planted in ſquares or rows ſo far aſunder, that all imaginable tillage may be given between them; and the ground thus cleaned and prepared at the will of the farmer, is an invaluable circumſtance; and finally, it is ſucceeded by wheat.—Thus a country, whoſe ſoil and climate admit the courſe of, 1, maiz; 2, wheat, is under a cultivation that, perhaps, yields the moſt food for man and beaſt, that is poſſible to be drawn from the land; for as to potatoes, it would be idle to conſider them in the ſame view as an article of human food, which ninety-nine hundredths of the human ſpecies will not touch. They have in provinces, where the people will live on them, a ſimilar, though perhaps an inferior merit. But maiz has the additional advantage of affording the beſt food that is known for fattening oxen, hogs, and poultry, by grinding, or otherwiſe preparing the ſeed; thus affording a meadow to feed your cattle in ſummer, and grain to fatten them in winter. In ſome of the minutes, mention is made of a practice which deſerves attention, namely, that of ſowing it broadcaſt, and thick for mowing to ſoil cattle. In the ſouth of France, the climate permits this ſo late, that ſuch ſowing is always for an after-crop—and never done except after the reaping of ſome other produce. Such practices ſhould convince us of the ſuperiority of the ſouthern climates; and ought to inſtigate the farmers in our northerly ones to emulate theſe examples as cloſely as poſſible, by adopting the principle, though we have not the power to transfer the plant. Ploughing our ſtubbles not *after*, but *in* harveſt, for turnips, and coleſeed, approaches as nearly as our climate will admit. We have had a variety of turnips, and cabbages, and other plants introduced. I wiſh we had a turnip that would bear this late ſowing better than the common one. I cannot quit this ſubject, without remarking, that a very ſenſible French writer, ſpeaking of the culture of maiz in Breſſe, and particularly of ſowing the land every year in the courſe of, 1, maiz; 2, wheat, condemns it:—*cet uſage me ſemble pernicieux*[*]; and in an-

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[*] *Obſerv. ſur l'Agricult. p. 42.*

[*] *Obſerv. Exper. et Mem. ſur l'Agricult. par M. Varenne de Fenille.* 8vo. 1789. p. 24.

other place recommends fallow.——I am ſorry to ſay, that this great point of the arrangement of crops is as little underſtood by the enlightened world in France, as by the peaſants themſelves; one can hardly give a more ſtriking inſtance than that of an *œconomiſte*, who ſays, "clover does ſo much good to land, that you may take two or three ſucceſſive crops of oats, before ſowing the land with wheat *."

General Remarks.

Throwing theſe ſeveral rich diſtricts together, in union with one which I know by report only (the Bas Poitou), amounting in the whole to a territory almoſt as large as England, we cannot but admit, that France is in poſſeſſion of a ſoil, and even of a huſbandry, that is to be ranked very high amongſt the beſt in Europe. Flanders, part of Artois, the rich plain of Alſace, the banks of the Garonne, and a conſiderable part of Quercy are cultivated more like gardens than farms. Perhaps they are too much like gardens, from the ſmallneſs of properties; but this is not the place to examine that queſtion, which is curious enough to demand a more particular diſcuſſion. The rapid ſucceſſion of crops; the harveſt of one being but the ſignal of ſowing immediately for a ſecond, can ſcarcely be carried to greater perfection: and this in a point, perhaps of all others the moſt eſſential to good huſbandry, when ſuch crops are ſo juſtly diſtributed, as we generally find them in theſe provinces; cleaning and ameliorating ones being made the preparation for ſuch as foul and exhauſt. Theſe are provinces, which even an Engliſh farmer might viſit with advantage. Such praiſe, however, cannot be given indiſcriminately; for fallows diſgrace, in ſome rich diſtricts, the fineſt ſoils imaginable: a country can hardly be worſe cultivated than Picardy, Normandy, and the Pays de Beauce; every acre of which provinces would admit the excluſion of fallows, with as much propriety as Flanders itſelf. In the Pays de Caux, where fallows are very much excluded, for want of underſtanding the right arrangement of crops, their noble ſoil is full of beggary and weeds.

District of Heath.

To detail all the barbarous rotations, which ignorance has ſpread through Bretagne, Maine, and Anjou, would be tedious; the general feature of their management is to pare and burn the fields exhauſted, abandoned, and by time recovered, that a ſucceſſion of crops may bring it once more into the ſame ſituation. Great quantities of buck-wheat are found every where. In St. Pol de Leon there is a better conduct; parſnips are found; but broom is, even there, an object of profit. Common courſe, 1, broom, ſown with oats; 2, 3, 4, broom; it is cut the fourth year, but fed all the four: 5, wheat; 6, rye; 7, buck-wheat; 8, oats, or broom.—This moſt ſingular culture of broom is for fuel; the country has neither coals nor wood—and broom faggots ſell ſo well, that a good arpent is worth about 400 liv. or about 16l. 16s. an Engliſh acre. But it is of a height and thickneſs of produce, in St. Pol de Leon, much exceeding any thing I have ſeen; and they ſay, that four years growth of broom improves the land.

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* Encyclopædie. Tom. 5. p. 686. Folio.

Obſervations.

The vaſt province of Bretagne, which bears a near reſemblance to Maine and Anjou, is perhaps as ſtriking an inſtance as Europe affords of the immenſe importance of the right arrangement of crops; a great portion of all the three provinces is under cultivation, even a regular cultivation, however barbarous; yet ſo infamouſly cropped, that almoſt the whole muſt appear to a traveller an abſolute waſte. It was to me an aſtoniſhing ſpectacle, to ſee ſuch a wretched ſtate of agriculture in a province like Bretagne, which I knew enjoyed ſome of the moſt valuable privileges in the kingdom; which poſſeſſed one of the greateſt linen fabrics in Europe; and which was ſurrounded in every part by the ſea, and abounded with ports and commerce. But Flanders itſelf would, if cropped like Bretagne, become poor and contemptible. A great portion of the three provinces abovementioned is adapted to ſainfoin, and yet a ſprig of it is not found. Every acre that I ſaw was perfectly well adapted to turnips and clover, and conſequently to the Norfolk huſbandry; but there is nothing except broom, furz, weeds, waſte, and corn. Not an appearance of any thing for the winter-ſupport of cattle and ſheep, except ſtraw. Theſe provinces are admirably calculated for ſheep; but the number is too inconſiderable to be noticed. A change of the rotation of crops is the only thing wanted to alter the face of theſe provinces. It would be an impropriety to ſay, that government and feudal oppreſſions are the ſole cauſe; and that if theſe are not reverſed, nothing could be done; for the rich proprietors and wealthy farmers, the number of whom is very conſiderable, as well as the nobility themſelves, have their eſtates and farms exactly in the ſame condition, cropped in the ſame manner, and covered with the ſame quantity of weeds and rubbiſh. Conſidering how well adapted the ſoil and climate are to ſheep much the greater part of all the three provinces ought to be in ſome ſuch courſe as this; 1, turnips; 2, barley; 3, clover; 4, wheat. Alſo, 1, turnips; 2, barley, or oats; 3, artificial graſſes, for three years; 4, wheat; 5, winter tares, peaſe, beans, or buck-wheat; 6, wheat; with no other variation than taking the winter tares, peaſe, and beans immediately on the lay, if the ground abounded with the red worm, and wheat following. By ſuch courſes, theſe provinces would produce more than the double of what they do at preſent.

Gaſcoign.

I muſt, in the firſt place, remark, that the lands in which the preceding courſes take place, are but a ſmall part of this heath diviſion, which is moſtly either mountain, waſte, or *lande*; and that the *landes*, or heaths, of Bourdeaux cover two hundred ſquare leagues of territory; not abſolute waſte, but cropped with pines for reſin only. And there are other vaſt tracks that yield little beſides fern, and other ſpontaneous rubbiſh. In the ſmall diſtricts that are under cultivation, huſbandry, as it appears from the preceding minutes, is infinitely better underſtood than in the other great diviſion of heath, Bretagne, &c. It is, on the contrary, in ſome places practiſed on very enlightened principles; a circumſtance that muſt, if ever thoſe waſtes become cultivated, have very powerful effects in ſpreading there that good ſyſtem already eſtabliſhed in the country.

About St. Palais to Bayonne, many turnips in a ſingular huſbandry. I obſerved ſeveral fields quite black, and demanding what it was, found it the aſhes of burnt ſtraw: I afterwards ſaw them ſtrewing ſtraw thickly over the land. They do this on a wheat ſtubble, but do not think they leave ſtubble enough, and therefore ſpread much ſtraw, ſet fire to it, and it burns all weeds as well as itſelf, cleaning as well as manuring the land. As there are immenſe waſtes through all the country covered with fern, I aſked why they did not burn that, and keep their ſtraw? The reply was, that they preferred fern for making dung, cutting a great deal of it for litter. As ſoon as burnt they plough and harrow. They hoe and hand-weed, as I was told. After turnips ſow maiz, in this courſe, 1, maiz; 2, wheat and turnips; which is certainly deſerving of commendation.

St. Vincent.—They ſow clover among maiz in Auguſt; at the end of April or the beginning of May the clover is cut once, yielding a fine crop, ſometimes three feet in height; it is then ploughed up, and maiz planted again; after which ſomething elſe. Another courſe is to ſow rye; after that millet; and with this *barricots*, or kidney-beans.

Dax to Tartas.—They have three crops in two years in this courſe; 1, maiz; 2, rye, and then millet. Clover, called *farouche*, is ſown alone throughout the country, at the beginning of September; mown for hay in ſpring, and ploughed for maiz, in which caſe it is after rye, inſtead of millet: nothing can be better huſbandry.

To St. Severe good maiz; much land ploughed ready for clover. All the men and women in the country now hoeing millet (Auguſt 17th), on three feet ridges, with three irregular rows on each ridge; clean as a garden. 1, Maiz, and in Auguſt turnips ſown among it; 2, ſpring wheat ſown in January or February,

bruary, which is nearly as good as autumnal; 3, clover ſown in September and mown, fine crops, in March or April; 4, maiz planted again; and ſometimes flax ſown among maiz in September and gathered in April:—no fallow. Excellent! Theſe are rotations of a ſuperior kind; all the reſt in the diſtrict are bad.

General Obſervations.

What is equally applicable to all countries, that are, for the moſt part, uncultivated, or at leaſt in a very waſte or rough ſtate, like much in Gaſcoign, Anjou, and Maine, but chiefly in Bretagne, is the proper uſe and appplication of paring and burning; when ſuch lands are in ſome degree of culture, but not entirely reclaimed, this mode of huſbandry, properly uſed, is excellent; on the contrary, as applied here, it is a moſt barbarous and miſchievous practice. The common method we have ſeen is to burn periodically, and to ſow immediately wheat, rye, barley, or oats, as long as the land will yield a crop worth the reaping; then to throw it aſide, as if of no further value, and leave it to recover itſelf under a coat of weeds, broom, fern, furz, or any rubbiſh that may come. Abominable courſes of crops, like theſe, have brought the practice of paring and burning into moſt unjuſt diſrepute in every country in Europe. But ſuch a general condemnation is one inſtance in a thouſand of that utter want of diſcrimination which is ſo pernicious in agriculture. Paring and burning, properly managed, that is, in a judicious courſe of crops, is one of the moſt excellent methods of ameliorating land; but it ſhould always be made the preparation for graſs, and not immediately for corn; and it is in this caſe, as in many others, that the man who would wiſh to act on ſound and ſure principles, ſhould bend his views to get graſs on his lands, not ill termed a *layer* in Norfolk and Suffolk. Let him inſure graſs, and he needs not be anxious for corn; he has it when he pleaſes. Paring and burning ſhould always be given for a crop, that cattle may eat on the land, either rape, cabbage, or turnip, as the great maſs of alkaline manure ſhould have a mucilaginous one to act upon. A crop of corn, barley or oats (the latter beſt) follows, becauſe you cannot get graſs profitably in ſuch a climate as Bretagne, Maine, or Anjou without corn. In Gaſcoign, where it may ſafely be ſown in September, the neceſſity of corn is not equal. With this firſt ſowing of corn, the graſs ſeeds moſt ſuitable to the ſoil ſhould be ſown; they never fail in ſuch a caſe. And having a fine, clean, and uncontaminated produce of graſs, you may keep it as long as it is profitable, and anſwers your purpoſe; and after that you may break it up for corn, with a phyſical certainty of ſeeing none but crops large in proportion to the ſoil. And in the whole management of laying down, this rule ought never to be departed from, viz. of not letting wheat, rye, barley, or oats follow one another, without a hoeing and ameliorating crop intervening. Let ſuch principles govern the waſtes of Bretagne, and animate the heaths of Maine and Anjou; and the traveller will not then curſe them for *ſombre*, deſolate, and neglected provinces, but hail the influence of happier days!

DISTRICT OF MOUNTAIN.

To Perpignan from Spain, July 21ſt, ſtubbles ploughed up and ſown with millet. No idea of a fallow, where water is at command, ſubſtituting clover, harricots, millet, and maiz; but the laſt not in a large quantity. Their clover culture is very ſingular; they plough their ſtubbles the beginning of Auguſt, and clover ſeed is harrowed, or rather rubbed in by a piece of wood fixed to the plough. This clover produces much luxuriant and valuable food for ſheep and lambs early in the ſpring; after which it is watered, and produces by the end of May a full crop of hay. It is then ploughed up, and harricots, maiz, or millet planted, either of which is off in time for putting in wheat—and after the wheat, another crop of harricot or millet is taken; two crops are therefore gained every year. But where they have no water, fallows are known, which prepare for wheat. The fallow, however, is made on good land to produce millet, harricots, or barley, for forage. In the whole vale from Narbonne to Niſmes, the principal object are vines, olives, or mulberries; but the vale land, wherever good, yields much wheat; ſome parts of it being a conſiderable corn country.

Dauphiné—Montelimart.—Immediately after the wheat harveſt ſome buckwheat, which is now (Auguſt 23d), in full bloſſom; this, on compariſon with England, is gaining a full month of us, which, at this ſeaſon, gives two crops, inſtead of one. With a judicious management, they might have as good turnips after wheat, as we get with almoſt a year's preparation. Monſ. Faujas de St. Fond found all his farm in the fallow courſe; but now there is none, by means of ſainfoin and clover. Another moſt ſingular circumſtance, which ſhews what climate will do, is, that M. Faujas has potatoes eighteen inches high, planted on the ground which produced wheat this year.

Obſervations.

So far as my minutes were taken, fertile vales, however narrow or inconſiderable in extent, may be ſuppoſed to partake nearly of the character of richer diſtricts. The principal range of mountains here croſſed, is the volcanic country of Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais; what cultivation I ſaw in them is very bad, and not to be commended, but for its being carried to ſo great an height; it climbs up into regions, where nothing but the greateſt induſtry, animated by property, the moſt powerful of inſtigations, could poſſibly lead it. But in the modes purſued by theſe proprietors, whoſe poſſeſſions are very ſmall, there is little that calls for our attention. They are, in general, unenlightened, and practiſe the worſt courſes, with as unremitted exertions as the beſt. The principal, and perhaps the beſt feature of thoſe mountains, are the cheſnuts, which are numerous, and yield a conſiderable revenue to the proprietors. The mountains of Provence, which I ſaw both in the neighbourhood of Tour d'Aigues, and on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, are in general a miſerable waſte, and afford no other exhibitions of culture, than ſuch as had perhaps be better omitted; to look for proper courſes of crops, in ſuch caſes, would be abſurd. The mountains of Provence, towards the Alps, by Barcelonetta, &c. are covered, as mountains always ought to be, with herds of cattle, and flocks of ſheep.—The proper application of mountainous regions, is paſturage; whatever cultivation takes place, ſhould be abſolutely ſubſervient to the endeavours, after raiſing the greateſt poſſible quantity of winter food for cattle and ſheep. Wheat, rye, or other crops, to feed the families of the farmers, are, on compariſon with this, of very trivial conſequence. The courſes of crops ſhould therefore be not much more than an arrangement of turnips, cabbages, rape, potatoes; with the cultivated graſſes, that give the largeſt products of hay—and with corn, but in ſubſervience to the reſt. Such a ſyſtem, however, will not be found on theſe mountains. Nor is it a wonder that the great object of cattle and ſheep ſhould not be underſtood in remote provinces, when they are ſo groſsly neglected even near the capital, where all their products are ſure of an immediate market.

District of Stony Soils.

This miſerably cultivated diviſion of the kingdom, which preſents ſo few practices in common huſbandry that deſerves attention, offers nothing in the minutes that calls for notice, except the introduction of potatoes in ſome of their courſes; that root being much more cultivated in Loraine and Franche Compté, than in any other parts of the kingdom with which I am acquainted. The general arrangement of crops, throughout theſe provinces, being the common rotation of a third fallow, a third wheat, or rye, and a third barley, or oats, has reſulted from the great quantity of open land therein ſubject to common rights; it is, however, a diſgrace to the cultivators, that they too often purſue the ſame miſerable routine in their incloſures. It would be uſeleſs to dwell on ſuch huſbandry; it is enough to claſs theſe provinces among the worſt cultivated ones (vines excepted) that are to be found in the kingdom; and conſidering the extent of the open fields, there is very little probability of their amelioration.

District of Chalk.

Through the province of Sologne, the general rotation is, 1, fallow; 2, rye; it is the moſt wretched of all the French provinces, as more than once obſerved. The ſoil is all a ſand, or a ſandy gravel, on a white marl bottom; in ſome places quite chalky; and in others a clay marl, but white; and if we can judge by the ſize and growth of every ſort of wood, it has ſufficient principles of fertility for the production of any crop, well adapted to the nature of its ſurface. In every hole, and in every ditch there is ſtagnant water; ſo that in a dry ſandy country one of the firſt improvements would be a partial draining, which is an extraordinary circumſtance. I have rarely ſeen a country more ſuſceptible of improvement of the moſt obvious nature; nor any better adapted to the Norfolk huſbandry of 1, turnips; 2, barley; 3, clover; 4, wheat; rye has no buſineſs here, if the land was marled and thrown into the turnip and clover management; not the clover alone without turnip (which has been the common blunder of half the improvers, as they have called themſelves, in Europe), but by conſidering a good crop of turnips, fed on the land by ſheep, as the parent of clover, without which that graſs is but a poor matrix for wheat, on any but rich ſoils. The miſery of this *triſte* Sologne, as the French writers call it; the poverty of the farmers; the waſte ſtate of every part of the country reſult, in no inconſiderable degree, from the courſes of crops practiſed; the leaſt and moſt obvious change of them would give a new face to this deſolate province. It is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe worſe huſbandry than what is practiſed, I may almoſt ſay through every acre of the other provinces, which form the reſt of this extenſive calcareous diſtrict. Where the land is good, they crop without mercy; and where it is bad, they have nothing but fallows and weeds, inſtead of turnips and ſainfoin. All the ideas that regulate the agriculture of theſe chalk provinces muſt be abſolutely annihilated, before any cultivation can be introduced that can make either individuals eaſy, or the community proſperous. It is a ſtrange ſpectacle to ſee vineyards kept in the moſt beautiful and garden-like order, and all the arable lands around them nothing but filth and weeds; and cropped in courſes that either render them foul or ſteril. A conſiderable portion of theſe calcareous diſtricts ſhould be thrown into ſainfoin courſes; and the reſt in rotations of cattle and corn:—one year producing food for cattle and ſheep, and the next food for men or horſes.

District of Gravel.

To give any table of the courſes purſued in the two provinces of the Bourbonnois and Nevernois would be needleſs, ſince but one feature is found throughout them;—1, fallow;—2, rye; a ſyſtem to which they muſt be ſtrangely partial; for it is found in a country of which nine-tenths are incloſed, and at the command of farmers to ſow what they pleaſe. It is not produce and ſucceſs that ſhould make them in love with fallows; for the farmers are as poor as their crops: the common produce is four times the ſeed, and they have often leſs; and with all this ploughing and fallowing, which, according to ſome viſionaries, are eſſential towards keeping land clean and in heart, the ſoil is in ſuch a ſtate of degradation, that they actually find it exhauſted by their management, and to reſtore it to ſome degree of fertility, they leave it to weeds and broom for ſeven or eight years, in order to recruit the ſoil, which fallows cannot effect. The world perhaps cannot afford a completer inſtance of the futility of the practice *. From what I obſerved of the Bourbonnois, and I examined it with particular attention, as I had no ſmall temptation to become a farmer in it myſelf—the whole agriculture of it ſhould be ſubſervient to ſheep; and the courſe of crops ſo arranged, as to keep, by means of turnips and durable cultivated graſſes, as large flocks as poſſible. For corn, truſt to turnips, graſſes, and ſheep: ſuch tools muſt be badly handled indeed, if they will not make corn!—and very different corn from the beggarly rye at preſent in theſe provinces.

DISTRICT OF VARIOUS LOAMS.

It is rather a ſingular circumſtance that turnips, or, if not turnips (for I was not there at the time to ſee them), raves, with roots large enough to fatten very good oxen, ſhould in theſe provinces be not at all uncommon; and yet that the culture ſhould hardly have any effects in improving their huſbandry: the fact deſerves attention. I have been finding fault throughout France with their want of turnips; and here they are; and yet am I not ſatisfied!—So a Frenchman would exclaim. But the caſe is a comment on the importance of deeply ſtudying this moſt intereſting branch of huſbandry. It is not turnips that are ſo much wanted as a good courſe of crops. A five-and-twentieth part of a farm ſown with turnips, which are followed by wheat, may be practiſed till doomſday, before a farm will be improved; but let the turnips be eaten on the land by ſheep; ſow barley and clover with it, and take the wheat on the clover; and do this once on four acres; you will then do it on fourteen, and then on forty. But we may eaſily imagine how well turnips are underſtood in a country where the predominant courſe is fallowing for rye. The beſt feature in their huſbandry does not come within the ſcope of this chapter, viz. that of fattening oxen with

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* I have heard ſome practical farmers in England aſſert, that rye does not exhauſt; or, at leaſt, much leſs than any other ſort of white corn; if this be true, the exhauſting of theſe provinces is by the operation of fallowing; and the land recruiting, under weeds and broom ſeems to ſpeak the ſame language.

rye meal, and with the ſmall quantity of turnips which they have. So far as they ſupport cattle by *arable* crops, their merit is conſiderable; and is one material ſtep towards remedying the great deficiency of French huſbandry; but in regard to the arrangement of their crops, they are as barbarous in their practice as their neighbours.

General Remarks on the Courſes of the Crops in France.

The particular errors of the reſpective diſtricts, which fell within my knowledge, having been already noted and commented on, there remain at preſent ſome more general obſervations on ſuch circumſtances as are applicable to the whole kingdom. Whatever merit has been found depends on one of theſe two points, either upon an extraordinary fertility of ſoil, as in the caſe of Flanders, Alſace, and the Garonne, or on the culture of a plant particularly adapted to the ſouthern and middle climates of the kingdom, that is maiz. But as this plant is not found on bad or even ordinary ſoils, the poorer ones, in the ſame climates, are abandoned to nature, or to fallows. It is a moſt ſingular circumſtance, that the worſt ſoils in England are the beſt cultivated, or at leaſt as well cultivated as the moſt fertile; and that in France, none but capital ones are well managed.—When I come to explain the connexion between government and agriculture, this will be accounted for. The leading miſchief, in moſt of the courſes of crops throughout France, is the too great eagerneſs to have as much wheat or rye as poſſible. A vaſt population, and a ſubſiſtence which experience has proved precarious, have been probably the occaſion of it: but the blindneſs of the conduct can, with enlightened perſons, admit of no doubt. The more wheat you ſow, the more you do not reap; and that land, which is kept by means of large ſtocks of cattle and ſheep in good heart, will yield more when ſown but once in four years, than with fewer cattle it would do if ſown every third year. In the arrangement of courſes, it is neceſſary to throw all ſuch views abſolutely out of the queſtion: that conduct, in this reſpect, which is ſuitable to an individual, is proper for a nation. It rarely anſwers to a man to change his purpoſe in the cultivation of his farm, on account of ſome tranſitory expectation of a price; he ought to ſow his ground with the plant beſt adapted to his general views, and to the ſtate of his land: and not ſwerve from his purpoſe on the ſpeculation of any particular view; and in like manner, it will always be for the national benefit, that the lands ſhould be ſown with whatever crop is moſt ſuitable to them, and whoſe product will pay beſt, when valued in money. A populous and rich country can never want bread to eat, but from the fault of its government, attempting to regulate and encourage what can flouriſh by abſolute freedom only: the inhabitants of ſuch a country will always command wheat, becauſe they can afford to pay for it: and her own farmers will never fail of raiſing that, or any other product, in any quantity demanded, provided they are not impeded by injudicious laws and reſtrictions. In theſe principles, it is neceſſary to conſider all products as equally beneficial, provided they may be equally converted into money. The quantity of rye, in every part of France, even in the richeſt provinces, is probably one of the groſſeſt abſurdities in the agriculture of Europe; wheat is almoſt every where ſtained with it, to uſe the farmer's language. Yet throughout that whole kingdom, there is hardly any ſoil to be found bad enough to demand rye. All, generally ſpeaking, is ſufficiently good for wheat. In part of Sologne, near Chambord, there are ſome poor ſands, that would not anſwer well for wheat; but there being a rich marl under the whole, if improved and thrown into the turnip and clover huſbandry, it would yield more wheat than it now does rye; the ſame obſervation is applicable to the pooreſt lands of the Bourbonnois and Nevernois; after theſe, there are but very partial ſpots that would not yield wheat. In conſidering, with reſpect to the national intereſts, the proper courſes of crops for France, two circumſtances ſhould be had in remembrance, which may not at firſt be thought to bear upon the queſtion; it is the quantity of foreſt neceſſary in a country that either has not coal, or does not uſe it; and the vaſt tracks that are under vines. Theſe are ſubjects that demand notice under other heads, but here they ſhould be mentioned to ſhew, that while the quantity of arable land is thus prodigiouſly leſſened, attention to baniſh fallows, and introduce proper courſes of crops, becomes of the higheſt importance. When we reflect, that from a ſixth to a ſeventh of the kingdom is occupied by wood, and that the ſpace covered by vines is exceedingly great, at the ſame time that the waſtes are in ſome provinces of enormous extent, it will appear amazing how ſo numerous a people are fed, with a third or fourth of all their arable land incumbered, not cleaned, by barren fallows.

There are practical farmers in England, who think fallowing neceſſary; and there are no practices in the minutiæ of the farmer's buſineſs, but will in every age meet with thoſe who ſtrenuouſly ſupport and defend them. There is no period without ſome favourite ſchemes, every one of which may, under certain circumſtances, have merit; but the politician has nothing to do with ſuch queſtions; he muſt either conſider huſbandry in its great outlines, or he cannot conſider it at all; he muſt view the richeſt and beſt cultivated countries, and ſee whether all the lands in ſuch are not every year productive; he muſt enquire if ſheep and cattle in great quantities are not eſſential in a thouſand reſpects; whether manure does not depend on them; and whether corn does not depend on manure; he will aſk whether the converſion of the turnips of Norfolk, the beans of Kent, the cabbages and carrots of Flanders, the maiz of Guyenne, or the lucerne of Languedoc, into fallows, would in ſuch provinces be eſteemed rational national improvements? He will conclude, that as ſheep and cattle cannot poſſibly abound where fallow rotations are purſued, the firſt and moſt obvious improvement is to make the fallows of a country ſupport the additional cattle and ſheep wanted in it. He will draw this concluſion in the outline, becauſe he will ſee the fact eſtabliſhed and practiſed in the beſt cultivated countries, let their ſoil be what it may. The particular modes of applying the general principle he may not underſtand, but the leading principle is obvious to common ſenſe. The practice, however, of diſtricts, and even of individuals, ſpeaks the ſame language moſt deciſively. To compare this ſpot with that is not the buſineſs;—but that country, that farm, will be moſt improved and moſt productive upon which the greateſt quantity of cattle and ſheep is kept. This holds good of an acre, a field, a farm, a diſtrict, a province, or a kingdom. This point, of ſuch infinite and national importance, depends abſolutely on the courſes of crops. Reiterated and ſatisfactory experiment has proved, that two crops of white corn ought not to come together; inſtances may poſſibly be quoted to the contrary, but to reaſon on particular exceptions would be endleſs. If this rule be broken, it is generally at the expence of cattle and ſheep, and of dung; and whatever is purchaſed at that expence is purchaſed dearly *. Out of ſuch a maxim, the right conduct riſes naturally: it ſuppoſes corn and cattle crops alternate; part of the arable, therefore, maintains cattle, and part yields corn. This will decide the nature of the crop; for cattle and ſheep muſt be ſupported in winter as well as in ſummer; the crops for each ſeaſon muſt, therefore, be proportioned to each other, and the arrangement muſt be ſuch as preſerves the land clean. It would be evidently uſeleſs to take notice of the variety of caſes that may admit variations, without militating againſt the leading principles of ſuch a deduction. Land may be ſo rich as to want neither cattle or ſheep; it may, like ſome on the Garonne, produce hemp and wheat for ever; it may be ſo near a great city, that purchaſed manure may make other courſes more eligible; certain crops may be in ſuch demand, as to make it deſirable to cultivate them by way of fallow, though not for cattle or ſheep, as coleſeed for oil, tobacco, flax, and other articles. Such exceptions, which in the nature of things muſt be numerous, are, in no reſpect, contrary to the leading principle that ought to govern

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* It is not from theory or reaſoning, or even from the view of the farms of others, that theſe ideas are ſuggeſted; my own farm ſupports me in the opinion. The average rental of it is pretty exactly the average rental of England; but if the kingdom in general were equally ſtocked, it would contain twenty-two millions more of ſheep than it does at preſent, near one and a half million more of cattle, two hundred thouſand fewer horſes, and between two and three millions more of people. This is a ſyſtem which may be called national and political huſbandry. There are, doubtleſs, men who will aſk me if my crops are drilled? If I horſe-hoe very well? If my hedges are clipped? Or my ridges high or low, broad or narrow? Or, perhaps, whether my ſheep have horns, or my gates painted? It is in agriculture as it is in morals; a virtue purchaſed at the expence of a greater virtue, becomes a vice.

throughout this inquiry. For the winter ſupport of cattle and ſheep, there are turnips, cabbages, potatoes, rape, carrots, parſnips, beans, vetches; for the ſummer ſuſtenance, cultivated graſſes of all kinds, which ſhould neceſſarily be adapted to the quality of the ſoil, and to laſt in proportion to the poverty of it, and to the nature of the graſs. Hence then ſome courſes arrange themſelves that are applicable, perhaps, to all the ſoils of the world.

1, Roots, cabbage, or pulſe.
2, Corn.
3, Graſſes.
4, Corn.

And, 1, Roots, or cabbage.
2, Corn.
3, Graſſes.
4, Pulſe, or maiz, hemp, or flax.
5, Corn.

And in theſe the chief diſtinction, relative to ſoil, will be the number of years in which the graſſes are left: there are variations in particular caſes, but the number is inconſiderable. To enlarge upon and explain ſuch caſes, to ſhew in what manner they clear and improve; and to point out what the variations ought to be for adapting the general principle to particular ſoils and ſituations, would be a proper buſineſs if I were writing a treatiſe of agriculture, but would be miſplaced in the rapid view which brevity obliges me to take as a traveller. With theſe principles for our guide, we may venture to aſſert, that the generality of the courſes of crops in France, and all of them on indifferent ſoils, are abſolutely inconſiſtent with the profit of individuals, and with national proſperity. When Louis XIV. beggared his people, in order to place a grandſon of France on the throne of Spain, and to acquire Flanders and Alſace, &c. he would have rendered his kingdom infinitely richer, more proſperous, and more powerful, had he baniſhed the fallows from half a dozen of his provinces, or introduced turnips in ſome others; there is ſcarcely a ſtep he could have taken in ſuch an improvement of his agriculture which would not have given him more ſubjects and more wealth than any of his conquered provinces; every acre of which was purchaſed at the expence of ten of his old acres rendered waſte or unproductive; nor was one Fleming or German added to his ſubjects, but at the expence of five Frenchmen.

When the importance of attending to COURSES of CROPS is thus manifeſt and ſtriking, we ſhall know pretty well how to eſtimate the merit of the forty ſocieties of agriculture that are in France, by the ſubjects about which they buſy themſelves.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Irrigation.

NONE of the leaſt conſequence in croſſing from Calais to La Marche.

La Ville au Brun to Baſſie.—Meet with it firſt. The quicker the water runs off, the greater the improvement. Flat lands are improved, but the ruſhes not deſtroyed. The beſt water is the coldeſt—and immediately as it iſſues from the ſpring. Seldom irrigate in winter: cut but once. It is plain the practice is but ill underſtood here.

LIMOSIN *to Limoges.*—Every ſpot of land in the mountains is watered that is poſſible; and with ſuch attention, as marks how ſenſible they are of the importance of this improvement. The water is conducted very high up the ſlopes of the hills; and, in ſeveral inſtances, I was at a loſs to conjecture from whence it was brought. But in the low flat bottom it is badly done, with lines of ruſhes along the carrier-trenches, and little attention paid to the conducting of the water away ſpeedily enough.

Uſarch.—Water with great care; in ſummer they prefer ſpring water juſt as it iſſues from the earth; but, in the beginning of the ſpring, river water.

ROUSILLON—*Perpignan.* Great exertions in watering in the vale lands, and perfectly well underſtood. The richeſt arable, of the vale at Pia, ſells, if not watered, at 600 liv. the minatre (20l. 9s. 6d. per acre), but the watered lands at 1000 liv. (37l. 9s. 10d. per acre). Near Perpignan, a conſiderable aqueduct for it. From Perignan to Villa Franche, great exertions. They prefer, in many places, clear water—and the nearer to the ſpring the better.

LANGUEDOC.—Through all this province it is much practiſed, and with great ſucceſs.

Gange.—Coming out of this town, I was ſurpriſed to find by far the greateſt exertion in irrigation I had yet ſeen in France; a ſolid ſtank of timber and maſonry is formed acroſs a conſiderable river between two rocky mountains, to force the water into a very fine canal, in which it is, on an average, ſix feet broad by five deep, and half a mile long; built, rather than dug, on the ſide of the mountain juſt under the road, and walled in like a ſhelf—a truly great work, equally well imagined and executed!—A wheel raiſes a portion of the water from this canal thirty feet, by its hollow periphery. An aqueduct, built that height, on two tire of arches, receives the water, and conducts it on arches built on the bridge, acroſs the river, to water the higher grounds; while the canal below carries the larger part of the water to lower fields:—an undertaking which muſt have coſt conſiderable ſums, and ſhews the prodigious value of water in ſuch a climate.

St. Laurence—Lodeve.—Within a few miles of Gange, another ſimilar irrigation; the water taken from the river in the ſame manner, and lifted equally high by another wheel; this is juſt by the chateau of Madame la Marquiſe de Gange. For the whole way through theſe mountains, the exertions in watering are prodigious; there is not an inch capable of being irrigated, over which water is not thrown, conducted on the ſlopes of the mountains every where poſſible.

Beg de Rieux.—Every where watered that is practicable; and the bed of a river laid ſo dry, from its water being all taken for irrigations, that it is curious to view.

Campan.—Lands, with water at command, ſell at 600 liv. the journal (49l. 17s. 6d. per acre), of 700 cannes (about 19,600 feet), but not watered, from 300 to 400 liv.

Bagnere—Bigore.—Arable vale watered, and with great ſucceſs.

GASCOIGN—*St. Vincents to Dax.*—Several ſtreams above waſtes or bad lands, and no uſe made of them.

To Tartas.—Several more.

Beauvoiſois.—Some watered meadows pretty well done, which is an extraordinary thing in this part of France.

NORMANDY—*Neufchatel.*—Practiſed for meadows, but not well.

Falaiſe.—A vale of watered meadows that produce 100 liv. per acre, 22 feet to the perch (3l. 10s.)

BRETAGNE—*Belleiſle.*—Some ſcraps attempted to be watered, the firſt I have ſeen in this province, but ill done, and the water not carried of.

ANJOU—*Tourbilly.*—Irrigation abſolutely unknown in the country, though good opportunities are not wanted.

MAINE—*Beaumont.*—Fine ſtreams through all the country, but no uſe made of them.

NORMANDY—*Bernay.*—Some near the town, cut for the ſecond time, Oct. 3.

ALSACE—*Iſenheim to Befort.*—Firſt appearance in Alſace, and not well done.

BOURBONNOIS—*Moulins.*—Monſ. Martin, the gardener of the royal nurſery, who is from Languedoc, waters his garden after the manner of that province. A Perſian wheel of buckets raiſes the water from a well twelve feet, the receiver being placed ſo low as to have five or ſix of the buckets emptying at a time, and very little water is loſt; not the twentieth part, according to all appearance. A horſe turns the wheel. It raiſes 200 poinçons, each of 200 bottles, an hour. The water is conducted, by ſmall channels, to all the beds that want it.

AUVERGNE—*Riom.*—For two or three miles, a moſt noble irrigation, in a part of the rich vale of Limagne. The carrier-trenches all crouded with double rows of willows. A fine ſecond growth. Some land under corn that ſhould be graſs.

Clermont.—At Royau, the volcanic mountain ſides all watered; but it is coarſely done.

Izoire.—Much practiſed; their gardens are planted in quick ſucceſſion, by means of it: after hemp, cabbages immediately. The diſtribution of the water, in theſe gardens, is very defective; they throw it from the trenches, on to the beds with bowls, inſtead of flowing equally of itſelf. It probably ariſes from this circumſtance, that their gardens and hemp-grounds are not ſo valuable as what they call *vergers*; that is, watered meadows planted with apples, and other fruit-trees.

Languedoc.—From Riom to the Rhone, acroſs Auvergne, Velay, and Vivarais, all lands are, for the moſt part, watered, that are capable of being ſo.

Dauphine—*Montelimart.*—Irrigation carried here to a conſiderable perfection. Cloſe to the town, a ſeptier, which is one-half of an arpent of Paris, lets at 2½ louis d'or, or five the arpent, 120 liv. (6l. 2s. 6d. per acre). At a diſtance 60 liv. with obligation to dung every ſecond year, which is remarkable: 100 ſepterées, that receive the waſhing of the city, lets at 5000 liv. beſides 600 liv. for the winter feed of ſheep. They are cut three or four times a-year. In Dauphiné, the water of ſprings is preferred to that of rivers, except of the Rhone, which is as good. And the reaſon they aſſign is, that the former never freezes, but river water does; and conſequently improper to water with in winter. In ſummer, turbid water damages the graſs.

Provence—*Avignon.*—Irrigation is here carried on in great perfection, by means of the waters of the river Durance and the Crillon canal, made only for the purpoſes of watering. The meadows are mown thrice a-year, producing from 30 quintals of hay, at 40*ſ.* to 60*ſ.* the quintal, on each eymena of 21,600 feet (7 ton 14 cwt. per acre) at three cuts. Sell near the town ſuch meadows to 1000 liv. (76l. 10s. per acre); further from it, 800 liv. (61l. 5s. per acre). If the ſeaſon is dry, they are watered every twelve days; but in a moiſt time, once in three or four weeks. In ſome caſes, they begin with turbid water, and finiſh with what is clear to clean the crop. Never water their corn at all, but in extraordinary droughts.

Lille.—The road from Avignon hither paſſes, for ſome miles, through the dead level of the plain; the whole watered with great attention. The channels for conducting the ſtreams, appear to be traced with much ſkill, and the diſtribution is to every crop at will. There are many vines from which it is excluded; but it ſeems to be very ill management, to plant vines on land that admits watering. It certainly would not be done, if the profit on that crop were not very great. Much of this land is under clover and lucerne, watered; but the ſame, while in corn, is not watered. And the effect of irrigation is ſuch, that the clover (which is ſown among wheat in autumn) is cut once for hay the ſame year in which the wheat is reaped: thrice the following year; and then either ploughed up for corn, or left for meadow; in which latter caſe, the chief graſs that comes is the *avena elatior*. The ſoil a white calcareous loam, till within four miles of Lille, and then a brown argillaceous earth, without ſtones three or four feet deep, apparently of great fertility, with or without water. At Lille, watered meadows ſell at 400 liv. the eymena, and are cut thrice; but they complain of a want of water, which is extraordinary, for they ſeem to have the greateſt command of it. It is raiſed into gardens by many wheels with hollow felloes turned by the ſtream, and conducted artfully into every bed.

Vaucluſe.—The ſpring at this village, which will for ever be celebrated in the annals of love and poetry, ought not to be leſs ſo in thoſe of cultivation. The waters are uſed in irrigation within three or four hundred yards of the rock from which they burſt, and with great effect.

Orgon.—In going hither from Vaucluſe, there is much irrigation. Near Cavaillon the land is, for that purpoſe, dug, and ſome even trenched. At Orgon the canal de Boiſgelin, ſo called from its patron, the Archbiſhop of Aix, is a noble work, but unfiniſhed; it paſſes here in a tunnel four hundred and forty yards through a mountain; it is twenty feet broad, and eight deep; has no water in it, as the work has ſtood ſtill for ſome years, for want of money. The mountain it cuts is of chalk and marl; a ſtoney chalk, not at all like common lime-ſtone; and a ſtony clay alſo, but calcareous, with a fine chalky marl, twenty or thirty feet deep. Paſs on the great road to Aix for about a league, all richly watered, and then quit it for Salon. Croſs the above-mentioned canal, but without water in the midſt of an arid ſtony flat, that would pay admirably for irrigation; but in the vale afterwards the canal de Boiſgelin is finiſhed; finely executed in ſtone, and quite full; and there are three others, ſo that the quantity of water here conveyed is very conſiderable.

La Crau.—By this term is to be underſtood the moſt ſingular ſtony deſart that is to be met with in France, and perhaps in Europe. It is about five leagues every way, and contains, probably, from twenty to twenty-five ſquare leagues: in twenty there are 136,780 Engliſh acres. It is compoſed entirely of ſhingle, being ſo uniform a maſs of round ſtones, ſome to the ſize of a man's head, but of all ſizes leſs, that the newly thrown up ſhingle of a ſea ſhore is hardly leſs free from ſoil. Beneath theſe ſurface ſtones is not ſo much a ſand, as a kind of cemented rubble, a ſmall mixture of loam, with fragments of ſtone. Vegetation is rare and miſerable. Some of the abſinthium and lavender, ſo low and poor, as hardly to be recognized; and two or three miſerable graſſes, with the *centaurea*, *calycitropa*, and *ſolſtitialis*, were the principal plants I could find; and I believe, on recollection, an *eryngium*. I ſearched for the *lolium perenne*, but could not diſcover a ſingle ſtalk, or any ſigns of it; I conclude, therefore, that this plant was all ſo eaten down, as not in this ſeaſon (Auguſt) to be viſible. After travelling ſome miles on this extraordinary deſert, I aſked my guides if the reſt of it were ſimilar to what I had ſeen; and they anſwered me, that it was all alike, both in reſpect of ſoil and plants. The only uſe to which the uncultivated part is applied, is that of winter feeding an immenſe number of ſheep (to the amount of a million, as I was informed, but which I doubt), that are ſummer-fed in the Provence Alps, towards Barcelonetta and Piedmont. If any think that a million are fed here, the number of acres muſt be much larger than I have mentioned. The reaſon why I arrange this ſtony region under the title *irrigation*, is on account of ſome very noble undertakings to water it, which deſerve more attention than any thing elſe to be met with in it. In advancing from Salon into the Crau, at about four miles, the road croſſes the canal of Boiſgelin. The old canal of Crappone, at the ſame place, is ſeen diſtributing water in various directions, for the amelioration of one of the moſt arid tracks that is to be met with in the world. The canal de Crappone takes its waters from the Durance at La Roche, and carries it to the ſouthern part of it at Iſtres. This canal is forty miles long. That of Boiſgelin receives it from the ſame river at Malavort, and croſſing the other divides into three branches; one of which leads to lands in the neighbourhood of Iſtres; the ſecond, to St. Saumas and Magnan, and this part of the Crau; the third is a ſmall one, that turns to the left towards Salon. In conſequence of water being thus conducted to a region where it is ſo much wanted; ſome very capital improvements have been wrought. Some large tracks of the Crau have been broken up, and planted with vines, olives, and mulberries, and converted into corn and meadow. Corn has not ſucceeded; but the meadows I viewed, are amongſt the moſt extraordinary ſpectacles which the world can afford, in reſpect to the amazing contraſt between the ſoil in its natural, and in its watered ſtate, covered richly and luxuriantly with clover, chicory, rib graſs, and *avena elatior*. The mode in which the improvements were made, has been that of removing the ſtones for ploughing; theſe are laid in an irregular ſlovenly manner, by way of fences to the incloſures; and particularly in one part, where a new improvement has taken place near the road.—Upon the ſubject of watering this moſt ſingular diſtrict, I had converſations with ſome gentlemen at Salon, who much queſtioned whether theſe improvements had anſwered, the expences having been very great. On this point, I ſhall preſume to remark, that the great expence they put themſelves to in removing the ſtones with ſo much care, does not ſeem to me to have been judicious. If I were to attempt the cultivation of any ſuch track of ground, ſo level as this is in its natural ſtate, I would conduct water with the greateſt attention, but content myſelf with removing the largeſt ſtones only. I would ſow the proper graſs ſeeds on the ſhingle and water immediately; and aim more at converting the ſoil to good paſturage than to meadow. No ploughing, and no other expence than graſs ſeeds and irrigation would be incurred. After ſome years watering, I ſhould find the interſtices of the ſtones filled with artificial mould; and then a very little labour would convert it to meadow. In ſuch attempts undertakers are too apt to aim at complete improvements, and are diſſatisfied if they do not bring ſuch waſtes at once to the reſemblance of fields that have been long under cultivation; but to render ſuch works profitable, enormous expences ſhould be avoided; and ſomething left to time to effect, ſilently but ſurely, and without other expenditure than that of a little patience. It is at leaſt worth the experiment. I am much miſtaken if *water* and *ſeeds* would not make very valuable paſturage, without other exertions, and perhaps better than with tillage. Monſ. de la Lande ſpeaks of the Canal de Provence, which takes the waters of the Durance to Aix and Marſeilles, being 110,000 toiſes long; and of the irrigations, by its bringing in a million of livres a-year *.

Hyeres.—Never water corn, or any arable crop, except lucerne; unleſs it be in the greateſt droughts. Yet it is here perfectly well underſtood, and is the great ſupport of all the low grounds and ſlopes. They uſe it with great attention and ſucceſs. They have a pretty contrivance for watering their gardens, out of a ditch ſeven or eight feet deep, never thinking of the miſerable method uſed in England of carrying and ſpreading with watering-pots: on the contrary, they fix a poſt of five or ſix feet high on the bank of the ditch, and a long pole is balanced for ſwinging every way on the top of it, with a pail at one end, and a ſtone for a balance at the other. A man, by dipping the pail, which he does inceſſantly, and emptying it into a trench cut for receiving the water, ſupplies a conſtant ſtream, which is conducted alternately to different beds, prepared in the ſame manner as for common irrigation,—a contrivance highly deſerving the attention of thoſe who have perrennial ponds near their gardens.

Obſervations.

From the foregoing notes it appears, that in ſome parts of France, particularly in the ſouthern provinces, this branch of rural œconomy is very well underſtood, and largely practiſed; but the moſt capital exertions are very much confined; I met with them only in Provence and the weſtern mountainous parts of Languedoc. In the former, canals are cut, at the expence of the province, for conducting water many miles, in order to irrigate barren tracks of land: in England we have no idea of ſuch a thing. The intereſts of commerce will induce our legiſlature to cut through private properties, but never the intereſts of cultivation. The works I obſerved at Gange, in Languedoc, for throwing the water of a mountain ſtream into a canal, and raiſing it by enormous wheels into aqueducts built on arches, being much more limited in extent, and even confined to ſingle properties, might more reaſonably be looked for in the mountainous diſtricts of England and Wales. Such would anſwer greatly, and therefore ought to be undertaken; for I hardly need obſerve, that watering in our northerly climate anſwers upon moſt ſoils, as well as it does in the S. of Europe. The difference in value between cultivation, watered or not watered, is not greater there than here, except on arid and abſolutely barren lands, on which the difference ariſing from climate is certainly enormous. Under a hot ſun and in a dry climate like that of Provence, ſandy or ſtony tracks, ſuch as La Crau, yield, comparatively ſpeaking, nothing; but watered, they become clothed with the richeſt verdure, and yield the fineſt crops. In regarding, therefore, the latitude of a country as an index for aſcertaining the degree of improvement effected by irrigation, theory would deceive us greatly. Water gives many other things beſides humidity; it manures, conſolidates, deepens the ſtaple or ſurface mould, and guards againſt cold; effects as obvious in a northern as in a ſouthern climate. If I hold up the example of the ſouthern provinces for England to copy, the French will not contend that they do not want it in their northern diſtricts. In travelling from Calais to the Pyrenees, I met with this practice firſt in La Marche, between La Ville au Brun and Baſſie, having paſſed conſiderably more than half the kingdom; thence it holds, with little interruption, to the Pyrenees, and the whole diſtrict of thoſe mountains from Perpignan, where the practice is in great perfection, as it is through the chief part of Rouſſillon; almoſt to Bayonne all is watered; but ſtrange to ſay, it is unknown (at leaſt I ſaw no traces of it) in that part of Gaſcoign near St. Vincents, Dax, Tartas, and to Auch. Through all the N. of France, comprehending every thing N. of the Loire, I no where found it, excepting only a few traces imperfectly executed, at Neufchatel, Bernay, and Falaiſe, in Normandy, and at Izoire, in the Beauvoiſois, but to ſo inconſiderable an amount, that they do not merit attention in a general view of the kingdom. The duc de Liancourt, always attentive to every thing that promiſes public utility, has made a noble experiment at Liancourt, to introduce this practice into the Clermontois, where it is ſo greatly wanted, that many conſiderable vales are hardly better than bogs, which, watered, would be the richeſt meadows; his firſt cutting was ſixty-five tons on eight arpents. France owes much to the enlarged views of that active, patriotic, and enlightened citizen. Through Picardy, Flanders, Artois, Champagne, Loraine, Alſace, Franche Compté, Bourgogne, and the Bourbonnois, I will not aſſert that the practice is unkown; I have noted ſomething of it in Alſace; but generally ſpeaking, it may be underſtood, that theſe provinces are not watered. In travelling much above a thouſand miles through them, I ſaw nothing that merits a moment's attention upon this head; but I viewed and even examined many hundred ſtreams, in various parts of them, affording numerous opportunities of irrigation, without being uſed for this purpoſe. It is at Riom, in Auvergne, before this practice is met with in effect. Hardly more, therefore, than one-third of the kingdom can be ſaid to underſtand this moſt obvious and important object, one of the firſt in the circle of rural œconomics. If academies and ſocieties of agriculture are amenable to the judicature of common ſenſe, what are we to think of their employing their time, attention, and revenues on drill-ploughs and horſe-hoes—on tinctures from roots—and thread from nettles—while two-thirds of ſuch a territory as that of France remain ignorant of irrigation?

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* Des Canaux de Navigation. Folio. 1778. p. 175. 184.

CHAP. VII.

Meadows.

IN a country, the greater part of which is open, and much the greater part very ill cultivated, meadow muſt neceſſarily bear a price much beyond the proportion of other countries differently ſituated. I hardly know a ſurer proof of the backward ſtate of a country, than that of meadows bearing an exorbitant price. When chalk hills become covered, as they ought to be, with ſainfoin, the price of meadows ſinks half. When the arable lands yield neither cabbage, turnip, nor potatoe for the winter nouriſhment of cattle, hay is the only dependence. When the value of clover is little known, meadow muſt be rated at too high a value. Theſe ſimple inſtances ſhew at once the connection, and the cauſe. It follows, that the price and rental will vary, not according to the intrinſic value, but the circumſtances of the arable diſtricts in its neighbourhood. The price in France is every where conſiderable, and in ſome places exceedingly great; ſuggeſting no flattering ideas of the general huſbandry of the kingdom. The produce of hay is in ſome caſes large, but, on the whole, does not anſwer the price; ariſing, doubtleſs, in ſome meaſure, from the lands being fed at ſeaſons when food is ſcarce and valuable, and thereby leſſening the quantity of hay.

In the general management of meadow ground, the firſt feature is irrigation, on which this is not the place to enlarge. It is ſufficient to remark here, that hardly more than one-third of the meadows of the kingdom is ſo improved. Draining, ſmoothing the ſurface, by keeping it free from all mole and ant hills, rolling, weeding, &c. are performed very inſufficiently, every where, except in watered diſtricts: draining is almoſt univerſally neglected. Immenſe tracks, in all the provinces of the kingdom, and on almoſt all the principal rivers, are *commons*; conſequently curſed with rights abſolutely ſubverſive of all ideas of good huſbandry.

From the minutes I took of the uſeful plants moſt frequent in the meadows of France quite to the Pyrenees, it appears, that they are exactly the ſame as we find in the beſt meadows of Great Britain. The principal are, 1, *lathyrus pratenſis*, which I take to be the firſt plant for meadows that is to be found in either of the kingdoms, and meriting an attention which it has been very far from receiving; 2, *achillæa millefolium*, an admirable plant, equally neglected with the former; 3, *trifolium pratenſe*, the common clover, a biennial plant, but found abundantly in moſt meadows; 4, *trifolium repens*, the white Dutch clover, not valued by ſome very good farmers; but its being found largely in the beſt meadows of Europe, ſhould make ſuch an idea very doubtful; 5, *plantago lanceolata*, rib graſs; 6, *medicago lupulina*, trefoil, indigenous over the whole kingdom, as it is alſo in England; 7, *medicago arabica polymorpha*; 8, *lotus corniculata*; 9, *poterium ſanguiſorba*, burnet, excellent in ſituations and ſoils directly the reverſe of each other; on barren ſands for ſheep-walk, and it is found largely in the fineſt meadows. To theſe we may add another plant, found amply in the richeſt meadows over the ſouth of Europe, and indigenous in England on poor ſands, the *chicorium intybus*, equal, perhaps ſuperior to all the reſt, except the *lathyrus pratenſis*, the culture of which is different.

I ſay nothing of graſſes, from the extreme uncertainty, as well as difficulty, of getting ſeed clean. If the nurſery that affords it be kept without alternate tillage, many ſorts bad, as well as good, are found in it; and for alternate tillage, in courſes of crops, it muſt be diſcovered, that they improve and prepare for corn like clover, &c. Ray graſs, in England, has been cultivated under that great deficiency for a peculiar purpoſe, the early ſpring feed of ſheep. If the ſeed of the *feſtuca pratenſis*, *poa trivialis*, the *poa pratenſis*, the *alopecurus pratenſis*, and a few others, could at all times be procured at a reaſonable price, they ought to be objects of more attention.

When the plants are well known that fill the beſt meadows of a country, the moſt important knowledge is gained for forming new ones; ſuch of theſe plants as yield ſeed ſo plentifully as to enable ſeedſmen to deal in them, ſhould be ſown, and never the chance-medley of hay chambers, a practice pretty well exploded in England, but in France ſuch queſtions are novel.

CHAP. VIII.

Lucerne.

PICARDY—*Boulogne.*—LASTS twelve to ſixteen years; three cuts, very fine and thick; ſixteen pounds of ſeed per meaſure, about an acre; four or five horſes kept for five months.

Breteuil.—Value it more than corn; three cuts; in ſpots four feet high; laſts ten years; firſt cut for horſes, the reſt for cows.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Arpajon.*—Much; three cuts.

ROUSSILLON—*Bellegarde.*—Watering ſhortens its duration; give it water every eight days, when there is no rain.

Perpignan.—Watered lucerne in all the bottoms.

Pia.—By far the richeſt crop, and moſt profitable culture; it is ſown largely on two ſorts of land, the dry ſtony poor ſoils that are watered, and alſo on the rich deep friable loam in the vale between Pia and the calcareous northern mountains, which are not watered; in all caſes it is ſown broadcaſt and without corn. It is cut, for the firſt time, the end of April; and if watered every forty days afterwards, to the amount of five cuts in all; if the land be not watered it is cut thrice with a full product; and a fourth time with an inferior one. If watered it does not laſt above ſeven or eight years, but in other land twenty and even thirty years; the hay is preferred to all others; a minatre is worth 6 louis at four cuts (5l. 9s. 4d. per acre); I walked over many fields of it, and found the crops beautifully clean and luxuriant, of a complexion and product very different from what is ever ſeen in England, but not equal to that of Barcelona in height by a third. Perpignan to Villa Franché, take three crops of wheat after lucerne.

Sijean.—Yields two cuttings in dry years, and four in wet ones; laſts ten years.

LANGUEDOC—*Cauſſan.*—Fine; under mulberries; from thirty-ſix ſeſterées get an hundred ſeptiers of ſeed; the ſeſterée is ſown with 100 lb. of wheat; the price laſt year was 50 liv. the ſeptier. Vale land under lucerne lets ſometimes at 40 liv. to 72 liv. the ſeſterée; corn land only 15 liv.

Pezenas.—Lucerne every where; laſts ten or twelve years; is excellent for every thing except ſheep, for which animal it is too fattening.

Pinjan.—Sow 15 lb. the ſeſterée; always alone; cut five times a year, and laſts fifteen years, yielding 1200 lb. dry hay each cutting; and the ſeed of a ſeſterée has yielded 100 liv.; the preſent price of the ſeed is 45 liv. the quintal, and of the forage 40*ſ*.. When it is weedy they clean it by ploughing in the winter with a narrow pointed ſhare, chuſing froſty weather, which kills the weeds, but not the lucerne; an admirable practice, and apparently the origin of Rocque's harrowing, if it extend into Provence, his country. When it is worn out, their conduct is no leſs excellent: greatly as it improves the land, they do not venture to ſow wheat, but barley and oats for hay, not corn, for two years in ſucceſſion; a great deal of lucerne, puſhing from the old roots, would conſiderably injure any corn, but add equally to the value of a crop of forage, as they call it; and the mowing early cuts off abundance of weeds; after theſe two crops they ſow wheat, which proves very fine.

Lunel.—Much lucerne, but not fine, for the ſoil is inferior.

Carcaſſone.—Cut it four to ſix times, according to rain; laſts 10 to 14 years.

GASCOIGN—*St. Vincents.*—Cut in good years thrice, in bad ones twice; much over-run with couch.

Fleuran.—A few ſmall pieces uſed for ſoiling horſes.

Eſtafort.—Cut four times for ſoiling horſes, and it is the beſt food of all for them.

Landron.—See a ſmall piece of lucerne, but no other in the rich vale of the Garonne.

POITOU—*Poitiers.*—Laſts fifteen years; uſe it both for ſoiling and hay, which is better than that of ſainfoin.

TOURAINE—*Chanteloup.*—The duc de Choiſeul's cows always tied up the year round; in ſummer ſoiled on lucerne, which gave cream and butter of the very fineſt flavour.

Blois.—Pieces of it on a poor and almoſt blowing ſand; laſts five years; cut it thrice; and the produce more valuable than corn.

Orleans.—Laſts eight or nine years, and is cut thrice.

Petiviers.—Laſts twelve or fifteen years.

Melun.—Much here; laſts ten years; it is cut thrice, and the produce more valuable than wheat.

Yerſaint.—Cut thrice; the firſt yields 400 bottes of hay; the ſecond 200; the third 100; in all 700 (about 4 tons per acre), and the ſelling price 20 liv. the 100: or 140 the arpent. The fineſt of all their corn crops are thoſe which ſucceed it.

To Montgeron.—It is the beſt feature of their huſbandry. Sow 22 lb. of ſeed per arpent, with oats. It laſts twelve years. The price, at preſent, 20 liv. the 100 bottes. When they break it up, they ſow oats, and then wheat, getting by far the fineſt crops they ever experience.

Liancourt.—Cultivated in conſiderable quantities. Sow 30 lb. of ſeed per arpent, at the average price of 20 to 24 *ſ.* the pound. Monſ. Prevoſt, a very intelligent and underſtanding farmer in the vale of Catnoir, has remarked a great difference between the ſeed of Provence, &c. which is commonly ſold in the north of France, and their own. The former rarely ſucceeds ſo well as their own, which he attributes to the great difference of the climate: with their own ſeed they never fail.—The general cuſtom is to ſow it with oats. It laſts, with tolerable management, ten or twelve years; but on a rich deep ſoil, on a dry bottom, it has been known to reach the duration of twenty years. To deſtroy the weeds which ariſe in it, they harrow it partially with iron toothed harrows, and manure it with rotten dung. It is always cut three times a-year, and ſometimes four; but that is not common: a very good arpent would let at 150 liv. a-year, which is more than any other production in the country. The fineſt of all may give 1600 bottes of hay, each of 12lb. or 19,200 lb. which is above ſeven tons the Engliſh acre. In general, the crop may be reckoned at 500 bottes, at two cuts on a mine, or 1000 the arpent, which is 12,000 lb. or better than five tons per Engliſh acre. The price of it does not equal that of good common hay; nor is it reckoned ſo good for horſes. At preſent, it is not worth more than 20 liv. the 100 bottes: they ſave ſeed of the third growth, and reckon 200 lb. per arpent a middling crop. Seeding does not deſtroy it: on good land it is juſt as good after; but ſometimes on poor land it is injured. A vaſt object in the culture is the great improvement it works in the land; when they plough it up, they do not venture to have wheat, as the luxuriance would be ſuch that the product would be all ſtraw. They take two, three, four, and even five crops of oats in ſucceſſion, which are prodigiouſly great; and when the oats decline, they ſow wheat, and get a very fine crop!

Marenne.—Laſts twelve to fifteen years; cut thrice; when ploughed up, ſow two crops of oats, and then wheat, all ſure to be excellent.

Pontoiſe.—Near the town half the land is under it.

Braſſeuſe.—Commonly ſown with oats that ſucceed wheat, and often upon one ploughing only; yet ſuch is the happy texture of the ſoil, a fine friable ſandy loam, that it ſucceeds tolerably well, and would, with better huſbandry, yield an immenſe advantage; it laſts ten or twelve years, and longer when taken care of. They cut it thrice a year. It yields, at the two firſt cuttings, 300 or 400 bottes per arpent of hay fit for horſes, and the third is for cows. Madame la viſcounteſs du Pont, ſiſter of the dutcheſs de Liancourt, has poſſibly more lucerne than any other perſon in Europe. She has 250 arpents, 80 of which were mowed this year. I ſaw the hay, and never met with better or ſweeter, yet botted from the field in the method univerſal in France. She was ſo good as to inform me, that no food for cows yielded finer butter; I taſted it, and none could be better flavoured.

Dammartin.—Much; laſts nine years; cut thrice, unleſs for ſeed, in which caſe, twice only. The firſt cutting yields 400 or 500 bottes; the ſecond half as much. The archbiſhop of Aix, who has an abbey in the neighbourhood, has taken great pains to ſpread the culture, and has occaſioned near 800 arpents being ſown.

Soiſſons.—Laſts eight or nine years; cut thrice; yields at the firſt 300 bottes of hay, of 12lb.; at the ſecond 250; and at the third 100 per arpent, of 96 perch, of 22 feet, 46,464 feet (3 tons 3 cwt.)

ARTOIS—*Recouſſe*.—They have ſome; cut thrice; laſts twelve to fifteen years, and reckoned excellent.

NORMANDY—*Coutances*.—In the way to Granville many patches, the firſt I had ſeen in Normandy, and they increaſe to pieces of ſome conſequence; laſts twenty years, and is conſtantly cut thrice.

La Roche Guyon.—Much cultivated; the dutcheſs d'Anville has fifty arpents, and a farmer in the neighbourhood forty-ſeven; and I ſaw ſome good pieces in going to Magny; it is cut thrice, but does not laſt more than ſix years; ſow it with oats; when broken up, they take three crops of corn in ſucceſſion; in the open fields every body turns into it the 1ſt of November.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Nangis.*—Seed 20 lb. an arpent de Paris, at 12 to 20*ſ.* the pound (26 lb. the acre); ſow it with barley or oats that follow wheat; laſts ſix years, if manured eight; a good arpent yields three hundred bottes the firſt cut (1 ton 14 cwt. per acre), two hundred the ſecond (1 ton 3 cwt.), one hundred the third (11½ cwt.), each of 10 lb. (in all 3 tons 8½ cwt.); ſome ſown alone on a clean fallow in Auguſt, and this is by far the beſt; the hay 20 to 30 liv. the hundred bottes (2l. 3s. 8d. a ton); if let it is at 40 liv. (2l. 2s. per acre); when they break it up, two crops of oats, and then one of wheat, and all good.

Meaux.—When oats have two leaves, they harrow in the lucerne ſeed 20 lb. per arpent (100 perch 22 feet) (17 lb. per acre); the price per lb. 4 to 10*ſ.* uſually 6*ſ.*; the firſt year it produces, the firſt cut, but one hundred bottes per arpent, afterwards four hundred (2 ton 2 cwt. per acre), ſome five hundred, each of 12 to 16 lb.; the ſecond cut two hundred (1 ton 1 cwt. per acre), the third one hundred (10½ cwt. per acre), in all 3 tons 13½ cwt.; the hay of the firſt cut is given to horſes, the ſecond to ſheep, and the third to cows; it is never manured; but the ſoil is a deep rich loam, that is to be ranked among the fineſt in the world; couch is the greateſt enemy to it; they never uſe it in ſoiling, but always for hay; for mowing, making, cocking, and carting, 10 liv. the arpent; all is botted in the field. They are now (July 3,) mowing the firſt growth, but ſome has been cut ſome time; nothing, they ſay, improves land ſo much; all the good oats that Mr. Gibert ſhewed me, at Neufmoutier, were after lucerne; the difference between thoſe, and the other crops after wheat, being that of yellow and green.

DAUPHINE—*L'Oriol.*—Prepare for it with the ſpade, at the expence of 12 liv. the ſepterée; dung well; laſts five years; after that time, if they would preſerve it, they plough it acroſs with a little plough, called a *binet*, to deſtroy the graſs, and then it ſucceeds for two years more. When they break it up, they take five crops of wheat in ſucceſſion. I expreſſed my amazement at this execrable management; and Monſ. Faujas de St. Fond atteſted the truth of the fact. If wild oats come the third year, they ſow oats or rye inſtead of wheat, on that account.

PROVENCE—*Avignon.*—Much; it is uſually ſown alone in March, 5 lb. of ſeed per eymena of 21,600 feet (10 lb. per acre); cut four, five, or ſix times, and laſts ſeven or eight years if much watered, ten or twelve if leſs; they then plough it, and find the amelioration ſo great, that they take five, ſix, ſeven, and even eight crops of wheat in ſucceſſion! But, bad as ſuch management may be, it is not, however, to be claſſed with a ſimilar rotation among us, for water works miracles; and the wheat harveſt is ſo early, that it affords time for what they pleaſe. Lucerne ſuits light rich land beſt; the produce at every cutting twenty-five quintals (3 tons 3 cwt. per acre); but for this it muſt be dunged as well as watered, which muſt be done in winter, after the froſts are gone; if no dung fifteen quintals (1 ton 5 cwt. per acre); the price 40 to 50*ſ.* the quintal, being 10*ſ.* below meadow hay. They reckon the hay bad for horſes, blowing them up too much, but excellent for all other animals; I ſaw ſome of it at Avignon ſo beautifully green, that I felt it to aſcertain if it were really hay, and not, as my eyes told me, freſh cut; it is ſometimes let, and rents from 20 to 60 liv. the eymena (60 liv. is 4l. 12s. 9d. per acre); at five cuttings the produce per acre in money is 21l. 13s. 2d.

Hyeres.—I viewed a new plantation making by Monſ. Battaile; the piece contained one and a half acre Engliſh, and he was working it at the following expence:——Firſt digging, 96 liv.—Burning roots, weeds, clods, &c. 96 liv.—Dunging, 120 liv.—Second digging, 96 liv.—Seed, 60 liv.—Total, 468 liv. or 13l. 13s. per acre. It was left quite ſmooth and fine to the depth of a foot, free from every ſort of root weed, and laid in beds ready for watering, and now (September) ſowing; next year he will cut it four times, afterwards five, and perhaps ſix; it will laſt fifteen years, and poſſibly twenty; could let it at 400 liv. a year (11l. 13s. 7d. per acre), and the produce groſs 500 liv. (14l. 11s. 11d. per acre); and when broken up it will give great crops of wheat.

Obſervations.

The culture of the plant under our conſideration, is one of the principal features of French huſbandry. We have gone to the French ſchool for the culture of it, yet it is ill managed, and with bad ſucceſs in England, and has been ſo in every period; but in France, even in climates ſimilar to our own, it is an object of almoſt uniform profit; and it muſt therefore be unfortunate indeed, if we do not extract ſomething from the French practice deſerving our attention and imitation. The firſt leading circumſtance that demands our attention is the unvarying practice of ſowing it broadcaſt. The lucerne in Spain, which is of a luxuriance we have no conception of, and the little I have ſeen in Italy, is all ſown in the ſame way: a contrary practice, namely, that of drilling has very generally taken place in England; it has been repeatedly urged, that the humidity of our climate renders hoeing neceſſary to keep it free from the ſpontaneous graſſes; and, if hoeing is neceſſary, drilling is certainly ſo. But this neceſſity is not found to take place in the north of France, the climate of which very nearly reſembles our own. After ſome years, thoſe graſſes deſtroy it there as well as here; but the French think it much more profitable when that happens

pens to plough it up, than to inſure a longer poſſeſſion by perpetual expenſe and attention.

A Frenchman from Provence (Rocque), introduced this broadcaſt culture of lucerne, about twenty-five years ago, into England: I ſaw his crops, which were very fine, and equal to any in the north of France. Mr. Arbuthnot, of Mitcham, had it alſo in the ſame method on a large ſcale, and with conſiderable ſucceſs; other perſons have ſucceeded equally well, whoſe experiments may be found in the regiſters of my agricultural tours through England; the method, however, has not been generally purſued; and the little lucerne to be found in England is chiefly in drills. It certainly deſerves inquiry, whether this is not the reaſon of the cultivation at large not having made a greater progreſs with us. The introduction of hoes and horſe-hoes among crops that are cleared but once a year from the land, and with no neceſſity of mowing them cloſe to the ground, appears to be much eaſier, and more practicable, than hoeing and horſe-hoeing a meadow cut and cleared thrice in a year; and which muſt of neceſſity be mown quite cloſely. The preceding minutes ſeem to allow the concluſion, that the drill is not neceſſary for this culture; the broadcaſt ſucceeds well in every part of France, in proportion to the goodneſs of the ſoil and to management, like every other crop.

I wiſh not to make this a didactic work, or I could offer hints that might be of advantage poſſibly to the culture in England; I ſhould apprehend, that a turnip or cabbage fallow is the right preparation; if the field be foul for two years in ſucceſſion, fed on the land, ſown with barley or oats, three-fourths the common quantity of ſeed, ſay two buſhels; ſhould weeds appear the firſt year, I would beſtow 10s. per acre in drawing, weeding, or otherwiſe extirpating them; and after that the lucerne ſhould take its chance. Explanations are endleſs; a hint is ſufficient for the practical huſbandman, without prejudices: I would never manure till the crop was two years old.—Its ameliorating effect is a ſingular feature in the preceding notes; the accounts are ſuch as will ſurprize ſome perſons; but where huſbandry is not very well underſtood, effects ſo remarkable muſt be eſtimated with caution; and it may, without danger of deception, be admitted, that a material reaſon for this apparently exaggerated merit is, that fallows are the common preparation for wheat. If the French were well acquainted with the culture of clover as a preparation for wheat, nothing very marvellous would be found in lucerne. The intelligence at Pinjan indicates, in this reſpect, a conduct that is truly excellent; taking a tillage crop of fodder, winter tares for inſtance, on the firſt breaking up, is a practice that merits the greateſt commendation.

CHAP. IX.

Sainfoin.

THE brevity to which I am obliged to reduce my work, does not allow the inſertion of my notes on this graſs. To a perſon who conſidered them careleſsly, they would probably appear to be the regiſter of ſome plant quite unknown in England, for it would be difficult to believe that ſainfoin could be managed as it is actually in France. With us this graſs laſts generally from twelve to fifteen years; in France three, four, or five, and not often ſix years. I viewed much in many parts of that kingdom, and though it was not equal to our crops, yet I could not remark any appearance that ſeemed to ſhew a neceſſity of breaking it up ſo ſoon. This very extraordinary circumſtance I attribute to the ſhortneſs of leaſes, to the bad arrangement of farms, and to the importance of cattle being ſcarcely any where underſtood. Leaſes are generally for nine years; and a tenantry fixed in confidence upon eſtates is rarely found; under theſe circumſtances, one might naturally ſuppoſe, that a crop which laſts longer than the whole duration of the leaſe, and is known at the ſame time to prepare the land for corn, would not be cultivated at all; as he who ſowed would have no certainty of reaping the harveſt. The concluſion appears natural; but there is at the ſame time an objection to it which raiſes a difficulty. I found preciſely the ſame culture and the ſame conviction of its propriety among gentlemen who farm their own lands, as well as amongſt the tenantry around them. So far as it reſpects thoſe who do not occupy their lands, by means of *metayers*, at half or third produce, the objection has ſome force; but very little as to thoſe whoſe practice is different. Under the proper head it is ſhewn, that no improvements or new practices can be introduded under the ſpecies of occupation above-mentioned, without too great a hazard or much injuſtice. But where a proprietor fairly occupies his land, without the intervention of a *metayer*, he can have no inducement of this nature to act abſurdly. Either therefore the common practice influences the idea, and occaſions an imitation, without inquiry or experiment, or there are other reaſons for this conduct. When corn is the only capital object of a farmer, and through ignorance in his profeſſion he thinks there is no better view than to ſow as much as poſſible, regardleſs of every other circumſtance he may be ſuppoſed to be in haſte to break up ſainfoin before the proper time; he is eager to get thoſe three or four crops of wheat, which the barbarous practices of his country have permitted him to expect And on ſimilar principles, a farmer who has no juſt attention to cattle, and knows nothing of the art of making them productive of corn, by a well ordered arrangement of his fields, will feel no compunction at ſetting a plough to work in a ſainfoin field, at the very moment it is coming to perfection. Theſe remarks are chiefly applicable to crops that are apparently good; and, from their appearance, promiſe to laſt much longer than the farmer has an inclination to permit them: but for others, which ſeem worn out or choaked with graſs and weeds, another obſervation is neceſſary. There is not in any part of France, where I have been, the leaſt idea of making land perfectly clean and free from weeds, *as a preparation for graſs*; whatever attention of this ſort is any where met with, is all exerted in fallowing for wheat. Sainfoin is uſually ſown with a ſecond or third crop of corn, and in ſome places the farmers do not think of this graſs till their land is ſo full of weeds and ſo exhauſted, that it will produce corn no longer. In ſuch caſes I do not ſo much wonder at ſainfoin laſting only four or five years, as that it ſhould be produced at all, or that enough of it ſhould be found on the land to aſcertain what the crop is. The different circumſtances which may be ſuppoſed to occaſion the management I ſpeak of, it is not very material to diſcriminate. It is ſufficient to remark, that there can hardly be produced, in the range of huſbandry, a proof more deciſive of that art being in its infancy in France. On poor, chalky, ſtony ſoils, very indifferently adapted to corn, to be eager to plough up ſainfoin, before it is worn out, or to lay it down in ſuch a ſlovenly manner, as to ſhorten its proper duration two-thirds, is a conduct that cannot be too ſeverely condemned. I was repeatedly aſſured, that no management would make it laſt longer in France. To refute ſuch aſſertions, by ſhewing their abſurdity, would take up more room and time than ſuch queſtions are worth. The French cannot at preſent underſtand how much every ſort of the cultivated graſſes depends on a judicious courſe of crops; nor do they comprehend how ſuch plants depend as much on turnips (or on ſome other plant whoſe culture may anſwer the ſame end) as upon any preparation immediately to be given. Clean fallows in a kingdom, where agriculture is ill underſtood, will always be ſown with bread corn; but if covered with plants that are not removed or conſumed time enough for wheat or rye, and conſequently barley or oats to be ſown, the land may be laid down in good order, *provided the farmer will give up a ſecond crop*. To thoſe who ſow theſe graſſes with rye on fallow, this obſervation is not equally applicable; their common huſbandry offers the ſame opportunity, if they will forbear the ſecond and third corn crops. In ſome provinces, particularly in the Bourbonnois and Nevernois, on dry ſound gravels, ſome of which are on a hard bottom, the courſe is, 1, fallow; 2, rye; and the country is not open. Here, one would think, graſſes, and particularly ſainfoin, might very eaſily be introduced, as the farmers would have a crop in lieu of a fallow the third year; but ſuch is the perverſeneſs of French agriculture, that no graſſes are there cultivated. In many converſations

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I have had in France, on the ſubject of graſſes, a favourite topic in that kingdom, I have always told them they muſt begin with turnips; the connection with which they could not underſtand. It is, however, a fact, that this culture no where thrives without the fallow being a crop that yields green winter food for cattle; ſuch as turnips, cabbages, rape, potatoes, &c. &c. This is not the place for enlarging on ſuch a point; in the chapter of courſes of crops it is ſhewn, that the cultivation of graſſes, without that of green winter crops, is but a poor ſyſtem, and hardly worth attention. It appears from the notes, that ſainfoin is no where well managed, or on the ſcale in which it ought to be found, but that it is cultivated through a great extent of country; in ſome provinces, however, ſuch as the vaſt one of Bretagne, and ſome others, I met with none. There is nothing in the notes ſo remarkable as the ameliorating quality in preparing for corn, univerſally attributed to it in every part of the kingdom.—Wherever the compariſon is made, wheat is better after it than after fallow; yet ſainfoin is ſown without any attention to the cleanneſs of the land. This ſurely merits notice, and ſeems to prove ſtrongly how futile a preparation the expenſive one of a fallow is; and it ought to be received, as a leſſon of the firſt conſequence, not for the French only, but for ourſelves and every other people, that a *lay* is a much better preparation for corn than a fallow: and farther, that there is no improvement of land apparently ſo cheap or ſo ſure as a ceſſation of tillage by laying to graſs. Theſe concluſions ariſe from an uniform concurrence of facts obſervable throughout the kingdom. The general management of ſuch crops in France is indeed too bad for Engliſhmen to learn from them; but there is no country, from which we may not glean ſomething; nor any people, whoſe rules and experience, when properly combined with what we already poſſeſs, may not prove a valuable addition to the common ſtock of knowledge. It would be eaſy, and even pleaſant, to enlarge on ſuch topics—but I am regiſtering the reſult of travels, and not compoſing diſſertations on theſe ſubjects.

CHAP. X.

Vines.

THE number of notes I took in moſt of the provinces of the kingdom, relative to the culture of vineyards, was not inconſiderable; but the difficulty of reducing the infinite variety of French meaſures of land and liquids, to a common ſtandard, added to an unavoidable uncertainty in the information itſelf, renders this the moſt perplexing inquiry that can be conceived. It was an object to aſcertain the value given to the ſoil by this culture; the amount of the annual produce, and the degree of profit attending it: inquiries not undeſerving the attention even of politicians, as the chief intereſts of a country depend, in ſome meaſure, on ſuch points being well underſtood. Now there is ſcarcely any product ſo variable as that of wine. Corn lands and meadow have their bad and their good years, but they always yield ſomething—and the average produce is rarely far removed from that of any particular year. With vines, the difference is enormous; this year they yield nothing. In another, perhaps, caſks are wanted to contain the exuberant produce of the vintage: now the price is extravagantly high; and again ſo low, as to menace with poverty all who are concerned in it. Under ſuch variations, the ideas even of proprietors, who live by the culture, are not often correct, in relation to the *medium* of any circumſtance: nor is it always eaſy to bring individuals to regard rather the average of a diſtrict, than the particular one of their own fields. In many caſes it is more ſatisfactory to rely on particular experience, when it appears tolerably exact, than to demand ideas, ſo often vague of what is not immediately within the practice of the man who ſpeaks. Theſe difficulties have occurred ſo often, and in ſo many ſhapes, that the reader can hardly imagine the labour which it repeatedly coſt me to gain that approximation to accuracy, which I was fortunate enough ſometimes to attain. But, after all the inquiries I have made, with attention and induſtry, I do not preſume to inſert here an abſtract of my notes as intelligence that can be *entirely* relied on: I am ſatisfied, that it is impoſſible to procure ſuch, without application, time, and exertions, which are not at the command of many travellers. Contenting myſelf, therefore, with the probability of being free from groſs errors, and with the hope of giving ſome information on the ſubject, not to be found in other books, I venture to ſubmit the following extract to the public eye, though it be a reſult inadequate to the labour, variety, and expected ſucceſs of my inquiries. It is neceſſary farther to premiſe, that the reader muſt not contraſt the circumſtance of one place with thoſe of another, under the idea that a conſiderable difference is any proof of error in the account. The price of an arpent is ſometimes out of proportion to the produce, and the profit at other times unaccounted for by either:—this depends on demand, competition, the diviſion of properties, the higher or lower ratio of expence, and on various other circumſtances, which, to explain fully in each article, would be to enlarge this ſingle chapter into a volume; I touch on it here, merely to guard againſt concluſions, which are to be made with caution. The towns named in the following table, are the places where I procured intelligence.—None are inſerted in which I did not make enquiry, as I was at every place mentioned in the margin. The rents of vines are named at but few places; for they are very rarely in any other hands than thoſe of the proprietor; even where rent is named, there is not one acre in an hundred let. The price of the product is every where that of the ſame autumn as the vintage: thoſe who can afford to keep their wine have much greater profits: but as that is a ſpecies of merchandize as much in the power of a dealer as of a planter, it ought not to be the guide in ſuch accounts as theſe *.

At Epernay, &c. in Champagne, two-thirds of all the country around, about Aye, Cumiere, Piery, Diſy, Hautvilliers, &c. under vines: and here all the famous Champagne wines are made. The country producing the fine white wine, is all contained in five leagues length: and three or four more for Aviſe, Aungé, Lumenée, Grammont, &c. where they make the white wine with white grapes only. At Aye, Piery, and Epernay, the white wine is all made with black grapes. La Montagne de Rheims, Bouzé, Verſeé, Verznée, Teaſe, Airy, and Cumiere, for the *bon rouge de la Marne*. At Airy, the firſt quality of the white alſo made. With the black grape, they make either red or white wine; but with the white, only white wine. The price of the land is very high; at Piery 2000 liv.; at Aye 3000 to 6000 liv.; at Hautvilliers 4000 liv. The worſt in the country ſell at 800 liv. (3000 liv. is 105l. 9s. per acre, 6000 liv. 210l. 18s.)—The produce, as may be ſuppoſed, varies much: at Aye two to ſix pieces, and four the average. At Reuil and Vanteuil to 20 pieces. At O Vilet, a convent of Benedictines, near Epernay, eighty arpents that yield two to four. And the price varies equally; at Aye, the average is two at 200 liv.; one at 150 liv.; and one at 50 liv.—By another account, 200 liv. to 800 liv. the queu of two pieces. Average 400 liv. the queu.—At Reuil and Vanteuil, it is 60 to 100 liv. The vines of Vilet, 700 liv. to 900 liv. the queu. Red wine is 150 liv. to 300 liv.

Account of a conſiderable Vineyard, an average one, given me at Epernay.

		liv.	£.	s.	d.	
For an Arpent.—	Intereſt of purchaſe 3000 liv. -	150	6	11	3	Engliſh Acre,
	Labour, - - -	55	2	8	1½	
	Renewal (*provins*) ditto, -	24	1	1	0	
	Tying, - - -	8	0	7	0	
	Props, - - -	30	1	6	3	
	Manure, one part dung to 14 earth,	20	0	17	6	
	Vintage, 12 liv. a-piece, -	48	2	2	0	
	Caſks, - - -	15	0	13	1½	
	Taxes—taille, vingtieme, and capitation,	9	0	7	10½	
	Aides, 15 the queu, - -	30	1	6	3	
	Cellar, vaults, preſs, reſervoirs, tubs, &c. and building to hold them, 8000 liv. for 20 arpents, or 400 liv. per arpent, the intereſt -	20	0	17	6	
		409	17	17	10½	

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* I have permitted the above introduction to my notes to remain, though I have not inſerted them; for it would be idle to attempt concealing the number of paſſages where I have contracted theſe papers. Thoſe numerous minutes which I made in all the wine provinces of France, the brevity to which I have condemned myſelf obliges me to inſert but one, as a ſpecimen of the intelligence I procured; and then to proceed to a few general obſervations on the culture.

Product.

	liv.	£.	s.	d.	
An Arpent.—Two pieces, at 200 liv.	400	17	10	0	Engliſh Acre.
One ditto, -	150	6	11	3	
One ditto, -	50	2	3	9	
	600	26	5	0	
Expences, -	409	17	17	10½	
Profit, - -	191	8	7	1½	

Which, with the intereſt charged, makes 10 per cent. on 3000 liv. land, and 400 liv. buildings, the general computation, and which ſeems admitted in the country. Sixty women are neceſſary to gather the grapes for four pieces, by reaſon of the attention paid in the choice of the bunches, a circumſtance to which much of the fine flavour of the wine is owing, as well as to ſingularity of ſoil and climate; the former of which is all ſtrongly calcareous, even to being white with the chalk in it. A fine lengthened ſlope of a chalk hill hanging to the ſouth between Diſy and Aye, which I examined, is entirely covered with vines from top to bottom, and is the moſt celebrated in the province. It is indeed rather a marl than a chalk; in ſome places white—in others, much browner; and may properly be called a calcareous loam on a chalk bottom. This marl is in ſome places very deep, and in others ſhallow. I was ſhewn pieces worth 600 liv. the arpent, and others worth 3000 liv.; but the difference of ſoil was not perceptible; nor do I credit that this difference depends on ſoil: none of it approaching to pure chalk. It is impoſſible to diſcover, in the preſent ſtate of knowledge and information, on what depends the extraordinary quality of the wine. The people here aſſert, that in a piece of not more than three arpents, in which the ſoil is, to all appearance, abſolutely ſimilar, the middle arpent only ſhall yield the beſt wine—and the other two, that of an inferior quality. In all ſuch caſes, where there is ſomething not eaſily accounted for, the popular love of the marvellous always adds exaggeration, which is probably the caſe here.—Attention in gathering and picking the grapes, and freeing every bunch from each grape that is the leaſt unſound, muſt tend greatly to inſure the wine of the firſt quality, when the difference of ſoil is not ſtriking. The vines are planted promiſcuouſly, three or four feet or two and a half from each other; are now about eighteen inches or two feet high; and are tied to the props with ſmall ſtraw bands. Many plantations are far from being clean; ſome full of weeds; but a great number of hands ſpread all over the hill, ſarcling with their crooked hoe. As to the culture, in the middle of January they give the cutting, *taillé*. In March dig the ground. In April and May they plant the *provins*. In June tie and hoe the *ſeps*. In Auguſt hoe again. In October, or in good years in September, the vintage. To plant an arpent of vines coſts in all 50 louis d'or.—

There are 8000 plants on an acre, and 24000 ſeps; and the props coſt 500 liv. to keep up the ſtock of props, 30 liv. a year. It is three years before they bear any thing, and ſix before the wine is good. None are planted now; on the contrary, they grub up. Very few perſons have more than 20 or 30 arpents, except the marquis de Sillery, near Rheims, who has 250 arpents.—At Piery, there are 20 arpents now to be ſold, a new houſe, a good cellar, magazine, a good preſs, and every thing complete, for 60,000 liv. The vines a little, but not much neglected. For this ſum I could buy a noble farm in the Bourbonnois, and make more in ſeven years, than by vines in twenty. Thoſe who have not a preſs of their own, are ſubject to hazards, which muſt neceſſarily turn the ſcale very contrary to the intereſts of the ſmall proprietor. They pay 3 liv. for the two firſt pieces, and 25*ſ.* for all the reſt: but as they muſt wait the owner's convenience, their wine ſometimes is ſo damaged, that what would have been white, becomes red. Steeping before preſſing makes red wine. As to preſſing, to do it very quickly and powerfully, is much the better way; and they prefer turning the wheel of the preſs, by ſix, ſeven, or eight men, rather than by a a horſe. In regard to the aides or tax on the transfer of wine:

The proprietor who ſells a piece worth 200 liv. pays -	10 liv.
Ten ſols per livre, - - - - -	5
Augmentation—*gauge, conſtage,* &c. - -	5
Octroi de la ville, & du Roi, - - -	5
	25

The merchant, when he ſells it, pays the ſame; and every perſon through whoſe hands it paſſes. The duty at the port, on exportation, is about 15 liv. each piece. The cabareteer and aubergiſte pays 30 or 40 more retail duty. The wine trade with England uſed to be directly from Epernay; but now the wine is ſent to Calais, Boulogne, Montreuil, and Guernſey, in order to be paſſed into England, they ſuppoſe here, by ſmuggling. This may explain our Champagne not being ſo good as formerly. Should the good genius of THE PLOUGH ever permit me to be an importer of Champagne, I would deſire Monſ. Quatreſoux Paretclaine, merchant at Epernay, to ſend me ſome of what I drank in his fine cellars. But what a pretty ſuppoſition, that a farmer in England ſhould preſume to drink Champagne even in idea!—the world muſt be turned topſy-turvy before a bottle of it can ever be on my table. Go to the monopolizers and exporters——go to——and to——and every where——except to a friend of the plough!

The eccleſiaſtical tythe is a heavy burthen. At Hautvilliers the 11th is taken for dixme; at Piery the 20th, or in money, 4 liv. 10*ſ.*; at Aye 48*ſ.*; and at Epernay 30*ſ.*; at Diſy $\frac{1}{11}$; but with all this weight of tax, nothing is known, or ever heard of, like the enormities practiſed in England, of taking the *actual* tenth. The idea of the poverty attending vines, is here as ſtrong as in any other part of France: the little and poor proprietors are all in miſery. The fact is obvious, that a hazardous and uncertain culture is ridiculous, for a man with a weak capital. How could a Kentiſh labourer be a hop planter? But no diſcrimination is found commonly in France.—The aſſertion is general, that the vine provinces are the pooreſt; but an aſſertion, without explanation, is utterly ridiculous. To render vines profitable, it is a common obſervation here, that a man ought to have one-third of his property in rents, one-third in farm, and one-third in vines. It is eaſy to conceive, that the moſt ſucceſsful cultivators are thoſe who have the largeſt capitals. It is thus that we hear of the exertions of merchants; men who not only have many arpents of their own vines, but buy the wine of all their little neighbours. M. Laſnier, at Aye, has from 50,000 to 60,000 bottles of wine always in his cellar; and M. Dorſé from 30,000 to 40,000.

Obſervations.

It is merely for curioſity I obſerve, that the average of all the prices per meaſure, in the purchaſe of theſe vineyards, amounts to 61l. 8s. per acre; ſuch a medium demands very little attention, unleſs the minutes were exceedingly numerous, and equally ſo in every province. Rejecting thoſe in which the prices exceed 100l. an acre, as going certainly much beyond what can poſſibly be the medium of the kingdom, the average of the reſt is 41l. 1s. 6d. per acre. But I ſhould wiſh that attention were rather given to another mode of calculating the price and produce of theſe vineyards; there are twenty-three minutes that include both price and produce; the average of theſe excluſive of ſuch as riſe above 100l. purchaſe, and 21l. produce, is

For the price per Engliſh acre, -	£. 45	1	0
For the produce, - - -	9	2	0*

Which is in French money, per arpent of Paris.—	Price, -	871 liv.
	Produce,	175

From which it appears, that vines, in theſe provinces, give, in annual produce, one-fifth of their fee ſimple. The amount of labour per acre, on an average of thoſe minutes, in which it appears to be ſatisfactorily noted, and rejecting the higher articles as before, is 2l. 12s. 6d. The net profit appears, from ſeveral of the minutes, to vibrate between 7 and 10 per cent. on the capital employed. How nearly theſe averages, noticed in my route, approach the real medium of the but whole kingdom, it is impoſſible, with any degree of accuracy, to conjecture; but I am inclined to believe, that the difference may not be conſiderable. This, however, muſt be left, with a proper diffidence, to the well informed reader's ſuperiour ſagacity. The importance of this branch of cultivation to the kingdom, and the idea ſo common there, I may almoſt ſay univerſal, that the wine provinces are the pooreſt, and that the culture is miſchievous to the national intereſts, are ſubjects too curious to be diſmiſſed haſtily: as my opinion is directly the reverſe of the prevalent one in France, it is neceſſary to explain the circumſtances on which it is founded. It appears, by the preceding minutes, that the value of the ſoil thus employed was probably higher than it could be in any other application, good meadows (valuable from their ſcarcity) alone excepted: that the produce much exceeds all others; and laſtly, that the employment depending upon it is very conſiderable. Under ſuch leading and powerful circumſtances, and connected as they are with another not leſs eſſential, that vaſt tracks of the land thus employed are rock and declivities, too ſteep for the plough,—it ſhould ſeem aſtoniſhing, how an idea could ever be entertained that ſuch a cultivation could be prejudicial to a country: it is, however, very general in France. The queſtion ought to be put ſolely on this iſſue,—Would the ſame land under any other culture ſell at the ſame price? 45l. per acre, amounting to thirty years purchaſe, at 30s. an acre, is ſuch a value as France, in the richeſt vales, knows nothing of (meadows alone excepted, which will always be valuable according to ſcarcity and to heat of climate), and we in England as little. But this greater value ariſes not by any means from the richeſt lands, but from thoſe which, conſidered on a medium, are certainly very inferior to the reſt of the kingdom. Great tracks could be applied to no other uſe than of ſheepwalk or warren; much is ſituated, in ſome of the pooreſt ſoils of the kingdom, on ſands, ſharp gravels, and lands ſo ſtony, as to be inapplicable to the plough: to poſſeſs a climate that gives the power of raiſing ſuch land to the value of 30l. or 40.l an acre, is, beyond all doubt or queſtion, a ſuperiority that cannot be too much valued. The amount of the produce is not leſs ſtriking: rich paſtures ſell every where at high prices, becauſe they are attended with no expences; and thus a ſmall product may be claſſed with a large one; but it is not ſo with vines. The average of 9l. an acre, on a mean of good and bad years, is ſuch as no other plant will equal that is cultivated in France, watered lands alone excepted. It is only on ſingularly fine ſoils, in certain peculiar diſtricts, that any thing approaching ſuch a product is to be met with. There is no part of Europe, in which a crop of wheat of ſuch value is not exceedingly large, and much beyond the average. That of all the wheat, in any of the richeſt counties of England, vibrates between 6l. and 7l. an acre, prepared for, perhaps, by a barren and expenſive fallow,—at leaſt by ſomething much leſs profitable than itſelf. What then are we to think of a plant which covers your land with a rich crop of wheat every year? There are many men, however, in France, who will ſay, YOUR REASONING MUST BE ERRONEOUS; *for there is not a vine proprietor in France, who would not give you his vineyard for your ideal wheat of every year*. The obſervation may be perfectly juſt; but it is no anſwer to me, who am not ſpeaking of *net profit*, but of *produce*. To him, who conſiders the ſubject in a national light, and as a politician, the former is not the object;—the great point is to ſecure a large produce. The prince may levy ſuch heavy taxes on the produce; and it may be gained by ſuch an operoſe culture, that the poor may levy a much heavier for their labour; the conſequence to the cultivator may be a low profit, but to the nation at large the importance of the product remains the ſame, and unimpeached. And in this light I look upon that of vines as ſo conſiderable, that ſhould the fact of the real average of the whole kingdom prove leſs than I make it—even ſo little as 7l. per acre, I ſhould ſtill eſteem the culture an object of infinite national conſequence. In regard to the net profit, which on the minutes vibrates from 7 to 10 per cent. it does not ſeem to ſome to be adequate to the peculiar happineſs of the climate, and the reputation of the wine throughout the world; or to the price of the land, or amount of the product. But, in this reſpect, it muſt be conſidered, that the minutes, ſo far as they concern the returns in money, are the prices of the vintage only; whereas every man that has a capital ſufficient, by keeping his wine for three months only, adds conſiderably to the profit.—If a proprietor be merely able to ſtore his crop in caſks in his cellar, long enough to avoid the immediate neceſſity of ſelling for want of caſks, he has an advance of price, which will greatly augment the ratio of his profit: it is very fair to give the cultivator of vines the ſame time that is taken by moſt of his brethren with whom corn is the object, that is to ſay, ſix months from the harveſt. The difference of profit is exceedingly great between the ſale in the vintage, and that of ſix months after. But it is ſtill of more conſequence to obſerve, that the rate per cent. here mentioned, is not on the mere buſineſs of the cultivator, but on the purchaſe of the eſtate upon which the culture is carried on. This makes an enormous difference. If agriculture, in England, yield 15 per cent. and landed property three, throw the two together, and the mean is not more than 5½ or 6; and thoſe who, in England, buy an eſtate, and ſtock, and cultivate it, and make 6 per cent. will not think they are ſuffering, notwithſtanding the accummulated advantages of a century of freedom.

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* The Marquis de Mirabeau obſerved, that an arpent of vines is, on an average, worth double the beſt arpent of corn. *L'Ami des Hommes.* 5th edit. 1760. tom. 6. p. 137. This agrees pretty well with my notes.

It is this large annual product which in the vine provinces gives bread to ſuch numbers of people; beſide the direct object of common labour, which amounts, as we have ſeen, to 2l. 12s. 6d. per acre, and conſequently is above thrice as high as that of common arable crops, and if they are not in very complete culture, the ſuperiority is much more conſiderable, there is the trade of caſks, which, independent of the employment of coopers, gives a value to the woods of a country, as well as an activity to foreign commerce, by the import of ſtaves and hoops. The props have the ſame effect as our hop-poles, and render willow plantations, as well as common under-woods, much more valuable than they would be otherwiſe. Beſides, there is the circumſtance, that ſo many politicans regard alone, the exportation of the wine, and the caſk or the bottle; forming, whether in the ſhape of wine or of brandy (as I ſhall by and by ſhew), one of the greateſt trades of export that is to be ſeen in Europe; as much the export of French labour, as that of the ſilks of Lyons, or the cloths of Louviers. And after all this, if I be allowed to place laſt, what in truth ought ever to be regarded firſt, that is, the home conſumption, there is the invaluable advantage of a whole people being well and amply ſupplied with a beverage, the effect of their own induſtry, and the reſult of their own labour; and it ſurely will not be thought a ſmall advantage, that a nation has recourſe, for ſupplying this conſumption, to her ſands, gravels, declivities, and rocks; that ſhe demands it not of her rich plains, but of thoſe lands which her leſs fortunate neighbours are forced to cover with copſe or rabbits. But here we are not to forget, that argument is always to give way to fact. From what I have juſt ſaid, the reader is not to conclude that ſuch lands *only* are under vines in France, the contrary is the fact; I found them on the noble and fertile plain of the Garonne; on the richeſt lands in the vale which extends from Narbonne to Nimes; in the vales of Dauphiné and of the Loire; and, in a word, indiſcriminately on every ſort of land in all the wine provinces; but I found them alſo on ſuch rocky and bad ſoils as I have deſcribed, and in ſo great quantities as to ſhew how well adapted they are to ſuch ſoils and ſituations. There are two reaſons why vines are ſo often found in rich plains; the firſt is, the export of wheat being either prohibited or allowed with ſuch irregularity, that the farmer is never ſure of a price: but the export of wine and brandy has never been ſtopped for a moment. The effect of ſuch a contraſt in policy muſt have been conſiderable, and I ſaw its influence in every part of France, by the new vineyards already planted, or begun to be planted, on corn lands, while the people were ſtarving for want of bread; of ſuch conſequence, in the encouragement of any culture, is a *ſteady unvarying policy!* The fact is the more ſtriking in France, becauſe the vine culture is very much burthened in taxation; but, always poſſeſſing a free trade, it thrives. The ſecond reaſon is, that the culture of this plant is much better underſtood in France than that of corn. An advantageous rotation of crops, and that arrangement of a farm which makes cattle neceſſary to corn, and corn neceſſary to cattle, on which the profit of arable land ſo much depends, is what the French have hardly an idea of. In their practice it is never to be ſeen, and in their books it is never to be read.

But their vineyards are gardens; the turnips of Norfolk, the carrots of Suffolk, the beans of Kent, and the cabbages of an Engliſh gentleman are not ſo clean as the vines of France, while the whole œconomy of the plant is perfectly underſtood, both in theory and practice. It is a queſtion, which I have heard often ſtarted in converſation, whether it be nationally more advantageous that wine ſhould be, as in France, the common beverage, or beer, as in England? How it ſhould ever become a queſtion I cannot underſtand. We are, of neceſſity, *obliged* to have recourſe to our beſt lands to ſupply our drink; the French, under a good government, would have *all* theirs from their worſt ſoils. The ſands of Sologne, which are paſſed in the way from Blois to Chambord, &c. &c. are as bad as ours in Suffolk and Norfolk, which feed only rabbits. The French ſands, by means of vines, yield 8l. or 9l. an acre, and thoſe of Suffolk not ſo many ſhillings. Through nine-tenths of England, the land that yields wheat in every rotation yields alſo barley. If our hills, rocks, ſands, and chalky declivities gave us our liquor, could we not apply theſe richer ſoils to ſomething better than beer? Could we not, by means of rotations, that made potatoes, tares, beans, and artificial graſſes the preparatives for wheat alternately, contrive to raiſe infinitely more bread, beef, and mutton, if barley did not of neceſſity come in for an attention equal to what we give to wheat? Wheat, rye, barley, and oats exhauſt, every other crop we raiſe, either actually or conſequentially, ameliorates. Would it be no advantage to ſtrike out one of theſe exhauſters, and ſubſtitute an improver? Would it be no advantage to feed all the horſes of Britain on beans inſtead of oats? Your populouſneſs may be proportioned to your quantity of bread, mutton, and beef. With one-fourth of your land under barley, can you have as much bread, mutton, and beef, as if you were not under the neceſſity of having any barley at all? How few agricultural combinations muſt there be in a mind that can entertain doubts on ſuch queſtions? There is a common idea that wine is not a wholeſome beverage, I take this to be a vulgar error; bad wine, or wine kept till ſharp and acid, may be unwholeſome, but ſo is bad beer, or beer kept till acid: but this has nothing to do with the queſtion. If the lower people be forced, through poverty, to drink bad liquor, the complaint ought not to be that wine is unwholeſome, but that a bad government is unwholeſome: the beer drinkers under ſuch a one, will not have much to boaſt. There may be more ſtrength and vigour of body among the common people in England than among the ſame claſs in France; if this be true, it proves nothing againſt wine. Are the French poor as well fed as ours? Do they eat an equal quantity of animal fleſh? Were they as free? Theſe common prejudices, for or againſt certain liquors, are uſually built on very inſufficient obſervation.

But the enemies of vineyards recur to the charge; *the vine provinces are the pooreſt of the kingdom; and you always ſee miſery among the poor proportioned to the quantity*

quantity of vines *.—This is the main hinge on which the argument turns; it is an obſervation, that has been made to me a thouſand times in France, and converſation never touches on the ſubject but you are ſure to hear it repeated.—There is ſome truth in it as a fact—there is none as an argument. There is uſually a conſiderable population in vine provinces; and doubtleſs it is not ſurpriſing, that where there is a great population there ſhould be many poor, under a bad government. But there is another reaſon much more ſatisfactory, which ariſes not at all from the nature of the culture, but from the abuſe of it. It is the ſmallneſs of the property into which vineyards are uſually divided; a circumſtance carried to ſuch exceſs, that the miſery flowing from it can hardly be imagined by thoſe who are whirled through France in a poſt-chaiſe. The nature of the culture depending almoſt entirely on manual labour, and demanding no other capital than the poſſeſſion of the land and a pair of arms; no carts, no ploughs, no cattle, neceſſarily leads the poor people to this ſpecies of property; and the univerſal practice of dividing it between the children, multiplies theſe little farms to ſuch a degree, that a family depends on a ſpot of land for ſupport that cannot poſſibly yield it; this weakens the application to other induſtry, rivets the children to a ſpot from which they ought to emigrate, and gives them a flattering intereſt in a piece of land, that tempts them to remain when better intereſts call them elſewhere. The conſequence is, their labouring as much as they can for their richer neighbours; their own little vineyards are then neglected; and that culture, which to a more able proprietor is deciſively advantageous, becomes ruinous to inſufficient funds. But a misfortune, greater even than this, is the uncertainty of the crop; to a man of a proper capital, and who conſequently regards only the average of ſeven years, this is of no account; but to the poor proprietor, who lives from hand to mouth, it is fatal; he cannot ſee half a year's labour loſt by hail, froſt, cold, or other inclemencies of the ſeaſon, without ſeeing, at the ſame time, his children in want of bread; before the ample produce comes, which certainly will come on the average account, he finds himſelf in the hoſpital. This I take to be the origin of that general and too indiſcriminate condemnation of vineyards in France. The poverty is obvious; it is connected with vines, and for want of proper diſtinctions, it is conſidered as neceſſarily flowing from vineyards; but in fact it is merely the reſult of ſmall properties amongſt the poor: a poor family can no where be better ſituated than in a vine province, provided he poſſeſs not a plant. Whatever may be the ſeaſon, they are ſure of ample employment among their richer neighbours, and to an amount, as we have above ſeen, thrice as great as any other arable lands afford. That culture which demands 2l. 12s. in hand labour only, whether there be crop or no crop, and which employs women and children of all ages, ought not ſurely to be condemned as the origin of diſtreſs among the poor. Attribute the fact to its true cauſe, the deſire and ſpirit of poſſeſſing landed-property, which is univerſal in France, and occaſions infinite miſery. This circumſtance, ſo prevalent in that kingdom, and (comparatively ſpeaking) ſo little known in ours, where the poor are ſo much more at their eaſe than in France and moſt other countries, is very curious to a political obſerver. What an apparent contradiction, that property ſhould be the parent of poverty, yet there is not a clearer or better aſcertained fact in the range of modern politics. The only property fit for a poor family, is their cottage, garden, and perhaps graſs land enough to yield milk; this needs not of neceſſity impede their daily labour; if they have more, they are to be claſſed with farmers, and will have arable fields, which muſt, in the nature of things, be ill cultivated, and the national intereſt conſequently ſuffer.

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* So lately as in the Journal Phyſique for May 1790, Monſ. Roland de la Platiere, a gentleman with whom I had the pleaſure of ſome agreeable converſation at Lyons, ſays, that of all countries the vine ones are the pooreſt, and the people the moſt wretched! And in the *cahier* of the clergy of Auxerre, it is demanded, that the ordonances againſt planting vines on land proper for corn be executed. p. 19.

The explanations I have given of the wine ſyſtem in France will be received, I truſt, with candour. To inveſtigate ſuch queſtions fully, would demand diſſertations expreſſly written on every ſubject that ariſes, which would be inconſiſtent with the brevity neceſſary to the regiſter of travels: I attempt no more than to arrange the facts procured; it belongs to the political arithmetician fully to combine and illuſtrate them.

CHAP. XI.

Of Incloſures in France.

THERE is ſcarcely a circumſtance concerning this great kingdom, which ought to be ſo well known, and yet which is ſo groſſly miſrepreſented, both in common books and common converſation, as the ſubject of this inquiry. The idle loungers, that write the guides and journies to Paris and Rome, would make their readers believe, that if you turn a horſe looſe at Calais, he may run to Bayonne for want of an incloſure to ſtop him. France is certainly much leſs incloſed than England; but the travellers, who take the common route only from Calais to Paris, Dijon, Lyons, and Chambery, can have no more idea of the incloſures in that kingdom, than if they had ſtaid at home in Portman or Groſvenor-ſquares. The principal diſtricts of incloſure which I viewed are, all Bretagne, the weſtern part of Normandy, with the northern part to the Seine.

Moſt of Anjou and Maine, as far as near Allençon. To the S. of the Loire an immenſe range of country is incloſed; Bas Poitou, Touraine, Sologne, Berry, Limoſin, the Bourbonnois, and much of the Nevernois; and from Mont Cenis in Burgundy, to St. Poncin in Auvergne, all is incloſed. There is ſome open country in the Angoumois, and the eaſtern part of Poitou, but more is incloſed. Quercy is partly ſo; but the whole diſtrict of the Pyrenees, from Perpignan to Bayonne, extending to Auch, and almoſt to Toulouſe, is all (waſtes excepted) thickly incloſed. This contiguous maſs of country comprehends not leſs than 11,000 ſquare leagues [*] of the 26,000 contained in the whole kingdom; and if to this we add the conſiderable diſtricts in other parts of France which are incloſed, they will, beyond a doubt, raiſe the total to a full half of the kingdom. It is to be conſidered, that Provence, eſpecially about Avignon, is not without incloſures; Dauphiné has more. The whole range of the mountainous diſtrict of Auvergne, Velay, Vivarais, and Cevenois, contains many: Franche Compté and Burgundy, eſpecially the former, have large tracks incloſed: Loraine has ſome; and Flanders has them throughout. Add to this, moſt of the vineyards, woods and foreſts, and meadows [†], of the kingdom; and it will not be thought too large an allowance, to ſuppoſe one-half of it in this ſtate. In ſuch a calculation, it would be abſurd to pretend to accuracy; it is a gueſs, founded on actual obſervation, and innumerable notes taken on the ſpot. Some of the incloſed provinces are chequered by open fields; and every open province is chequered by tracks that are incloſed. Another remark, not unneceſſary to make, for the uſe of ſuch as may travel in future, is, that there are many lands in France really incloſed for moſt of the purpoſes of huſbandry, though apparently open; that is, property is abſolutely diſtinguiſhed, though without the limit of a hedge or a ditch. The uſe which is made of incloſures in this great kingdom, is a ſubject of more importance. If they do not know what to do with them, they might as well not have them. That this is really the caſe, no perſon can doubt who travels there with attention; and a ſtronger proof cannot be adduced, than that the ſame price per arpent ſhould be given for incloſed and open lands, provided both are arable. This fact I met with often, to my aſtoniſhment. It is the more ſingular, becauſe there are many parts alſo of the ſame kingdom, where the ſmall proprietors ſhew, by their practice, how well they underſtand the value of incloſing; no ſooner acquiring the ſoil, than immediately ſecuring it to themſelves by hedges, or ditches, or both. Bearn is as ſtriking an inſtance of this as any part of Europe can exhibit. There is not a diſtrict in England cloſer, thicker, or better incloſed; and, what is uncommon in France, gates and ſtiles are in good order. The whole territory of the Pyrenees is in general an incloſed country, but fences are not ſo neat, or ſo well preſerved, as in Bearn. In Bretagne alſo, the whole of which is more or leſs incloſed, though ordinarily with a rough and ſavage aſpect, yet there is a diſtrict from Guingamp to Belleiſle much better, where the gates are ingeniouſly contrived to ſave iron; by means of the poſts being ſtout, that on which the gate ſwings has a projection at top and at bottom, the latter being ſufficient for the gate to turn *on*, and the former to turn *in*, for confining it to the perpendicular poſition; and the other poſt has a hole, ſlit, or gaſh, cut acroſs the face of it, for lifting a projection of the head of the gate into, by which it is as ſecurely faſtened, as by means of irons in the gates of England—a contrivance that anſwers well where wood is not too dear.

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[*] That is, equal to the contents of the following generalities Rennes, Caen, Tours, Bourges, Poitiers, Limoges, Moulins, Rochelle, Auch and Pau, Montauban, and Bourdeaux.

[†] Not all; for many are common, and there are rights over others.

It cannot be doubted, but that in theſe provinces, and in Limoſin, Berry, and others, where I obſerved the hedges well kept, and gaps attentively mended, the farmers muſt be well perſuaded, from experience, of the advantages of incloſing. They would not put themſelves to a conſiderable expenſe, if they did not expect a reimburſement. But in the provinces where the open fields predominate, there incloſures are little valued: I do not well underſtand the reaſon for this;—if the huſbandry varied in the incloſed fields, from that of the unincloſed ones, there would be nothing ſurpriſing in it; but the marvellous folly is, that, in nine-tenths of all the incloſures of France, the ſyſtem of management is preciſely the ſame as in the open fields; that is to ſay, fallows as regularly prevail, and conſequently the cattle and ſheep of a farm are nothing in compariſon of what they ought to be. Flanders and Alſace, and in general the very rich ſoils, are well cultivated, but not every where; for the noble loams of Bernay to Elbœuf, and thoſe of the Pays de Caux, are diſgraced with fallows. Sologne is incloſed, yet it is the moſt miſerable province in France, of the ſame rank with Bretagne itſelf. The Bourbonnois, and great part of the Nevernois, are incloſed; yet the courſe purſued is, 1, fallow; 2, rye; and, 1, fallow; 2, rye; 3, left to weeds and broom—and all theſe on ſoils, as Bretagne, Sologne, and the Bourbonnois, highly improveable, and capable of the beſt Norfolk huſbandry. With ſuch miſerable ſyſtems, of what good are iuclosures?—Hence we may draw this concluſion, that when we find half of France incloſed, we are not to ſuppoſe that kingdom in the ſtate of improvement and cultivation, which this circumſtance implies among us; on the contrary, it indicates no ſuch thing; for ſome of the pooreſt, and moſt unimproved provinces, are preciſely theſe which are incloſed; and, for what I know, there may be viſionary theoriſts in that kingdom, who will, from this circumſtance, argue againſt the practice of incloſing, ſince no abſurdities are ſo groſs as to want advocates.

The chief cauſe of new incloſure in France, that fell within my knowledge, is, that the communities of many pariſhes, in various parts of the kingdom, and particularly in the territory of the Pyrenees, being proprietors of the waſtes, ſell them to any perſon that applies for the property; to him they give an abſolute aſſignment, without reſerving any rights of commonage or fuel; in conſequence of which, the purchaſer has the power of incloſure, of which he never fails making uſe. Hence ſuch numerous improvements have been made in the mountainous provinces. On the other hand, in the waſte plains of Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and Guienne, the whole being in the hands of great lords or ſeigneurs, who will not ſell, but only fief out theſe waſtes, we ſee them remain in the ſame barren and deſolate ſtate in which they were five hundred years ago; nor is it a ſmall impediment, in theſe caſes, that the rights of commonage are claimed in many inſtances by communities, when the property is in the ſeigneurs; a claim that has no exiſtence when the property is in the communities themſelves.

The open arable fields of Picardy, Artois, part of Normandy, the Iſle of France, Brie, and the Pays de Beauce, are curſed with all the miſchievous circumſtances known in ſimilar caſes in England, ſuch as rights of common paſturage, commencing on given days, when under corn, and throughout the fallow year; as well as that miſerable phantaſtical diviſion of property which ſeems to have been contrived, for giving an occupier as much trouble and expence as poſſible in the culture of his ſcraps of fields. In England we have been making, for forty or fifty years paſt, a conſiderable progreſs in the allotment and incloſure of open fields; and though tythes, folly, obſtinacy, prejudice, and heavy expences in parliament, operate powerfully in preventing great numbers of incloſures, yet we have enough to preſerve the habit, mode, and ſyſtem of doing the buſineſs; it goes on; and, from the progreſs of good ſenſe and experience, we may hope to have the whole kingdom incloſed in another century. In France, on the contrary, they have not taken the firſt ſtep; they have not deviſed a method of proceeding; they know not, nor have any idea of giving full powers to commiſſioners to go through the Herculean labour, as the French would eſteem it, of making a fair diviſion, without appeal. There was a royal edict for this purpoſe in 1764, or 1765, I think, which had a particular reference to Loraine; but, in paſſing through that province, I made enquiries into its effect, and found little or nothing had reſulted from it. Nay, I was aſſured at Metz, Pont a Mouſſon, Nancy, and Luneville, that rights of common paſture were univerſal in the province, and that every thing was eaten which was ſown contrary to the eſtabliſhed routine. I aſked, at Luneville, why they had not more lucerne? The anſwer was, the *droit de parcours* prevents it. But under the old government of France, no permiſſion, or regulation of this ſort, could be carried into excution, becauſe there was in reality no legiſlature in France. I ſhall elſewhere ſhew this more diſtinctly: no law could be effectual, unleſs conſented to *willingly* by the parliaments, and then vigorouſly executed by them; for, by means of the vicious conſtitution of their courts of juſtice, there was no executive government to carry the law into execution; ſo that if all parties were not fully united in executing, as well as enacting in any meaſure, nothing could ever be done—the King being really impotent in this reſpect, with all his deſpotiſm. Under the new government, which is eſtabliſhing in France, I have great doubts whether any progreſs can ever be made in this great and leading ſtep to all uſeful improvements in agriculture: as far as the preſent conſtitution can be underſtood, it is the will of *the people* that is to govern; and I know of no country where the people are not againſt incloſures. The Tiers Etat, and clergy of Metz[*] expreſſly demand, that the edict of incloſure ſhall be revoked: that of Troyes, and Niſmes, and Anjou, make the ſame requeſt[†]; another, that the right of commonage in foreſts ſhall be granted to the neighbouring pariſhes[‡].—The nobility of Cambray declare, that commons ought not to be broken up[§]. Nay, ſome of the *cahiers* go ſo far as to ſay, that the commons which have already been divided, ought to be thrown open again[‖]. Hence we may judge what probability there can be, of any new and effective laws to promote and *enforce* ſuch a meaſure.

To enter largely into the advantages of incloſures, in ſuch a work as this, and at this time of day, would be ſuperfluous[**]; it is ſufficient to remark, that without a regular ſyſtem of incloſures no cattle can be kept, except on the

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[*] *Cahier de Tiers Etat de Metz*, p. 45. *Du Clergé*, p. 11. The very people, therefore, moſt peſtered with commons are thoſe who are the firſt to deſire them. *Mem. ſur la Culture du Chou Navet, par M. de Mononcourt.* 8vo. 1788. p. 7.

[†] *T. Etat Troyes.* Art. 118. *Niſmes*, p. 27. *Anjou*, p. 49.

[‡] *T. Etat Thimerais.* p. 44.

[§] *Nob. Cambray*, p. 19. It is, however, but juſt to remark, that the diviſion of commons is demanded by the nobility of Sens, p. 26; nobility of Provins, p. 24; nobility of St. Quintin, p. 12; the clergy of Bayonne, art. 51; the nobility of Lyons, p. 23. The Tier Etat of Cotentin, MS.

[‖] *Clergé Saumur*, p. 9. *Troyes*, p. 10.

[**] The King of Pruſſia juſtly remarks, "Ce ne fut qu'apres la ſéparation des communes que l'agriculture des Anglois commença à proſpérer." *Oeuvres*, tom. v. p. 151. See alſo, for vaſt advantages, *L'Ami des Hommes*, 5th edit. 1760. vol. v. p. 125. But, above all, let me quote the inſtances given by a French writer, which are ſo pointed as to merit much attention. "There are in the election of Chateau Thiery, 109 communities, among whom 32 poſſeſs commons, and 74 have none. In the 32, eleven have augmented in their fires 152; twenty others have diminiſhed 375; and one has reſted as it was; in the 77 without commons, 13 have augmented 147 fires; 42 diminiſhed 473; and 22 remained as they were. The election of Soiſſons offers an example not leſs ſtriking; 32 pariſhes poſſeſs near 4000 arpents of commons, which contained, in 1729, families 2470; but at preſent they are reduced to 1689. In 20 villages without commons, there are 90 fires more than in 20 other villages that have commons. With commons there is a cow to $13\frac{1}{15}$ arpents; without, one to $9\frac{1}{6}$ arpents." *Traité des Communes.* 8vo. 1777. And it is very well obſerved by another, that commons and common fields are of much leſs uſe to thoſe who want moſt, than to thoſe who can do without them. *Memoire de la Soc. Oecon. de Berne.* 1762. t. ii. p. 80.

Flemiſh ſyſtem of conſtant confinement in ſtables, ſtalls, or yards; and this method, when the lands which are to yield the food are diſtant from the homeſtall, is inconvenient and expenſive, though in a great variety of reſpects truly admirable. With open field farms, much diſperſed, it is impoſſible to follow the Flemiſh ſyſtem; not only becauſe the eſtabliſhed rotation excludes the proper plants for cattle, but becauſe, if they were raiſed, they could not be daily carted home, without committing treſpaſſes on other people; therefore, it ſhould always be remembered, that cattle and incloſure are ſynonymous terms. The numerous academies and ſocieties of agriculture in France, that, by premiums and diſſertations, attempted to increaſe the cattle of the kingdom, by the culture of new graſſes and other plants, without making proper diſtinctions, and paying a peculiar attention to incloſed diſtricts, could not, in the nature of things, ſee any good effects reſult from their endeavours: it was ſomething like the Intendant's giving turnip ſeed to farmers who had not, perhaps, a ſingle acre of land in circumſtances that permitted the cultivation. But we may ſafely aſſert, that without incloſure the half of France cannot poſſibly ſupport the requiſite ſtock of cattle and ſheep; and without ſuch ſtock, a good and productive huſbandry is utterly impracticable. On whatever agricultural ſubject we may be employed, it is never to be forgotten, nor can we recur too often to the poſition, that the fallows of a farm are to ſupport the cattle and ſheep of it.

The firſt great object of French agriculture is to eſtabliſh a better huſbandry in the parts of the kingdom already incloſed; and the ſecond is to incloſe the parts now open. It is remarkable that vineyards are generally open, though property is diſtinct and aſcertained; I have met with inſtances where the divided and ſcattered ſcraps of land in this culture have been as various and as inconvenient as in common arable fields, probably from their having been in this ſtate before they were converted into vineyards. Incloſures, however, are in no culture more important than in the vineyard. Treſpaſſes are miſchievous in proportion to the value of the product, and to the eaſe and temptation of committing them. The aſſiduity exerted, and the expence beſtowed, in watching vineyards in many parts of France, are a convincing proof, that the better they are incloſed, the more valuable they would be conſidered. How far the ſhelter reſulting from incloſures would preſerve the vines from the inclemencies of unfavourable ſeaſons, deſerves the attention of French agriculturiſts. There is another light in which this improvement may be placed, which in France merits particular attention, namely, the neceſſity of making every where proviſion for fuel, by ſome application of the land to it, from the ſcarcity or badneſs of coal in ſeven-eighths of the kingdom. I have already ſhewn what an immenſe proportion of it is under woods and foreſts, for ſupplying fuel; whereas a well regulated incloſure, the hedges judiciouſly planted and preſerved, would yield, as they do in England, conſiderable quantities of fuel. Where ſhelter or humidity were wanted, this quantity would be large; where the fence ſimply was the object, it would be leſs, as ſuch motives would regulate the height of the hedge.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tenantry, and Size of Farms in France.

THERE are five circumſtances in the occupation of land in France, under which I may include the very numereous notes I took in all the provinces, and which are too voluminous for inſertion: 1, the ſmall properties of the peaſants; 2, hiring at a money rent, as in England; 3, feudal tenures; 4, monopolizing lands hired at money rent, and re-let to peaſants; 5, *metayers*; by which is to be underſtood, hiring at half or third produce.

I. The ſmall properties of the peaſants are found every where, to a degree we have no idea of in England; they are found in every part of the kingdom, even in thoſe provinces where other tenures prevail; but in Quercy, Languedoc, the whole diſtrict of the Pyrenees, Bearn, Gaſcoign, part of Guienne, Alſace, Flanders, and Loraine, they abound to a greater degree than common. In Flanders, Alſace, on the Garonne, and Bearn, I found many in comfortable circumſtances, ſuch as might rather be called ſmall farmers than cottagers, and in Bas Bretagne, many are reputed rich, but in general they are poor and miſerable, much ariſing from the minute diviſion of their little farms among all the children. In Loraine, and the part of Champagne that joins it, they are quite wretched. I have, more than once, ſeen diviſion carried to ſuch exceſs, that a ſingle fruit tree, ſtanding in about ten perch of ground, has conſtituted a farm, and the local ſituation of a family decided by the poſſeſſion.

II. Hiring at money rent is the general practice in Picardy, Artois, part of Flanders, Normandy (except the Pays de Caux), Iſle of France, and Pays de Beauce; and I found ſome in Bearn and about Navarens. Such tenures are found alſo in moſt parts of France, ſcattered among thoſe which are different and predominant; but, upon a moderate eſtimate, they have not yet made their way through more than a ſixth or ſeventh of the kingdom.

III. Feudal tenures.—Theſe are fiefs granted by the ſeigneurs of pariſhes, under a reſervation of fines, quit rents, forfeitures, ſervices, &c.; I found them abounding moſt in Bretagne, Limoſin, Berry, La Marche, &c. where they ſpread through whole provinces; but they are ſcattered very much in every part of the kingdom. About Verſon, Vatan, &c. in Berry, they complained ſo heavily of theſe burthens, that the mode of levying and enforcing them muſt conſtitute much of the evil; they are every where much more burthenſome than apparent, from the amount which I attribute to that circumſtance. Legal adjudications, they aſſert, are very ſevere againſt the tenant, in favour of the ſeigneur.

IV. Monopoly.—This is commonly practiſed in various of the provinces where *metaying* is known; men of ſome ſubſtance hire great tracks of land, at a money rent, and re-let it in ſmall diviſions to metayers, who pay half the produce. I heard many complaints of it in La Marche, Berry, Poitou, and Angoumois, and it is met with in other provinces; it appears to flow from the difficulties inherent in the metaying ſyſtem, but is itſelf a miſchievous practice, well known in Ireland, where theſe middle men are almoſt baniſhed.

V. *Metayers.*—This is the tenure under which, perhaps, ſeven-eighths of the lands of France are held; it pervades almoſt every part of Sologne, Berry, La Marche, Limoſin, Anjou, Bourgogne, Bourbonnois, Nevernois, Auvergne, &c. and is found in Bretagne, Maine, Provence, and all the ſouthern counties, &c. In Champagne there are many at *tier franc,* which is the third of the produce, but in general it is half. The landlord commonly finds half the cattle and half the ſeed; and the metayer labour, implements, and taxes; but in ſome diſtricts the landlord bears a ſhare of theſe. In Berry ſome are at half, ſome one-third, ſome one-fourth produce. In Rouſſillon the landlord pays half the taxes; and in Guienne, from Auch to Fleuran, many landlords pay all. Near Aguillon, on the Garonne, the metayers furniſh half the cattle. Near Falaiſe, in Normandy, I found metayers, where they ſhould leaſt of all be looked for, on the farms which gentlemen keep in their own hands; the conſequence there is, that every gentleman's farm muſt be preciſely the worſt cultivated of all the neighbourhood:—this diſgraceful circumſtance needs no comment. At Nangis, in the Iſle of France, I met with an agreement for the landlord to furniſh live ſtock, implements, harneſs, and taxes; the metayer found labour and his own capitation tax:—the landlord repaired the houſe and gates; the metayer the windows:—the landlord provided ſeed the firſt year; the metayer the laſt; in the intervening years they ſupply half and half. Produce ſold for money divided. Butter and cheeſe uſed in the metayer's family, to any amount, compounded for at 5s. a cow. In the Bourbonnois the landlord finds all ſorts of live ſtock, yet the metayer ſells, changes, and buys at his will; the ſteward keeping an account of theſe mutations, for the landlord has half the product of ſales, and pays half the purchaſes. The tenant carts the landlord's half of the corn to the barn of the chateau, and comes again to take the ſtraw; the conſequences of this abſurd ſyſtem are ſtriking; land which in England would let at 10s. pay about 2s. 6d. for both land and live ſtock.

At the firſt bluſh, the great diſadvantage of the metaying ſyſtem is to landlords; but, on a nearer examination, the tenants are found in the loweſt ſtate of poverty, and ſome of them in miſery. At Vatan, in Berry, I was aſſured, that the metayers almoſt every year borrowed their bread of the landlord before the harveſt came round, yet hardly worth borrowing, for it was made of rye and barley mixed; I taſted enough of it to pity ſincerely the poor people; but no common perſon there eats wheaten bread; with all this miſery among the farmers, the landlord's ſituation may be eſtimated by the rents he receives. At Salbris, in Sologne, for a ſheep-walk that feeds 700 ſheep, and 200 Engliſh acres of other land, paid the landlord, for his half, about 33l. ſterling; the whole rent, for land and ſtock too, did not, therefore, amount to 1s. per head on the ſheep! In Limoſin the metayers are conſidered as little better than menial ſervants, removeable at pleaſure, and obliged to conform in all things to the will of the landlords; it is commonly computed that half the tenantry are deeply in debt to the proprietor, ſo that he is often obliged to turn them off with the loſs of theſe debts, in order to ſave his land from running waſte.

In all the modes of occupying land, the great evil is the ſmallneſs of farms. There are large ones in Picardy, the Iſle of France, the Pays de Beauce, Artois, and Normandy; but, in the reſt of the kingdom, ſuch are not general. The diviſion of the farms and population is ſo great, that the miſery flowing from it is in many places extreme; the idleneſs of the people is ſeen the moment you enter a town on market-day; the ſwarms of people are incredible. At Landerviſiau, in Bretagne, I ſaw a man who walked ſeven miles to bring two chickens, which would not ſell for 24*ſ.* the couple, as he told me himſelf. At Avranches men attending each a horſe, with a pannier load of ſea ooze, not more than four buſhels. Near Iſenheim, in Alſace, a rich country, women, in the midſt of harveſt, where their labour is nearly as valuable as that of men, reaping graſs by the road ſide to carry home to their cows.

OBSERVATIONS.

Three material queſtions obviouſly ariſe; 1ſt, the inconveniencies of metaying, and the advantages of the tenure at a money rent; 2d, the ſize of farms; 3d, how far ſmall properties are beneficial.

I. *Metayers.*

This ſubject may be eaſily diſpatched; for there is not one word to be ſaid in favour of the practice, and a thouſand arguments that might be uſed againſt it. The hard plea of neceſſity can alone be urged in its favour; the poverty of the farmers being ſo great, that the landlord muſt ſtock the farm, or it could not be ſtocked at all: this is a moſt cruel burthen to a proprietor, who is thus obliged to run much of the hazard of farming in the moſt dangerous of all methods, that of truſting his property abſolutely in the hands of people who are generally ignorant, many careleſs, and ſome undoubtedly wicked. Among ſome gentlemen I perſonally knew, I was acquainted with one at Bagnere de Luchon, who was obliged to ſell his eſtate, becauſe he was unable to reſtock it, the ſheep having all died of epidemical diſtempers; proceeding, doubtleſs, from the execrable methods of the metayers cramming them into ſtables as hot as ſtoves, on reeking dunghills; and then, in the common cuſtom of the kingdom, ſhutting every hole and crack that could let in air.—In this moſt miſerable of all the modes of letting land, after running the hazard of ſuch loſſes, fatal in many inſtances, the defrauded landlord receives a contemptible rent;—the farmer is in the loweſt ſtate of poverty;—the land is miſerably cultivated; and the nation ſuffers as ſeverely as the parties themſelves. It is a curious queſtion how this practice came to be exploded in Picardy, Normandy, and the Iſle of France. The wealth of great cities will effect ſomething, but not much; for Bourdeaux, Marſeilles, and, above all, Lyons and Nantes, have done nothing in this reſpect; yet they are to be claſſed among the richeſt cities in Europe, and far beyond Rouen, Abbeville, Amiens, &c.—And were we to aſcribe it to the nearer vicinity of the capital, why has not the ſame cauſe eſtabliſhed a good huſbandry, as well as rents paid in money?—The fact, however, is certain, that thoſe three provinces, with Artois and Flanders, in which we ſhould not be ſurprized at any variation, as they were conquered from a free country, comparatively ſpeaking, are the only ones in the kingdom where this beneficial practice *generally* prevails. It is found, indeed, in a ſcattered and irregular manner elſewhere, but not eſtabliſhed as in thoſe provinces. That the poverty of the tenantry, which has given riſe to this miſchievous practice, has ariſen from the principles of an arbitrary government, cannot be doubted. Heavy taxes on the farmers, from which the nobility and clergy are exempt; and thoſe taxes levied arbitrarily, at the will of the Intendant and his ſub-delegúes, have been ſufficient to impoveriſh the lower claſſes: One would naturally have ſuppoſed, from the groſs abuſes and cruelty of this method of taxation, that the object in view were as much to keep the people poor, as to make the King rich. As the taille was profeſſedly levied in proportion to every one's ſubſtance, it had the miſchievous effect of all *equal* land taxes, when levied even with honeſty; for a farmer's profit—his ſucceſs—his merit, was taxed exactly in proportion to the quantum; a ſure method of putting a period to the exiſtence of either profit, ſucceſs, or merit. The farmers are really poor, or apparently poor, ſince a rich man will affect poverty to eſcape the arbitrary riſe of a tax, which profeſſes to be in proportion to his power of bearing it: hence poor cattle, poor implements, and poor dung-hills, even on the farms of men who could afford the beſt.

What a ruinous and deteſtable ſyſtem, and how ſurely calculated to ſtop the current of the wealth of the ſovereign, as well as of his people!—What man of common ſenſe and feeling, can lament the fall of a government that conducted itſelf on ſuch principles? And who can juſtly condemn the people for their violence, in wreſting from the nobility and clergy thoſe privileges and diſtinctions, which they had uſed ſo unworthily, to the depreſſion and ruin of all the inferior claſſes? Theſe taxes, united with the burthenſome and odious feudul rights and impoſitions of the ſeigneurs, prevented all inveſtment of capital, which could not be removed at pleaſure, from the land: the evil was not ſo much a general want of capital in the kingdom, as an apprehenſion of fixing it on land, where it would of neceſſity be expoſed to the rapin of regal and noble harpies; that this was the fact, we find from the caſe of the rich grazing diſtricts of Normandy, where no want of capital was heard of, yet ſuch lands demand a larger ſum to ſtock than any other; a ſum equal to the ampleſt improvement of the pooreſt and moſt difficult ſoils. Why then ſhould not a proper ſtock be found on arable as well as on paſture lands? For an obvious reaſon;—the capital inveſted in fat oxen and ſheep is removable at a moment's warning; and, being every year renewed, the grazier has an annual opportunity of withdrawing from buſineſs; he has conſequently a ſort of independence, utterly unknown to an arable farmer, who has the leaſt idea of improving his land, or of keeping a proper ſtock of implements and manure. The knowledge of this circumſtance keeps the tyrants in order, and makes them tender in impoſitions, which being evaded, would leave the moſt valuable land in the kingdom without the means of being rendered productive. Warmly as one muſt congratulate human feelings, upon a nation's throwing off the yoke of ſuch deteſtable burthens, we cannot but regret and condemn the idea of thoſe viſionary, ſyſtematic, pſeudo politicians, the *æconomiſtes*, which has ſo infected the National Aſſembly, as to allow the propoſal even to be received, of laying a *proportional* land-tax of thirteen million ſterling. This the preſent democratic principles will certainly *keep proportional*, ſince it is the wealthy who can alone improve; and the poor, with power in their hands, will always take care to tax the improvements of the rich. If this new ſyſtem be not guarded with clauſes, of which no trace appears at preſent, the agriculture of the kingdom will no more be able to raiſe its head, than under the old ſyſtem. But this is not the place to diſcuſs that important queſtion. In regard to the beſt means of remedying the evils of metaying, they certainly conſiſt in the proprietor's farming his own lands till improved, and then letting them at a money rent, without the ſtock, if he can find farmers to hire; but if not, lending the ſtock at intereſt. Thus favoured, the farmers would, under a good government and eaſed of tythes, preſently grow rich, and, in all probability, would, for the moſt part, free themſelves from the debt in twenty-five or thirty years; and, with good huſbandry, even in a ſingle leaſe of twenty-one years; but with their preſent wretched ſyſtems of cropping, and deficiency of cattle and ſheep, they would be a century effecting it. If a landlord could not, or would not, farm himſelf, the next method would be, to let live ſtock and land at a money rent, for twenty-one years, the tenant, at the expiration, paying him in money the original value of the live ſtock, and ſubject to all hazards and loſſes. There can be no doubt but ſuch a ſyſtem, with a good mode of taxation and freedom from tythes, would enable the metayer in that term to become at leaſt capable of carrying on his buſineſs, without any aſſiſtance in future from his landlord.

II. *Size of Farms.*

I have treated at large of this ſubject in my Tours through England, and in the *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. vii. p. 510; at preſent, therefore, I ſhall briefly touch upon ſome circumſtances more peculiarly ariſing from the huſbandry of France. I ſhall begin by aſſerting, with confidence, that I never ſaw a ſingle inſtance of good huſbandry on a ſmall farm, except on ſoils of the greateſt fertility. Flanders is always an exception; on that rich, deep, and putrid ſoil, in the exuberant plain of Alſace, and in the deep and fertile borders of the Garonne, the land is ſo good, that it muſt be perverſity alone that can contrive very bad huſbandry; but on all inferior ſoils, that is to ſay, through nine-tenths of the kingdom, and in ſome inſtances even on very rich land, as, for inſtance, in Normandy, the huſbandry is execrable. I may farther obſerve, that whenever bad management is found in thoſe rich and well cultivated diſtricts, it is ſure to be found on ſmall farms. When, therefore, I obſerved in many *cahiers* of the three orders, a demand to limit the ſize of farms, and great panegyricks on ſmall ones, I could not but conclude, that the townſmen who drew up thoſe inſtructions knew nothing of the practice of agriculture, except the vulgar errors which float in every country upon that ſubject*. This inquiry is of ſo much importance to every nation, that it ought to depend as much as poſſible on facts, and of courſe to be handled by thoſe only who practiſe agriculture as well as underſtand it. The following queſtions naturally ariſe. Is it the groſs produce of huſbandry that ſhould chiefly be conſidered? Or the greateſt produce that can be carried to market? Or is it the net profit? Should the populouſneſs ariſing from cultivation be the guide? Or ſhould the eaſe and happineſs of the cultivators be only had in view? Theſe queſtions might be multiplied, but they are ſufficient for unfolding the inquiry. It will probably be found, that no one point is ſingly to be attended to, but an aggregate of all, in due proportions.

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* *Cahier de Dourdon*, p. 17.---*Crepy*, p. 5.---*Eſtampes*, p. 27.---*Paris*, p. 41.---*Provins and Montereaux*, p. 51.

I. The groſs produce cannot be alone conſidered, for this ſimple reaſon, that ſo many hands may be employed to raiſe the largeſt, as to afford none for market; in which caſe there could be no towns, no manufactures, but merely domeſtic ones; no army, no navy, no ſhipping. Such an arrangement, though perfectly conſiſtent with the count de Mirabeau's ſyſtem, of an equal diſperſion of a people over their whole territory, is yet ſo truly viſionary, that it does not demand a moment's attention.

II. The net profit of huſbandry cannot poſſibly be the guide, becauſe the moſt uncultivated ſpots may be attended with a greater net profit on the capital employed, than the richeſt gardens; as a mere warren, ſheep-walk, &c.

III. Populouſneſs cannot be a ſafe guide in the inquiry, becauſe if it be alone attended to, it infallibly deſtroys itſelf by exceſs of miſery. There can be no merit in any ſyſtem that breeds people to ſtarve; food and employment (towns) muſt, therefore, be in view as well as people.

IV. The eaſe and happineſs of cultivators alone cannot be our guide, becauſe they may be eaſier and happier in the midſt of a howling deſert, than in the gardens of Montreuil.

V. I am not abſolutely ſatisfied with the *greateſt produce that can be carried to market*, but it comes infinitely nearer to the truth than any of the reſt; it includes a conſiderable groſs produce; it implies a great net profit; and indicates, exactly in proportion to its amount, that populouſneſs which is found in towns, and that which ought to depend on manufactures; it ſecures the eaſe of the cultivating claſſes; it enables the farmer to employ much labour, and, what is of more conſequence, to pay it well.

This leading propoſition, being thus far ſatisfactorily aſcertained, on compariſon with the others, we are able to determine that that ſize of farms is moſt beneficial, in general, which ſecures the greateſt produce *in the market*; or, in other words, converted into money. Now, in order thus to command a great ſurplus, above what is conſumed by men and their families employed or depending on the cultivation, every ſpecies of good huſbandry muſt be exerted. Lands already in culture muſt be kept improving; great ſtocks of cattle and ſheep ſupported; every ſort of manure that can be procured uſed plentifully; draining, irrigating, folding, hoeing, marling, claying, liming, incloſing, all muſt be exerted with activity and vigour:—no ſcrap of waſte land left in a neglected ſtate:—all improved; all puſhing forward towards perfection; and the farmer encouraged, by the profit of his undertakings, to inveſt his ſavings in freſh exertions, that he may receive that compound intereſt ſo practicable for the good farmer. The ſized farm that beſt effects all theſe works, will certainly carry to market the greateſt ſurplus produce. I have attended, with great care and impartiality, to the reſult of this inquiry throughout the kingdom; and though in many provinces the huſbandry is ſo infamouſly bad, as to yield a choice only of evils, yet I may ſafely aſſert, that on farms of 300 to 600 acres it is infinitely better than on little ones, and ſupplies the market with a produce beyond all compariſon ſuperior. But by farms I mean always *occupations*, and by no means ſuch as are hired by middle men to re-let to little metayers. There is nothing ſtrange in the bad huſbandry ſo common on little farms; by which I mean ſuch as are under 100 arpents, and even from 100 to 200; thoſe proportions between the ſtock and labour, and the land, by which practical men will underſtand what I mean, are on ſuch farms unfavourable. The man is poor; and no poor farmer can make thoſe exertions that are demanded for good huſbandry[*]; and his poverty is neceſſarily in proportion to the ſmallneſs of his farm. The profit of a large farm ſupports the farmer and his family, and leaves a ſurplus which may be laid out in improvements; that of a ſmall tract of land will do no more than ſupport the farmer, and leaves nothing for improvements. With the latter the horſes are more numerous than with the former, and in a proportion that abridges much of the profit. The diviſion of labour, which in every purſuit of induſtry gives ſkill and diſpatch, cannot indeed take place on the greateſt farms in the degree in which it is found in manufactures; but upon ſmall farms it does not take place at all:—the ſame man, by turns, applies to every work of the farm; upon the larger occupation there are ploughmen, threſhers, hedgers, ſhepherds, cow-herds, ox-herds, hog-herds, lime-burners, drainers, and irrigators:—this circumſtance is of conſiderable importance, and decides that every work will be better performed on a large than on a ſmall farm; one of the greateſt engines of good huſbandry, a ſheepfold, is either to be found on a large farm only, or at an expence of labour which *deſtroys the profit*. It has often been urged, that ſmall farms are greater nurſeries of population; in many inſtances this is the caſe, and they are often pernicious exactly in that proportion; prolific in miſery; and breeding mouths without yielding a produce to feed them. In France, population, outſtripping the demand, is a public nuiſance, and ought to be carefully diſcouraged; but of this fact, glaring through the whole kingdom, more in another chapter. The farms I ſhould prefer in France would be 250 to 350 acres upon rich ſoils; and 400 to 600 upon poorer ones.

England has made, upon the whole, a much greater progreſs in agriculture than any other country in Europe; and great farms have abſolutely done the whole: inſomuch, that we have not a capital improvement that is ever found on a ſmall one. Let foreigners——let the count de Hertzberg [*] come to England and view our huſbandry:—let me have the honour of ſhewing him that of our large farms, and then let Dr. Price conduct him to that of our ſmall ones: when he has viewed both, he will find no difficulty in drawing concluſions very different from thoſe which he has hitherto patronized. We have in England brought to perfection the management of incloſing, marling, claying, and every ſpecies of manuring. We have made great advances in irrigation; and ſhould, perhaps, have equalled Lombardy, if the liberty of the people would have allowed as ready a treſpaſs on private property. We have carried the breeding of cattle and ſheep to a greater perfection, than any country in the world ever yet experienced. We have, in our beſt managed diſtricts, baniſhed fallows: and, what is the great glory of our iſland, the beſt huſbandry is found on our pooreſt ſoils. Let me demand, of the advocates for ſmall farms, where the little farmer is to be found who will cover his whole farm with marl, at the rate of 100 to 150 tons per acre? who will drain all his land at the expence of two or three pounds an acre? who will pay a heavy price for the manure of towns, and convey it thirty miles by land carriage? who will float his meadows at the expence of 5l. per acre? who, to improve the breed of his ſheep, will give 1000 guineas for the *uſe* of a ſingle ram for a ſingle ſeaſon? who will give 25 guineas per cow for being covered by a fine bull? who will ſend acroſs the kingdom to diſtant provinces for new implements, and for men to uſe them? who employ and pay men for reſiding in provinces, where practices are found which they want to introduce on their farms?—At the very mention of ſuch exertions, common in England, what mind can be ſo perverſely framed as to imagine, for a ſingle moment, that SUCH THINGS are to be effected by *little farmers?*—Deduct from agriculture all the practices that have made it flouriſhing in this iſland, and you have preciſely the management of ſmall farms.

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[*] "Wealth," ſays a French writer, "in the hands of farmers becomes fatal to agriculture." *Eſſai ſur l'etat de la culture Belgique.* 8vo. 1784. p. 7. Who can wonder at a kingdom being ill cultivated, that abounds with ſuch politicians?

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[*] That Miniſter ſays, in one of his diſcourſes to the Academy of Berlin, "Ce le principe de que le cultivateur Anglois Young ſontient, dans ſon Arithmetique Politique, ſur l'utilité des grandes fermes. M. Young paroît avoir tort à l'egard d'un gouvernement republicain tel que celui de la Grande Bretagne, que a plus beſoin qu'un autre d'une grande population." Here, as in many inſtances, it is ſuppoſed, that large farms are unfavourable to population, becauſe their produce is conſumed in towns. Has the count given any reaſon to make us believe, that the produce of a large farm conſumed in a town, does not imply a population proportioned to its quantity, as well as the produce of a ſmall farm, which is conſumed by the people that raiſe it? As population is in proportion to food, thoſe who urge that great farms are injurious, ſhould ſhew that ſmall ones raiſe a greater quantity; that is, are better cultivated: ſurely the aſſertion implies too groſs an abſurdity to be ventured. Frederic, who attained the title of Great, on account of his ſuperior ſkill in the arts of ſlaughtering men, was, on military principles, a friend to breeding them.---"conſiderant que le nombre des habitants fait la richeſſe des ſouverains on trouva———" &c. *Oeuvres de Fred.* II. Tom. v. p. 146.

The falſe ideas, at preſent ſo common in France, are the more ſupriſing, as no language abounds with juſter ſentiments on many of theſe queſtions of political œconomy than the French. There cannot be juſter, truer, or more appoſite remarks on the advantage of great farms and rich farmers, than in the Encyclopædie *. Nor can any one write better on the ſubject than M. Delegorgue †. Artois, he obſerves, was univerſally under two crops and a fallow; but changed to a crop every year, by the old cuſtoms being aboliſhed. So beneficial an alteration, not common in France, was founded on many and expenſive experiments, which could be eſtabliſhed only my means of the manures gained from large flocks and herds. By whom was this change effected?—by little farmers, who can hardly effect their own ſupport?—aſſuredly not. He further obſerves, that ſome parts of Artois are divided for the ſake of a higher rent, and cattle are there ſenſibly decreaſed; alſo, that a country labourer is much happier than a little farmer. And I give him no ſlight credit for his obſervation, that little farmers are not able to keep their corn; and that all monopolies are in conſequence of them; implying, that great farmers keeping back their corn is beneficial; but monopolies are equally beneficial; and tend as advantageouſly to remedy the evils that flow from little farmers being in too great a hurry to ſell.

But however clearly I may be convinced of the infinite ſuperiority of large farms, and that no country can ever be highly improved, by means of ſmall ones, yet I am very far from recommending any laws or regulations to enforce the union of ſeveral. I contend for nothing but freedom; and for the rejection of thoſe abſurd and prepoſterous demands, in ſome of the French *cahiers*, for laws *againſt* ſuch an union. And let me add, that little attention ſhould be paid to thoſe writers and politicians, who, under deſpotic governments, are ſo ſtrenuous for a great population, as to be blind to much ſuperior objects; who ſee nothing in the propagation of mankind but the means of increaſing ſoldiers; who admire ſmall farms as the nurſeries of ſlaves—and think it a worthy object of policy to breed men to miſery, that they may be inliſted, or ſtarve. Such ſentiments may be congenial with the keen atmoſphere of German deſpotiſm; but that they ſhould find their way into a nation, whoſe proſpects are cheared by the brighter beams of new-born liberty, is a contradiction to that general felicity which ought to flow from freedom. Much too populous to be happy, France ſhould ſeek the means of feeding the numbers which ſhe hath, inſtead of breeding more to ſhare a too ſcanty pittance.

III. *Small Properties.*

In the preceding obſervations, I have had rented farms only in view; but there is another ſort which abounds in almoſt every part of France, of which we cannot form an idea from what we ſee in England—I mean ſmall properties; that is, little farms, belonging to thoſe who cultivate them. The number is ſo great, that I am inclined to ſuppoſe more than one-third of the kingdom occupied by them. Before I travelled, I conceived, that ſmall farms, in property, were very ſuſceptible of good cultivation; and that the occupier of ſuch, having no rent to pay, might be ſufficiently at his eaſe to work improvements, and carry on a vigorous huſbandry; but what I have ſeen in France, has greatly leſſened my good opinion of them. In Flanders, I ſaw excellent huſbandry on properties of 30 to 100 acres; but we ſeldom find here ſuch ſmall patches of property, as are common in other provinces. In Alſace, and on the Garonne, that is, on ſoils of ſuch exuberant fertility as to demand no exertions, ſome ſmall properties alſo are well cultivated. In Bearn, I paſſed through a region of little farmers, whoſe appearance, neatneſs, eaſe, and happineſs, charmed me; it was what property alone could, on a ſmall ſcale, effect; but theſe were by no means contemptibly ſmall; they are, as I judged by the diſtance from houſe to houſe, from 40 to 80 acres. Except theſe, and a very few other inſtances, I ſaw nothing reſpectable on ſmall properties, except a moſt unremitting induſtry. Indeed, it is neceſſary to impreſs on the reader's mind, that though the huſbandry I met with, in a great variety of inſtances on little properties, was as bad as can well be conceived, yet the induſtry of the poſſeſſors was ſo conſpicuous, and ſo meritorious, that no commendations would be too great for it. It was ſufficient to prove, that property in land is, of all others, the moſt active inſtigator to ſevere and inceſſant labour. And this truth is of ſuch force and extent, that I know no way ſo ſure of carrying tillage to a mountain-top, as by permitting the adjoining villagers to acquire it in property; in fact, we ſee that, in the mountains of Languedoc, &c. they have conveyed earth in baſkets, on their backs, to form a ſoil where nature had denied it. Another circumſtance attending ſmall properties, is the increaſe of population; but what may be advantageous to other countries, may be a misfortune to France.

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* Tom. 7, p. 821. Folio.

† Mem. ſur cette queſtion: Eſt-il utile en Artois de Diviſer les Fermes? 1786. p. 7.

Having, in this manner, admitted the merit of ſuch ſmall farms in property, I ſhall, in the next place, ſtate the inconveniencies I have obſerved to reſult from them in France.

The firſt and greateſt, is the diviſion which univerſally takes place after the death of the proprietor, commonly amongſt all the children, but in ſome diſtricts amongſt the ſons only. Forty or fifty acres in property are not incapable of good huſbandry; but when divided, twenty acres *muſt* be ill cultivated; again divided, they become farms of ten acres, of five, of two, and even one; and I have ſeen ſome of half, and even a quarter of a rood, with a family as much attached to it, as if it were an hundred acres. The population flowing from this diviſion, is, in ſome caſes, great, but it is the multiplication of wretchedneſs. Couples marry and procreate on the *idea*, not the *reality*, of a maintenance; they increaſe beyond the demand of towns and manufactures; and the conſequence is, diſtreſs, and numbers dying of diſeaſes, ariſing from inſufficient nouriſhment. Hence, therefore, ſmall properties, much divided, prove the greateſt ſource of miſery that can be conceived; and this has operated to ſuch an extent and degree in France, that a law undoubtedly ought to be paſſed, to render all diviſion, below a certain number of arpents, illegal. But what are we, in this view of the ſubject, drawn from actual and multiplied obſervations, to think of the men who contend, that the property of land cannot be too much divided? That a country is flouriſhing in proportion to the equal diſperſion of the people over their territory, is the opinion of one celebrated leader [*] in the National Aſſembly; but his father was of different ſentiments; with great good ſenſe and deep reflection he declares, that that culture does not moſt favour population which employs moſt hands [†]; "c'eſt à bien des égards un prejugé de croire, que plus la culture occupe d'hommes plus elle eſt favourable à la population;" meaning, that the ſurplus of product carried to market is as favourable to population, by feeding towns, as if eaten on the fields that produced it, *ainſi plus l'induſtrie & la richeſſe des entre preneurs de la culture épargne de travail d'hommes, plus la culture fournit à la ſubſiſtance d'autres hommes*. Another deputy, high in general eſtimation, and at the head of the committee of finances, aſſerts, that the greateſt poſſible diviſion of land property is the beſt. Such gentlemen, with the beſt intentions, ſpread opinions, which, if fully embraced, would make all France a ſcene of beggary and wretchedneſs. Amidſt a maſs of moſt uſeful knowledge, of deep and juſt reflections, and true political principles, a tendency to ſimilar ideas is found in the reports of the committee of *Mendecité*[*], in which the multiplication of little properties is conſidered as a reſource againſt miſery. Nothing more is neceſſary, than to extend ſuch ideas, by ſuppoſition to fact, to ſhew their real tendency. There are 130 millions of acres, and at leaſt 25 millions of people in France. Aſſign, therefore, to each perſon, its ſhare of that extent: call it (allowing for rocks, rivers, roads, &c.) five acres each, or 25 acres per family. When, by the firſt principles of the idea, which is that of encouraging population, the luxury, celibacy, unhealthy employments, proſtitution and ſterility of cities, are removed, and the plain manners of the country are univerſally eſtabliſhed, every circumſtance in nature carries the people to marriage and procreation: a great increaſe takes place; and the 25 acres gradually, by diviſion, become 20, 15, 12, 8, and ſo on, perpetually leſſening. What, on ſuch a ſuppoſition, is to become of the ſuperfluity of people?—You preſently arrive at the limit beyond which the earth, cultivate it as you pleaſe, will feed no more mouths; yet thoſe ſimple manners, which inſtigate to marriage, ſtill continue:—what then is the conſequence, but the moſt dreadful miſery imaginable!—You ſoon would exceed the populouſneſs of China, where the putrid carcaſſes of dogs, cats, rats, and every ſpecies of filth and vermin, are ſought with avidity, to ſuſtain the life of wretches who were born only to be ſtarved. Such are the infallible effects of carrying into execution a too minute diviſion of landed property. No country upon earth is curſed with ſo bad a government as that would be, which aimed ſeriouſly at ſuch a diviſion; ſo ruinous is that population, which ariſes from principles pure and virtuous in their origin, but leads directly to the extremes of human miſery!—Great cities have been called the graves of the human ſpecies: if they conduct eaſily to the grave, they become the beſt *euthanaſia* of too much populouſneſs. They are more apt to prevent increaſe than to deſtroy, which is preciſely the effect wanted in ſuch a country as France, where the diviſion of property has unhappily nurſed up a population, which ſhe cannot feed; what, therefore, would be the miſery if cities and towns ſupported their numbers, and left the whole ſurplus of the country regorging in the cottages?—This is too much the caſe for the happineſs of the kingdom, as we ſee in a thouſand circumſtances, and particularly in the diſtreſs ariſing from the leaſt failure in the crops; ſuch a deficiency, as in England paſſes almoſt without notice, in France is attended with dreadful calamities.

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[*] *De la Monarchie Pruſſienne*, tom. iv. p. 13. The count de Mirabeau in this paſſage agrees, that great farms, upon a given ſpace of land, will yield the greateſt poſſible production, at the leaſt poſſible expence; but contends, that there is a multitude of little objects, which eſcape the great farmer, of much more conſequence than ſaving expences. It is incredible that a man of ſuch decided talents ſhould ſo utterly miſtake the facts that govern a queſtion, to which he has given much attention, at leaſt if we are to judge by his recurring to it ſo often. Where does he find the fact upon which he builds all his reaſoning, that little farmers make larger inveſtments and expences than great farmers? I will not appeal to England, in which the queſtion is determined as ſoon as named; but I ſhould wiſh to be imformed, in what provinces of France the little farmers have their lands as well ſtocked as great ones? or as well cultivated? M. de Mirabeau completely begs the queſtion, in ſuppoſing what is directly contrary to fact, ſince the advances of the great farms are more conſiderable, perhaps the double of thoſe of the little one; I am ſure it is ſo in every part of the kingdom in which I have been. But the Count goes on to ſtate how ſuperior the little farms are, becauſe ſo many more families are found on the land, which is preciſely the moſt powerful argument againſt them, as that merit admitted, implies at once the annihilation of towns and manufactures being beneficial to a modern ſtate, provided the people be found in the country; a poſition I have ſufficiently anſwered in the text.

[†] *L'Ami des Hommes*, 5th edit. 1760. tom. v. p. 43. See alſo tom. vi. p. 79. *Tableau Oeconomique*. See the ſame ſubject, handled with much ability, by one of the greateſt political geniuſſes of the preſent age, *De L'Oeconomie Politique*, par Monſ. Herrenſchwand. 8vo. 1786. p. 275. And *Diſcours ſur la diviſion des Terres*. 8vo. 1786. Par le meme.

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[*] *Premier Rapport.* 8vo. 1790. p. 6. *Quatrieme Rapport*, p. 9. Theſe reports were made by the chairman, M. de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, and do very great honour to his abilities and his induſtry.

mities. There cannot be a more pleaſing ſpectacle, or better framed to call into animation the ſympathies of our nature, than that of a family living on a little property, which their induſtry cultivates, and perhaps created: it is this object, ſo touching to the beſt feelings of the human boſom, that has certainly made many writers indiſcriminate advocates for ſmall properties. If the induſtry of towns and manufactures were active enough to demand the ſurplus of all this population as faſt as it aroſe, the advantages of the ſyſtem would be clear; but France knows, by ſad experience, that ſuch a ſurplus is not demanded at preſent; what, therefore, would the conſequence be of bringing a freſh one to market, while the old one remains on hand? It is idle to cite the example of America, where an immenſity of fertile land lies open to every one who will accept it; and where population is valuable to an unexampled degree, as we ſee in the price of their labour; but what compariſon, between ſuch a country and France, where the competition for employment is ſo great, ariſing from too great a populouſneſs, that the price of labour is 76 per cent. below that of its more flouriſhing neighbour?—But, in conſidering this intereſting ſubject, I ſhall recur, as I have done on ſo many other occaſions, to the example of England. In this kingdom, ſmall properties are exceedingly rare; in great numbers of our counties, there is ſcarcely any ſuch thing to be found: Our labouring poor are juſtly emulous of being the proprietors of their cottages, and of that ſcrap of land, a few perches, which form the garden; but they ſeldom think of buying land enough to employ themſelves; and, as in France, of offering prices ſo much beyond the value, as to enſure the acquiſition; a man that has two or three hundred pounds with us, does not buy a little field, but ſtocks a farm: now, as our labouring poor are incomparably more at their eaſe, and in every reſpect happier than thoſe of France, does it not appear to follow, by fair concluſion, that ſmall properties are by no means neceſſary for the welfare of the lower claſſes in the country? in every part of England, in which I have been, there is no compariſon between the eaſe of a day-labourer and of a very little farmer; we have no people that work ſo hard, and fare ſo ill, as the latter. Why then ſhould this minute diviſion be conſidered as ſo advantageous in France, while we in England feel the benefit of a ſyſtem directly contrary? There are ſeveral reaſons for this; the manufactures of France, compared with thoſe of England, are not nearly ſo conſiderable reſpectively, in proportion to the population of the two kingdoms. Nor does the agriculture of France, which is carried on either by farmers or metayers, afford any employment comparable to that which Engliſh culture yields. Country gentlemen, in France, do not employ probably the hundredth part of the labourers that are employed by country gentlemen in England, who have always ſome works of ornamental gardening or farming going on, which gives bread to many people. An object, more important,

portant, is, that the prices of proviſions are as dear in France as in England, while thoſe of labour are 76 per cent. lower. We have another proof, if any were wanted, how much too great the population of that kingdom is. The Engliſh labourer, who commands ſteadily eight, nine, or ten ſhillings a week, by working for a farmer, hazards much when he labours land for himſelf; and this fact is ſo ſtrong, that the moſt induſtrious and hard labouring of our poor peaſants, are not thoſe who keep their little gardens in the beſt order and cultivation; but ſuch, on the contrary, as make inferior earnings, that mark ſomething of debility. By means of theſe, and various other cauſes, the poor countrymen in England find a much more regular employment by day labour than thoſe of France, who, having no reſource in working for others, are obliged to work for themſelves, or ſtarve. And when gentlemen find them in this ſituation, no wonder they readily expatiate on the advantages of ſmall properties being to ſuch families the only reſource that offers. But, in fact, the very height of operoſe culture upon ſuch, and what appears perfection to a vulgar eye, can ariſe only from the miſery of half employed people. The dearneſs of labour, very common in ſuch a country, is no proof againſt this obſervation. No labour is ſo wretchedly performed, and ſo dear, as that of hired hands accuſtomed much to labour for themſelves; there is a diſguſt, and a liſtleſſneſs that cannot eſcape an intelligent obſerver; and nothing but real diſtreſs will drive ſuch little proprietors to work at all for others; ſo that I have ſeen, in the operoſely cultivated parts of France, labour comparatively dear, and ill performed, amidſt ſwarms of half idle people. And here I ſhould remark, the circumſtance ſeen to ſo ſtrange a degree in almoſt all the markets of France, that ſwarms of people regularly loſe one day in a week, for objects that clearly ſhew of how little value time is of to theſe ſmall farmers. Can any thing be apparently ſo abſurd, as a ſtrong hearty man walking ſome miles, and loſing a day's work, which ought to be worth 15 or 20 *ſ.* in order to ſell a dozen of eggs, or a chicken, the value of which would not equal the labour of conveying it, *were the people uſefully employed?* This ought to convince us, that theſe ſmall occupations are a real loſs of labour; and that people are fed upon them, whoſe time is worth little or nothing.

There are many practices in French huſbandry, that are apparently of conſiderable merit, yet cannot be recommended to other countries. I have ſeen them, in a part of Flanders, mattocking up every corner of a field where the plough could not come; and in the ſouth of France, the peaſant makes a common practice of mattocking up whole fields. In many parts of the kingdom all the land is digged. In the mountains of the Vivarais, terraces are built by walling, and the earth carried to them in baſkets. Such practices, and a thouſand other ſimilar, ſpring abſolutely from the extreme diviſion of landed property, having nurſed up a population beyond the power of induſtry to ſupport; and ought to be conſidered as a proof of a real evil in the vitals of the ſtate. The man who unhappily has exiſtence in a country where there is no employment for him, will, if he has the property of a ſcrap of land, work for two-pence a day upon it; he will work for half a farthing; and, if he has an ardour of induſtry, for nothing, as thouſands do in France. If he does not perform ſome buſineſs, upon his little farm, he thinks he does nothing; in ſuch a ſituation, he will pick ſtraws—he will take up a ſtone here, and lay it there: he will carry earth in a baſket to the top of a mountain; he will walk ten miles to ſell an egg. Is it not obvious to the reader, that ſuch practices exiſting, and, if tolerably directed, producing an effect well calculated to command admiration from an extreme of culture, are in reality no more analagous to a well conſtituted country, if I may venture the expreſſion, than would the moſt prepoſterous practices to be fancied. You might as well go a ſtep farther in population, and hold up, with M. de Poivre, the example of the Chineſe, as worthy of European imitation.

Upon the whole, one muſt be inclined to think, that ſmall properties are carried much too far in France; that a moſt miſerable population has been created by them, which ought to have had no exiſtence; that their diviſion ſhould be reſtrained by expreſs laws, at leaſt till the demand for hands is equal to the production; that the ſyſtem of great farms regularly employing, and well paying a numerous peaſantry by day labour, is infinitely more advantageous to the nation, and to the poor themſelves, than the multiplication of ſmall properties; in fine, it is obvious, that all meaſures which prevent the eſtabliſhment of large farms, and wealthy farmers, ſuch as reſtrictions or bars to incloſures, the exiſtence of rights of commonage, and the leaſt favour to little proprietors in levying of the land taxes, are ruinous to agriculture, and ought to be deprecated, as a ſyſtem deſtructive of the public welfare.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Sheep of France.

THE eſtabliſhment of the woollen manufactures in France, in the reign of Lewis XIV.; or, more properly ſpeaking, by that clerk of a counting houſe, Colbert, rendered government ſomewhat ſolicitous to encourage the breed of ſheep in the kingdom; but no material ſteps were taken for that purpoſe, till the middle of the preſent century, when the free export was allowed, very wiſely to encourage their production. Under the controller general, Monſ. de Bertin, Monſ. Carlier was ſent through all the provinces, to examine the flocks, the quantity and quality of the wool, &c.; and ſome progreſs was ſoon after made in importing, both from Spain and England, rams and ewes, in order to improve the breed of the French ſheep; but the people that were employed, underſtood the buſineſs ſo little, that theſe efforts were not attended with any effect: they were indeed not reſpectable ones, and therefore the reſult was juſt as might have been expected. France imports of wool to the amount of 27,000,000 liv. a year; an enormous ſum for a commodity every pound of which might be produced in the kingdom, if the proper means were uſed in the employment of people who really underſtand ſheep.

PICARDY—*Calais.*—Fleece 5 lb. at 26*ſ.* of a combing ſort.

Bonbrie.—Fleece 6 lb. at 24*ſ.*

Bernay.—Fleece 4½ lb. at 26*ſ.*; very coarſe; clip their lambs; 18*ſ.* per lb.; the ſheep of the whole province of Picardy, and ſeveral of the neighbouring ones, are all without horns; have white faces; and hanging ſilky ears; all I felt handled badly, and were ill made, but ſome have rather a better appearance.

PAYS DE BEAUCE—*Eſtampes.*—Fleece 3½ lb. at 20*ſ.*; price of a ſheep 15 liv.

Toury.—Fleece 4 lb. at 19*ſ.*; coarſe; winter food, pea-ſtraw and ſecond-crop hay; all are ſhut up (as in moſt parts of France) in ſtables at night, and folded in the fields till November; ſome fold alſo at noon in ſummer; flocks from forty to one hundred; the dogs conduct them with ſuch dexterity, that the narroweſt baulks are fed without injury to the corn.

Orleans.—Fleece 6 lb. at 20*ſ.* Price of a ſheep 11 liv. All are fed in the winter with ſtraw.

SOLOGNE—*La Ferté.*—Breed of Berry 2½ lb. at 23*ſ.* *en ſuint*, and 40*ſ.* waſhed; price of a ſheep 12 liv.; have nothing in winter to feed on but heaths and woods; kept in ſtables every night, to be ſecured from wolves, and when the ſnow is deep they are fed with branches of trees; a farmer that has 200 arpents under the plough, and 300 of heath, will have from 200 to 250 ſheep and lambs.

La Motte Beuvron.—Feed them in ſtables with rye-ſtraw, but they eat only the ears. I found a farmer's flock in the ſtable at three o'clock in the afternoon; it was not at all open, and much too hot. During the ſummer they are brought home at twelve o'clock, to ſtarve and ſweat till four, when they are ſent out again, and at night houſed regularly. The breed reſembles that of Picardy in the face and ears, but are much ſmaller, not weighing above 9lb. a quarter.

La Loge.—The rot common; one farmer loſt 199 in 200, one black ſheep only eſcaping; they are in the common ſyſtem of ſelling annually the wether lambs, part of the ewe lambs, and the old ewes, keeping enough of the lambs to reinſtate the ewes ſold. It is uſual to ſeparate the lambs from the ewes, in order to milk the latter for butter and cheeſe, which the family conſumes. The ſheep-houſe is cleaned but twice a year, but clean ſtraw given every third day; all theſe houſes are ſo cloſe and hot that it is aſtoniſhing the ſheep are not all deſtroyed.

BERRY—*Verſon*.—Fleece 2½ lb. at 22*ſ*. *en ſuint*; price of ſheep 6 liv.; they are very ſmall, not more than 6 lb. a quarter, and a few goats in every flock; three rams they reckon neceſſary for 100 ewes; a good ram ſells for 24 liv.; an old lean ewe 3 to 5 liv. when fat 8 liv.; the wool in the part of the province called Champagne, where flocks are very large, is far better than here, by reaſon, as they imagine, of the land being ſtronger, and the paſture more nouriſhing; the reſemblance to the Picardy breed would make one ſuppoſe them of the ſame ſtock; the food here, as elſewhere, ſtraw in winter, and when the weather is bad 1 lb. of hay per ſheep per diem*; fleece 1½ lb. at 27*ſ*. *en ſuint*; price 7½ liv.

Vatan to Chateauroux.—Fleece 2½ lb. at 23*ſ*. *en ſuint*; laſt year 27*ſ*.—Fleece 3 lb. at 25*ſ*. *en ſuint*.—Fleece 2 lb. at 23½ *ſ*. *en ſuint*; price 9 liv.; wool ten years ago was 15 to 20*ſ*. Some ſeigneurs, in order to improve the wool, imported rams and ewes from Spain, which degenerated, and became like the natives in four years; on the other hand, ſheep of a worſe kind than thoſe of the country, improve in the ſame proportion by living and paſturing here: I ſtate the information as I received it. In all probability theſe trials were made in the ſame careleſs manner as ſo many others. They have alſo another ſort of ſheep, with horns, which come from the hills, and are called *balloes*; are bought only for fattening, at 8 to 10 liv. and are then ſold at 15 liv.; they are larger than the common breed; are ſpotted black and white; have good carcaſes, but coarſe wool.

Argentan.—Wool at 25*ſ*. *en ſuint* coarſe.—Fleece 1 lb. at 24*ſ*. per lb.—Fleece 3½ lb. at 20*ſ*. per lb.; price 8 liv.

LA MARCHE—*La Ville au Brun*.—Fleece 1 lb. at 20*ſ*.

LIMOSIN—*Limoges*.—They are the ſmalleſt breed I have ever ſeen, and poor miſerable looking animals; but both mutton and wool good.

QUERCY—*Brive to Souillac*.—Meet ſome ſheep of a larger breed than the Limoſin, with very coarſe long wool; black ſheep are very prevalent here.—Fleece 4½ lb. at 12*ſ*. *en ſuint*; ſometimes fatten them on turnips.—Fleece 5½ lb. at 12*ſ*.† *en ſuint*. Here ſee, for the firſt time, ſmall ſheep folds made with hurdles; a ſmall hut of ſtraw for the ſhepherd, on two poles to carry about; and a little one for his dog. They are now folding for turnips, called here *ravules*.

Pont de Rodez.—Wool 13*ſ*.; ſeveral ſheep in all the flocks, with tufts of wool left about their necks and ſhoulders; on inquiry, found that it is left, on account of ſuperior value, to be clipped by itſelf; ſelling at 14*ſ*. the pound, the reſt at 12*ſ*.

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* Monſ. de Lamerville ſays, that the beſt ſheep of Berry are thoſe called *Brionnes*, from the name of the chief place where they are found; that the Berry ſheep give 2½ lb. of wool, at 20*ſ*. and that the lambs ſell at 7 liv. each. *Obſervations ſur les Bêtes a Laine*. 8vo. 1786. P. 6, 218, 219.

† In theſe notes, wherever more minutes than one are entered, they are taken at the diſtance of ſome miles.

Pellecoy.—No lambs clipped ſince I left the Limoſin. Meaſured a ſheep-fold ſeven yards by ſix; there were thirty-ſix ſheep and five lambs in it; they ſeem, therefore, to allow a ſquare yard per head; the ſhepherd was abſent, but the dog was left in charge of them. Here they ſay the tufts of wool are not left for the value, but through a kind of fancy; I ſuſpect ſomething of ſuperſtition in it. Every farmer has a few ſheep, becauſe the ſmalleſt parcel will yield wool to cloath the family; an idea which ſuppoſes poverty, and a want of national circulation.

Cahors.—See many ſheep-folds; the ſhepherd's houſe is ſomething like a tall bee-hive on two handles, to move as a ſedan, and a little one for his dog. Having many wolves, they arm their dogs with collars, ſtuck with iron ſpikes, for the wolf never attacks them in any other place than the neck. The ſheep at this time of the year are folded abroad all night, as their enemy is cloſe in his receſſes, the foreſts and rocky ſteeps, where they live upon hares, rabbits, rats, and even mice.

Perges.—The ſheep with and without horns; a ſmall breed and coarſe wool; they are not yet ſheared (June 12).

LANGUEDOC—*Toulouſe.*—See ſeveral flocks, all of horned ſheep, for the firſt time from Calais; horned ones with thick fleeces, I gueſs 5 lb.; ſee ſome fine large heavy ones ſo fat and broad, that when laid down, it was with ſome difficulty they raiſed themſelves; they are ſheared, but ſome with wool left along the belly, and others with a tuft left on the rump.

St. Gaudents.—Are kept from June till autumn on the hills, the roots of the Pyrenees; and put at night into ſtrong folds, and guarded by many dogs.

Bagnere de Luchon.—Some attempts have been made to improve the breed in this part of the Pyrenees, by the import of Spaniſh rams; old ewes and wethers here are ſold into Spain.

ROUSSILLON—*Bellegarde to Perpignan.*—Large flocks of ſheep, both horned and polled, with ſome black ones.—Ditto polled; white faces, and white legs; about 12lb. a quarter.—They give 6 to 8 lb. of wool unwaſhed; waſhing reduces it to 2 lb.—Fleece 2 lb. at 39*ſ.* waſhed.—They are kept in the open air the whole year. Are now (July) in ſtubbles, which will be ploughed up in September, and ſown with rye for their winter paſturage.—Meet a flock of near 500, belonging to a man in Perpignan, who has people in the country to take care of his buſineſs, eſpecially his ſheep. The chief ſhepherd has four charges of wheat, each ten meaſures, and each meaſure gives 60 lb. of bread. Four charges of wine, one meaſure of ſalt, one of oil, and 3 liv. a month.—Many large flocks.—Thus far Rouſſillon is a very great ſheep country; infinitely more ſo than any I have yet ſeen in France, and not yielding, in this reſpect, to Dorſetſhire itſelf.

Pia.—Feed them, with their lambs, very early in the ſpring with clover ſown alone in Auguſt on ſtubbles once ploughed; after it is ſpring fed, it is watered, and yields in many a full crop of hay.

Salſeze—Fooet—Two large flocks and folds.—Ditto with goats.

Sijean—Many flocks, and folded in the ſummer, but houſed in the winter, on account of wolves.

LANGUEDOC—*Narbonne.*—Price 15*ſ. en ſuint*; 50*ſ.* waſhed.—To Beziers, and further, to Pezenas, ſmall flocks all the way, but none large; ſee ſome netted folds in olive-ground fallows.

Niſmes to Gange.—Many ſmall flocks of ſheep.

St. Maurice to Lodeve.—On theſe mountains (a waſte deſolate diſtrict) there are very large flocks kept: one man has 3000 in four or five different flocks.—Fleece 3½ lb. at 14*ſ. en ſuint*; but it is 50*ſ.* to 58*ſ.* waſhed. During ſnow, they feed on ſtraw—otherwiſe paſture all the year. Flocks and folds.

Mirepoix.—Their flocks are now in the mountains—but in the winter they are in the vale.—Fleece 2½ lb. at 11*ſ. en ſuint*; waſhed 22*ſ.* to 25*ſ.* Coming out of Mirepoix, meet a flock totally diſtinct from any ſheep I have yet ſeen in France, they would hardly be diſtinguiſhed from Norfolks; all with horns, and thoſe of the rams turning forward one curl; many of them with black faces and black legs; others dark ſpeckled; wool and ſhape alſo carry the ſame reſemblance.

Lann Maiſon to Bagnere de Bigore.—They have many ſheep on their extenſive waſtes, and the wool ſells at 22*ſ.* to 25*ſ. en ſuint*, and double when waſhed.—Meet, between Bagnere and Campan, four flocks; the ſheep larger than Norfolks; moſt with horns, curling behind the ears, but ſome polled; ſome black ones; combing wool of a middling length.

BEARN—*Lourd to Pau.*—The wool of the ſheep of Bearn is nine inches long, and ſells *en ſuint* 15*ſ.* per lb.: paſs many folds.—At Pau many flocks and folds: horns; coarſe wool; many black ſheep.

Navareen to St. Palais and Anſpan.—Sheep not numerous, yet much waſte; polled; wool ſix or eight inches long, and very coarſe.—Many ſheep with coarſe wool, price 20*ſ.* lb. *en ſuint.*

GASCOIGN—*Bayonne to St. Vincents.*—Theſe waſtes are not without ſheep, though there are large tracts under water: meet ſome ſmall flocks, both polled and horned, with very coarſe wool: almoſt as many goats as ſheep.

Granade.—Many ſmall flocks of black ſheep; the wool of both white and black coarſe and bad; ſells at 10*ſ.* a lb. *en ſuint.* It is uſed for the poor people's ſtuffs.

SAINTONGE—*Monlieu.*—Fleece 1¾ lb. at 20*ſ.* waſhed.

Angouleme.—Fleece 1½ lb. at 21*ſ.* waſhed.

Contre Verac.—Fleece 1½ lb. at 27*ſ.* waſhed.

POITOU—*Vivonne.*—Fleece 1 lb. at 31*ſ.* waſhed. Live the whole year round on paſture; ſtraw in the houſe in winter; never folded.

Orleans to Petiviers.—Fleece 3 lb. at 15*ſ.* Sheep-folds every where, with the ſhepherd's houſe on wheels.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*La Chapelle le Reine.*—Fleece 4 lb. at 13*ſ.*

Liancourt.—Fleece 5¼ lb. at 12*ſ. en ſuint*. Every farmer has a flock, which is folded in ſummer on the fallows. The breed neither good nor bad; the duke of Liancourt procured ſome from Berry, and others from Flanders, for experiment. The former reſemble a good deal our South Downs; the wool a fine carding ſort. The latter a well formed ſheep, with very coarſe wool. The wool of the country, of which the price is named above, is very bad.

Beauvais to Izoire.—A better breed than common; polled; large; well made; fleece 5½ lb.: every man has his fold. Flocks this morning (Sept. 10.) in a heavy rain, at ten o'clock, ſtill in the fold.

Dugny.—Monſ. Cretté de Palluel's ſyſtem is, to buy wethers in June for folding till November, when he ſells about two-thirds of them half fat to the butcher; the other third he keeps fattening in the winter in the ſtable entirely on corn, bran, hay, &c. to be ready for the markets, when mutton grows dearer. It is now (October) 6*ſ.* and 7*ſ.* per pound; but from Eaſter, to the end of June, 2*ſ.* or 3*ſ.* more. The variation in beef is rather leſs. It is now 9*ſ.* or 10*ſ.* and cow beef 7*ſ.* but in May 2*ſ.* more. This inequality in the price of meat, is a certain proof of bad huſbandry. I viewed his ſheep-houſe, which is an arched ſtone building, without any yard for them to be in at pleaſure; the windows ſmall, and conſequently the animals kept infinitely too hot.—There are men in this country that have large flocks of ſheep, without an arpent of land; they let them to farmers, who have no ſheep, at from 30*ſ.* to 40*ſ.* a head, and food from June to November for folding.

Dammartin.—Many flocks; fleece 5 lb. at 20*ſ. en ſuint*.

PICARDY—*St. Quintin.*—Every farmer has a flock now folding for the laſt ſown wheat: they are the Picardy breed; 4 or 5 lb. wool at 24*ſ. en ſuint*: hoggits 2½ lb.

FLANDERS—*Bouchaine.*—Every farmer has a flock; they give 4 to 5 lb. of wool, which ſells at Lille for 30*ſ.* the pound waſhed.

Valenciennes to Orchees.—Long combing wool 5 lb. at 30*ſ.* the pound waſhed. They give them, in the winter, beans in the ſtraw, unthreſhed.—I ſaw ſome wethers bought at 21 liv. each lean, which was about the price they would have ſold for in England.

Lille.—But few in this neighbourhood; 5 lb. at 30*ſ.* waſhed[*].

ARTOIS—*St. Omers.*—Meet a flock of 200—the Flanders breed; wool ſeven or eight inches long; 5½ lb. each fleece, at 25*ſ.* waſhed. Theſe ſheep have the clean ſilky ears of thoſe of Picardy; but with bodies dirty from the ſtable.

Bethune.—See a flock of two year old wethers, whoſe wool this year produced 9 liv. each. The ſame breed as before. Feed them in winter on beans and ſtraw.—Fleece 5 lb. at 25*ſ* waſhed.

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[*] The Marquis de Guerchy ſays, there are long wools at Turcoin, Lille, and Varneton, that ſell at 50*ſ.* and 60*ſ.* the pound. *Mem. pour l'Amelioration des Bêtes a laine.* 8vo. 1788. p. 3.---I did not meet with them.

Araſs.—Sheepfolds thinly ſcattered thro' all the country.—Fleeces 5 liv. each.

Dourlens.—Fleeces worth 4 liv. each.

Amiens.—I was offered 45ſ. a pound for common Lincoln combing wool, neither long nor ſhort of the kind; this is about 20d. the pound Engliſh—but trade is very ſlack at Amiens.

Poix to Aumale.—Flocks large; 200 to 400. Fleeces 4 lb. at 33ſ.

Neufchatel to Rouen.—The ſame breed as in Picardy; give 4l. at 33ſ. waſhed.

Yvetot.—3 lb. at 32ſ. They are folded for wheat.

Bolbec.—4 lb. at 33ſ. never any other green food in winter than what they can pick up.

Honfleur.—Sheep give fleeces of 6 lb. *en ſuint*, which are 3 lb. waſhed, and ſell at 30ſ.—Fleece 2 lb. waſhed; 5 lb. *en ſuint*, price 30ſ.—Red faces and red legs.

Pays d'Auge.—35 to 36ſ. per lb. ditto.

Valley Corbon.—5 lb. *en ſuint*, 2½ lb. waſhed; ſells at 20ſ. per lb. *en ſuint*, or 40ſ. waſhed—about five inches long. The ſheep in Normandy ſeem very generally to be the red faced and red legged breed.

Falaiſe.—Fleeces 3½ lb. at 24ſ. waſhed.

Duc de Harcourt.—Fleeces 4 lb. at 40ſ. waſhed, or 20 lb. *en ſuint*. There is ſome Spaniſh blood in a few, but ſo croſſed and neglected as to be hardly perceivable. Here, as in moſt other parts of France, when you would have a ſheep caught that it may be examined, the ſhepherd orders his dog to drive the flock around his maſter, which he does by going round them in a circle gradually decreaſing, till the ſhepherd takes any one he wants. How infinitely ſuperior to our barbarous methods?

Carentan.—Sheep, in the rich marſhes, the ſame as on the hills; the red face and red leg breed; theſe marſhes are as capable of carrying to perfection the longeſt wool, as any land in Lincolnſhire. Wool 4 inches; 40ſ. per lb. waſhed, and 20 or 22ſ. *en ſuint*.

Piere Butte.—Monſ. Doumerc buys ſheep at two years old, and ſells them at three, to thoſe who fatten them. They are ſmall, and pretty well made, without horns; face and leg white—ſomewhat inclining to reddiſh, as if a mixed Norman bred. The wool ſold this year at 45ſ. per lb. waſhed; but at 18ſ. only if *en ſuint*.

BRETAGNE—*Broons.*—Poor little ſheep, not more than 10 lb. a quarter when quite fat. Very few ſheep, after entering this province.

Landerviſia.—At a fair here no ſheep at all; and all the way from Rennes to Breſt, there are ſcarcely any to be ſeen—yet a waſte country, and very well adapted to them.

La Roche Bernard to Guerande.—I have now paſſed through almoſt all Bretagne, and ſeen ſcarcely one ſheep, where there ought to be an hundred; but here are ſome flocks of poor black things, which ſhew the careleſſneſs and ſavage ignorance of the inhabitants.

Savanal to Nantes.—Rich ſalt marſhes fed by little miſerable black ſheep, with wretched coarſe wool, where the longeſt woolled ſheep of Lincolnſhire would thrive and fatten. Miſerable black ſheep on all the waſtes.

Varades.—Very poor ſheep; many black, and ſome with red faces, but they are better than thoſe on the *landes*.

ANJOU—*Angers to La Fleche.*—The number of ſheep in this ride of thirty miles quite inſignificant; now and then four or ſix, and once about twenty; but they are ſuperior to the wretched animals of Bretagne; are worth about 12 liv. each, and yield 4 lb. of wool, at 36*ſ.* the lb. waſhed; yet there is not a country in Europe better calculated for them, as it is all a dry ſound ſand and gravel, and not too poor.

Turbilly.—Wool 36*ſ.*

NORMANDY—*Alençon.*—The Norman breed here, of red faces and legs, and no horns; they are worth 12 or 14 liv. each; 3 lb. of wool, at 12*ſ. en ſuint*, or 30*ſ.* waſhed.

Nonant.—Many flocks; wool 12 to 18*ſ. en ſuint*, and 35*ſ.* waſhed; 1½ to 2½ lb. each fleece; the ſheep ſell at 15 liv.; they are never folded; the breed the red face and leg.

Gacé to Bernay.—Red face and leg; 2½ lb. of wool, at 36*ſ.* to 40*ſ.* waſhed.

Leſſiniole.—Many flocks.

Brionne.—Many flocks; wool this year (1788) 32*ſ.* laſt year 36*ſ.*; fleece 2½ lb.

Rouen.—Waited on Meſſrs. Midy, Roffec, and Co. the greateſt wool-ſtaplers in France, and to whom I had letters of recommendation; they were ſo obliging as to ſhew me the wools in their magazines, explain the prices, and allow me to take ſpecimens: thoſe I particularly noted were:

Tyow and Nkmark.—Combing; the price 36*ſ.*; three years ago 26*ſ.*

Mecklenburgh.—Combing 32*ſ.*; three years paſt 24*ſ.*

Grieſclaire.—Combing 26*ſ.*; three years ago 20*ſ.*

Cawnteblanche.—Carding 26*ſ.*; was 20*ſ.*——*Damthan.*—26*ſ.*; was 20*ſ.*

Mittelband.—22*ſ.*; was 12*ſ.*——*Guſtrow.*—Brebis 20*ſ.*; was 16 to 18*ſ.*

Loquets.—(Locks) carding 12*ſ.*; was 6 to 8*ſ.*

Eyderſtadt.—Combing 38 to 40*ſ.*; was 28 to 30*ſ.*

Pologne.—Combing 28*ſ.*; was 18 to 20*ſ.*

FRENCH—*Berry.*—Carding 3 liv. to 3 liv. 4*ſ.*; tare 8 lb. per ſack.

Sologne.—Carding 2 liv. 10*ſ.*——*Rouſſillon.*—Carding 3 liv. to 3 liv. 10*ſ.*

Pays de Caux.—Combing 36 to 38*ſ.*——*Poitou.*—Carding 48 to 50*ſ.*

SPAIN—*Segovie.*—Carding 6 liv.——*Segovaine.*—Carding 4 liv. 10*ſ.* to 5 liv. ——Conditions of ſale, tare 10 lb. and 3 lb. allowed.

R. - - -	180
Tare - - -	13
	167
Tare again, - -	15 or 9 per cent.
Net - - -	142 at 120ſ.

And ſeventeen and eighteen months credit, and bills taken at two, three, and four months to run. This for three ſorts Spaniſh, 120ſ. 105ſ. and 95ſ. The German wools, 110 given for 100, tare 6 per cent. for long credit. The riſe in the price of the German wools proceeds entirely from a great mortality, which has for two or three years leſſened the quantity conſiderably; the fall in the Spaniſh may be aſcribed to a decline, either real or apprehended, in the French fabrics; the manufacturers affirming they have great ſtocks of cloths unſold. No Engliſh; but they would give 38 to 40ſ. per lb. for the combing ſort, at the preſent prices; that is, the price of Eyderſtadt.

Tatte.—Many ſheep folds, and, like moſt others in the kingdom, double, that the ſhepherd may change them in the night; ſee a flock of hoggits now worth 12 liv. each; no horns; fleece 2½ to 3 lb. at 34ſ.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Nangis.*—Price of wool 30ſ. waſhed, or 15ſ. *en ſuint*; they never ſell lambs, but old ewes and wethers at five years old, lean in November 9 to 10 liv. each, fat 12 to 15 liv.; give them nothing in winter but ſtraw. See Monſ. du Prayé's ſheep in fold on the fallows at noon; wethers bought in merely for folding, at 14 to 15 liv. which will be ſold in November, at a loſs; and this pretty ſyſtem merely to get five or ſix ſeptiers of wheat! the ſeptier half an Engliſh quarter (6½ coomb per acre); ſheep (called) fat from Sologne 13 to 15 liv. each. Faggots here are made in ſummer, while the wood is in leaf, and laid up for feeding ſheep in the winter.

Neuf Moutier.—Fleece 6 lb. to 8 lb. at 12ſ. *en ſuint.*

CHAMPAGNE—*Mareuil.*—The King of France having imported ſome Spaniſh ſheep, gave the provincial aſſembly of Champagne a lot of a ram and fourteen ewes, which were committed to the care of Monſ. Le Blanc of this place. I viewed them with attention, and found the carcaſs of many of them as ill made as the wool was excellent. The ram clips 6½ lb. of wool; the ſheep 3, 4, and 5 lb.; and the price of ſome of it has riſen as high as 4 liv. and 4 liv. 10ſ. per lb.; 4 lb. at that price is 14s. 10½d. for the fleece; I ſaw the wool in the fleece, but it did not appear to me equal to ſuch a price.

Rheims.—Wool of Champagne this year 30ſ. per lb. In 1788, 30ſ. In 1787, 26ſ. In 1786, 25ſ. Such an increaſe of the price of wool is a very ſtrong preſumption that the ſheep have experienced no epidemical diſtemper; and that the manufacture is flouriſhing; and it is not improbable that the deduction of half from the earnings of the poor ſpinners is very much *à l'Anglois*; that is to ſay, an injuſtice.

Chalons to Ove.—A flock of ſheep belonging to every community, 2, 3, or 400 in each; 380 in one, the ſhepherd of which I converſed with; there are twelve or fourteen owners. The ſheep give each 3 or 4 lb. of wool, which this year ſold from 26*ſ.* to 30*ſ.* waſhed. They are never folded, on account of the ſmallneſs of the properties.

LORAINE—*Braban.*—Sheep ſell at 9 liv. Wool 1½ lb. each fleece, at 32*ſ.* per lb. waſhed.

Luneville.—The wool is waſhed on the ſheep's back before clipping, which is uncommon in France; the fleece 2 to 3 lb. price laſt year 29*ſ.* this year 30*ſ.*

Blamont to Haming.—See one ſheepfold, the firſt in the province; and I ſaw but this.

ALSACE—*Straſbourg.*—The ſheep are waſhed before clipping; wool 24*ſ.* fleeece 2 to 3 lb. twice a year, 1 lb. each, at Eaſter and Michaelmas.

Iſle.—Small ſheep, that give from ½ to 1½ lb. of wool, that ſells at 36*ſ.* to 40*ſ.* waſhed. There are ſome wethers that do not weigh more than 4 lb. a quarter.

FRANCHE COMPTE—*Beſançon.*—Clip their ſheep always twice a year, in May and in autumn; and to the ſecond they give the ſame name, as to the ſecond hay crop, *regain*; the firſt yields 1½ lb. the ſecond ¾ lb.; ſome aſſert the firſt to be the fineſt wool, others the ſecond, but they go together in price, this year and laſt 36 to 40*ſ.* waſhed, ſome years paſt 20 to 24*ſ.* only. Near Lyons the ſheep go cloathed into the vineyards during winter, to preſerve their wool; I enter this where I have the intelligence, but I know not how to credit it. What cloathing would not be torn to tatters among the vines?

BOURGOGNE—*Dijon.*—Sheep clipt twice a year; the firſt the beſt; waſhed on the back before clipping; price 40*ſ.*

Couch to Mont Cenis.—Poor little miſerable ſheep on the high grounds.

Maiſon de Bourgogne to Luzy.—Clip but once a-year; wool 30*ſ.* per lb. waſhed; was two years ago but 24*ſ.*

BOURBONNOIS—*Chavanne.*—Twenty miles, one little flock only of poor miſerable ſheep of about 10 lb. a quarter, yet the country is adapted to nothing ſo much as to ſheep.

Moulins.—Fleece 2 to 3 lb. at 26*ſ.*; waſhed coarſely; lambs at four or five months old ſell at 3 liv.; ſheep 15 liv. the pair.

AUVERGNE—*Aigue Preſſe.*—A ſheepfold, and ſhepherd's houſe on wheels; the firſt I have ſeen for ſome hundreds of miles.

Riom.—Many ſheep and folds all the way.

Clermont.—Salt given every eight or ten days to ſheep; price 10 to 18 liv. the pair; wethers 24 to 40 liv. the pair; a lamb of four or five months 4 liv.; fleece of a wether *en ſuint* 3 lb.; waſhed 1½ lb.; of an ewe 2 lb. *en ſuint*; 1 lb. waſhed; price *en ſuint* 16 to 18*ſ*.; waſhed 30 to 32*ſ*. In the mountains, price of coarſe wool *en ſuint* 10 to 18*ſ*.; and waſhed 28 to 30*ſ*. per lb.; ſpinning a pound of coarſe 10*ſ*.; fine ditto 12 to 16*ſ*.

Izoire.—Price of lean wethers 12 liv.; a fleece 2½ lb. at 15*ſ*. *en ſuint*.

Briude.—Wool 80 liv. the quintal; per lb. *en ſuint* 16*ſ*. and ſo dirty that it loſes half; fleece of a wether 3 to 4 lb.; of a ſheep, 1 to 2 lb.

Fix to Le Puy.—Price of ſheep 20 to 24 liv. the pair; the fleece 3 liv. at 14 or 15*ſ*. *en ſuint*.—Folds.

VIVARAIS—*Pradelles*.—Wethers 10 or 12 liv.; fleece of ditto 3 or 3½ lb.; of ſheep 2 lb.; price 14 or 15*ſ*. *en ſuint*.

DAUPHINE—*Montelimart*.—A great change on croſſing the Rhone.—In the Vivarais the ſheep are poor little things, but on the other ſide of the river good and large. The price of wool was laſt year 60 liv. for 93 lb. *en ſuint*; this year 40 liv.—It loſes half in waſhing. The fall is attributed to the want of oil in Provence for combing it; it is all combing wool though ſhort, and olive oil only is uſed in the operation. A flock of one-third ewes, one-third wethers, and one-third lambs, will give all round 5 lb. of wool each—all ſold at an average price, but that of lambs the moſt valuable! hats are made of it.—The ſheep in this country feed readily on the *trifolium bituminoſum*, the ſcent of which is very ſtrong. A gentleman, near this place, has a flock partly Spaniſh and partly croſs-bred ſheep, which ſucceed well; and the wool ſells at 3 liv. per lb. All the farmers here, juſt as in the Vivarais, have long ſmall troughs on legs, in which they give ſalt regularly to their ſheep mixed with bran every fifteen days. Feeding in the dew is found to rot them more than any thing; on which account, they do not let them out of fold till the ſun has exhaled it; ſalt is the preſervative againſt that diſtemper. The quantity they give is 3 lb. to forty ſheep. It is remarkable that they fatten the faſter for feeding in the dew, but muſt be killed within a few months, or they die rotten. Monſ. Faujas de St. Fond has found it very uſeful to give them oak bark pounded, and a little moiſtened with bran; it is good in the manner of ſalt as a preſervative againſt the rot, and has its effect alſo againſt the *enflé*.

PROVENCE—*Avignon*.—Very few kept; price of the wool 10*ſ*. the pound *en ſuint*; 4 lb. per fleece.

Tour d'Aigues.—There is, in Provence, as regular an emigration of ſheep as in Spain; the march is acroſs the province, from the Crau to the mountains of Gap and Barcelonetta; not regulated by any other written laws than ſome arrets of the parliament to limit their roads to five toiſes of breadth; if they do any damage beyond that, it is paid for. The Barcelonetta mountains are the beſt; they are covered with fine turf, *gazoné ſuperbement*; the ſheep belong to perſons

ſons about the Crau, at Arles, Salon, &c. The Preſident de la Tour d'Aigues calculates them at a million. They come from the mountains in autumn fat. The Crau ſhepherds hire the feed in the mountains, at 20ſ. each ſheep for ſix months; and the Crau price for winter is the ſame. They give 8 or 9 lb. of wool *en ſuint*; this year they ſold at 45ſ. the fleece; laſt year 56ſ. Monſ. Darluc[*], who gives a detail of theſe ſheep, aſſerts alſo, that their number is a a million; and that they travel in flocks of 10,000 to 40,000, and are 20 to 30 days on the journey; but he ſays, the fleece is 5 or 5½ lb. only. They fold neither the Crau ſheep, nor thoſe at Tour d'Aigues. But in the Cammargue, where are no ſtones, and where the ſheep do not travel, they fold them. It is remarkable, that the Crau ſheep are never in ſtables either in winter or in ſummer. Sheep in general 5lb. each fleece, at 8ſ. *en ſuint*. The common calculation 40ſ. It is moſt miſerable hairy ſtuff. Wethers 12 to 14 liv. each. The lamb of an ewe pays 3 liv. and the wool 2 liv. which makes her produce 5 liv. I viewed the flock of the Spaniſh breed, of which the preſident has given a very intereſting account in the memoirs of the Society of Agriculture at Paris; and of which I inſerted a tranſlation in the Annals of Agriculture, vol. xii. p. 430. They have been introduced ſome years ago, and, from the preſident's abſence, much neglected; ſome of the ewes I found very old and lean; in general, the form was not ſo bad as I expected, particularly the back-bone, which, in many Spaniſh ones I have ſeen, is quite ridged. The wool is cloſe, and tolerably curdled, but not ſo hard coated to the feel as ſome I have ſeen. Their wool was ſold this year at 75 liv. the quintal, *en ſuint*. I heard of ſome who had tried the Spaniſh breed, but had left them off, becauſe they did not anſwer, eating much more than their own breed; I place no confidence, however, in the accuracy of theſe experiments. The preſident is now making elm faggots to lay up for the winter food of his flock. It is the common practice of the country; elm beſt; then poplar; oak good.

Eſtrelles.—Price of wool 36 to 50 liv. the 100 lb. *en ſuint*. Fleece 4 to 4½lb.

Lyons.—Inquired for the cloathed ſheep, but found nobody that had ſeen them.

St. Martin.—From Lyons hither, 67 miles, in a country adapted to ſheep, yet I have not ſeen fifty.

Roanne.—Fleece waſhed 22ſ. the pound.

Neuvy to Croiſiere.—A few flocks of forty or fifty, poor, ſmall, and ill looking.

Recapitulation.

Average weight of all the fleeces minuted,	-	3½ lb.
———— ———— fleeces ſold *en ſuint*,	-	4
——— ———— ——— ———— waſhed,	- -	3
Average price per lb. *en ſuint*,	-	18ſ.
——— —— ———— waſhed,	-	30

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[*] *Hiſt, Nat. de la Provence.* 8vo. 1782. tom. i. p. 303, 324, 329, &c.

The reader ſhould be particularly cautioned againſt drawing concluſions from the rates and weights of the wool here minuted clean and dirty; for, being taken from notes made at diſtant and diſtinct places, it does not follow, that the proportion between waſhed and unwaſhed is, in weight, as 3 to 4 lb. or in price, as 18 to 30ſ. to diſcover the latter proportion we muſt have recourſe to thoſe minutes only, which, *at the ſame place*, give the price both waſhed and unwaſhed. The average prices of theſe are——

En ſuint, - - -	16ſ.
Waſhed, - - -	37

And I am therefore inclined to fix on the following, as the data to be drawn from the preceding minutes.

Average fleece *en ſuint*, - -	4 lb.
Average price per lb. - -	18ſ.
Which would be, waſhed, - -	41

The average of very numerous minutes, is 18ſ. per lb. *en ſuint*; and then, to find the proportion waſhed, I take that between 16 and 37ſ. which gives 41ſ. for the general price waſhed. That the difference between waſhed and unwaſhed is moderate in theſe notes, will appear from thoſe of Monſ. Carlier, viz.

Rouſſillon, -	11ſ. *en ſuint*.	—	38ſ. waſhed.
Cammargue, -	12	—	24
Provence, -	10	—	20
Saintonge, -	10	—	20
Berry, -	16	—	38
Beauce, -	8	—	16
Average,	11	—	26

Now, it is worth noting, that 16 and 37, or 18 and 41, bear the ſame proportion as 11 and 26, which is the reſult of this gentleman's enquiries in thoſe ſix provinces*. In my farming travels, twenty years ago, through England, I found the average fleece 5¼ lb. at 5¾d. per lb. But the average price, in 11 counties in 1788, was 9¾d. per lb.—The average fleece of waſhed wool in France being, according to theſe notes, 3 lb. at the places where the price is ſettled waſhed, and 4 lb. *en ſuint*, the mean of the whole kingdom cannot be more than 2½ lb. waſhed. The fleeces of England are therefore doubly more heavy. But the price in France at 41ſ. and, deducting for the difference of French and Engliſh weight, is ſomething more than 1s. 6d. per lb. for (on an average) worſe wool. But the trade in wool is free in France. As the French price is the fair one of Europe, that of England being artificially depreſſed, we are not to judge of the quality of the wools of France, relatively to our own by the price; for they have in fact (thoſe of Rouſſillon, Narbonne, and Berry for carding ſorts, and of Flanders for combing, alone excepted) very few that are ſo good as ours.—We have a great deal of bad wool in England, but the French have much more; and indeed ſeem to have managed this branch of their agricultural œconomy as they have done almoſt every other. Rouſſillon is a part of Spain rather than of France, and therefore it is the Spaniſh blood that has given good wool there; and Flanders is an Auſtrian province; thus France, properly ſo called, had nothing but the Berry wool to pride herſelf upon; and that only in a ſmall diſtrict of a ſmall province. But the management of ſheep, throughout the kingdom, is the moſt abominable that can be conceived. It appears, by the notes, that in winter they are, according to our ideas, univerſally ſtarved; that is, fed upon ſtraw; for as to a proviſion of green winter food, cultivated purpoſely for them, of which no good farmer in England is ever deſtitute, there is not ſuch a practice in France, from one end of the kingdom to the other. The conſequence of this, are theſe poor fleeces, a bad quality of wool, and one ſheep kept where there might be an hundred. Hence alſo the neceſſity of an immenſe import of every kind of wool; and, what is ſtill much worſe, ſuch a deficiency of ſheep in eighteen-twentieths of the kingdom, that every article of huſbandry ſuffers; and meat is ſo much dearer than bread, that it cannot be purchaſed by the poor. All theſe are great evils, and deſerve a deep conſideration from every friend of his country, to take the proper means of remedying them; which, however, is not likely ever to be done effectually, till a large farm, on a poor ſoil, be fully ſtocked with a well fed flock as in England. But the deficiency of food is not the only point that wants to be remedied—the management of their ſtables is an enormous evil. To reap the benefit of manure, at a ſeaſon that prevents the ſhepherd from reſting abroad with his flock, out of an apprehenſion of the wolves, the ſheep are almoſt univerſally houſed at night throughout the winter: there is nothing objectionable in this, for much dung may be, and is certainly made by it; but the cloſe ſuffocating heat of the ſtables is ſuch, that the health of theſe animals ſuffers dreadfully; and epidemical diſorders often break out, ariſing principally from this cauſe. Notice is taken, in the minutes, of the ſheep being alſo thus confined in the middle of the day in ſummer. The ſtables are cleaned but once a-year, or, at the moſt, but twice. Thus the flock lies on a dunghill, and breathes the effluvia of it, inſtead of air. Before clipping, it is kept for ſome time, without freſh ſtraw, that the wool may be rendered dirty, and therefore heavy; and ſome men throw water on the dung, to excite a fermentation, that the fleeces may be ſo impregnated with moiſture, as to weigh to the ſatisfaction of the owner. This management is now and then rewarded, as it ought to be, with the loſs of whole flocks in a ſingle night; ſuch barbarous practices will eaſily lead the reader to judge of the profound ignorance of the French with reſpect to ſheep.[*]. There is no doubt, that they ought never to be houſed by force; but to have the choice in a yard, ſecurely walled in, to be under cover, or expoſed to the weather at their pleaſure. I have myſelf a farm too wet for folding abroad in winter; and therefore uſe a well littered yard and barn, in which the ſheep are dry and clean, and not hotter than they pleaſe to be. I find the practice very beneficial; but mention it here only curſorily, as I have in another work [†] expatiated largely upon it.

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* *Traité des Bêtes a laine.* 4to. 1770.

One of the moſt ſingular practices in the eyes of an Engliſhman, that is to be met with abroad, in the management of ſheep, is the regularity with which ſalt is every where given to their flocks, and alſo to cattle. The practice is of great antiquity. The antients were in a regular practice of giving ſalt to ſheep. Columella tells us, that if the paſture for this animal were ever ſo ſweet, yet it would grow ſtale to them if they have not ſalt given in wooden troughs [‡]. It appears, from an impoſition eſtabliſhed ſo long ago as 1462, in the Milaneſe, that the conſumption of ſalt is reckoned at 28 lb. for each head of cattle [§]. In France it is conjectured to amount to 50 lb. [‖], and for ſheep to 15 lb. where the ſale of it is free. The ſame author mentions it as a known fact, that cows give the more milk for it; ſheep finer wool; and that all animals are kept by it in good health. In ſome of the *cahiers* of inſtruction to the deputies in the National Aſſembly, ſalt is conſidered as eſſential to the well-being of cattle, *indiſpenſable aux beſtiaux* [¶]. Monſ. d'Aubenton directs 1 lb. every eight days to twenty ſheep [**]. In Spain it is as common as it is in Italy and France; a *fanega* of ſalt, or 100 lb. is allowed for one hundred ſheep, by law; but they uſe fifteen and twenty *fanegas* for 1000 ſheep [††]. In a memoir on the Spaniſh flocks, by the late Mr. Collinſon, the account is more particular and curious. "The firſt thing the ſhepherd does when the flock returns from the S. to its ſummer downs, is to give the ſheep as much ſalt as they will eat. Every owner allows his flock, of a thouſand ſheep, twenty-five *quintals* of ſalt, which the flock eat in about five months; they eat none in their journey, nor in their winter-walk. It is believed, that if they ſtinted their ſheep of this quantity, it would weaken their conſtitutions and degrade their wool; the ſhepherd places fifty or ſixty flat ſtones, at about five ſteps diſtance from each other; he ſtrews ſalt upon each ſtone; he leads the flocks ſlowly through the ſtones, and every ſheep eats to his liking. What is very remarkable is, that the ſheep never eat a grain of ſalt, nor wiſh for it, when they are feeding on land which lies on lime-ſtone; and as the ſhepherd muſt not ſuffer them to be too long without ſalt, he leads them to a ſpot of clayey ſoil, and, after a quarter of an hour's feeding them, they march back to the ſtones and devour the ſalt. So ſenſible are they of the difference, that if they meet with a ſpot of mixed ſoil, which often happens, they eat ſalt in proportion." The practice is found equally in Germany; the late King of Pruſſia, by ordonance, expected his peaſants to take two *mebzen* (9 lb.) for each milch-cow, and one *metze* for every five milch-ſheep, and half as much for ſuch as do not give milk *; and in Bohemia the price of ſalt is found very prejudicial to the flocks †. The Hungarian peaſants lay pieces of rock-ſalt at the doors of their ſtables, cow-houſes, &c. for cattle and horſes to lick ‡. It is known alſo in Poland §. Throughout all North America ſalt is given to cattle and horſes once or twice a week ‖. Paoletti, a practical Italian writer, orders 1 lb. to each ſheep in autumn, and another in ſpring ¶. Monſ. Carlier decides againſt it, but on very inſufficient authority **. Monſ. Teſſier unites with the common practice, by recommending it ††. This practice, which is unknown in England only, merits I believe much more attention than the Engliſh farmers are willing to give it, at leaſt thoſe with whom I have converſed upon this ſubject. I have tried it for two years paſt in my own flock; and though it is very difficult to pronounce the effect of ſuch additions to their food, except after long and repeated experiments, I have, I think, reaſon to be ſatisfied, my ſheep having been very healthy, and once or twice ſo, when my neighbours ſuffered loſſes.

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[*] A French writer very erroneouſly ſays, that the Engliſh loſe prodigious quantities of ſheep by folding. *Mem. ſur l'Agriculture, par M. Lormoy.* 8vo. 1789. p. 47. No ſuch thing.---One would think that the management of Engliſh ſheep were as well known in France as other parts of Engliſh agriculture. Another writer ſays, that ſhort woolled rams ſell in England much dearer than long woolled ones. *Mem. pour l'Amelioration des Bêtes a laine dans l'Iſle de France.* 1788. p. 8. Juſt the contrary.---Ten guineas is a high price for a ram in Suſſex, the fineſt breed of the ſhort woolled kind; whereas a long woolled ram in Leiceſterſhire has been *let* at one thouſand guineas for a ſingle ſeaſon.

[†] *Annals of Agriculture.* Vol. xv. No. 87.

[‡] Nec tamen ulla ſunt tam blanda pabula, aut etiam paſcua, quorum gratia non exoleſcat uſu continuo, niſi pecudum faſtidio paſtor occurrerit prebito ſale quod velut ad pabuli condimentum per æſtatem canalibus ligneis impoſitum cum e paſtu redierint oves, lambunt, atque eo ſapore cupidinem bibendi paſcendique concipiunt. Lib. vii.

[§] *De l'Adminiſtration Provinciale*, par M. le Trone. 8vo. 1788. tom. i. p. 237.

[‖] Ibid.

[¶] *Cahier du Tiers Etat de Toul.* p. 17. Alſo, *De la Nobleſſe de Clermont Ferand.* p. 22.

[**] *Inſtruction pour les Bergers.* 8vo. 1782. p. 105. See alſo, *Traité d'Economie Politique.* 8vo. 1783. p. 545.

[††] *Eſſai Hiſt. & Pol. ſur la race des Brebis, trad. d'Aſtrom.* 12mo. 1784. p. 47.

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* *Mirabeau de la Monarchie Pruſſienne.* Tom. iv. p. 102. † Ibid. Tom vi. p. 236.

‡ Keyſler's Travels. 12mo. 1758. Vol. iv. p. 242.

§ Sir Thomas Pope Blount's Nat. Hiſt. 12mo. 1693. p. 220.

‖ Smyth's Tour in the United States. 8vo. 1784. Vol. i. p. 143.

¶ *Penſieri ſopra l'Agricoltura.* 8vo. 1789. p. 209.

** *Traité des Bêtes a laine.* 4to. Tom. i. p. 296.

†† *Obſerv. ſur Pluſieurs Maladies de Beſt.* p. 67. See alſo, on this ſubject, *Markham's cheap and good Huſbanary*, p. 111. 120. *Parkinſon's Theatrum Botanicum*, p. 552. *Maiſon Ruſtique*, p. 107. *Hartlib's Legacy*, p. 199. *Mills' new and complete Syſtem of Practical Huſbandry*, vol. iii. p. 416. *Memoirs of the Bath Society*, vol. i. p. 180. And a curious paſſage in *Birch's Edition of Boyle*, vol. v. p. 521. *Dr. Blower to Mr. Boyle.*

The breeds which I have noted in France are, 1, The Picardy; hornleſs; white faces; and ſilky hanging ears. This I take to be a baſtard breed of Flanders; the wool coarſe; of middling length. 2, Normandy; red legs and red faces; coarſe wool. 3, Berry; reſembling ſomewhat the South Downs of England; fine wool. 4, Spaniſh in Rouſſillon, and in part of Languedoc. 5, Near Mirepoix, a ſort that reſembles Norfolk ſheep; with horns; black faces and legs. The reſt, I apprehend, are all mongrels, without any ſtrong features to diſcriminate them. The badneſs of the breeds, and the ill management of ſheep in France, is the more ſurpriſing, as I conceive there is no country in Europe better adapted to this animal. The ſoil is, in general, dry, and the climate much leſs humid than that of England, which circumſtances are of eſſential conſequence for commanding great ſucceſs with ſheep: wet land and a wet climate are, next to French management, by far their greateſt enemies. The old government often expreſſed a great inclination to take whatever ſteps might be deemed neceſſary to improve their ſheep; I have noted the controleur general Bertin employing Monſ. Carlier to travel through France, from 1762 to 1766, for examining the flocks; and Monſ. d'Aubenton acknowledges, that whatever he excuted in regard to importing the Spaniſh breed, was done at the inſtigation of another controleur general. "Monſ. Trudaine ne m'a rien laiſſé à déſirer de tout ce qui pouvoit m'être utile pour remplir mon objet." Much encouragement has ſince been given to Monſ. Delporte, of Boulogne, for importing a flock of Engliſh ſheep; and the late Marquis of Conflans bought, for the provincial aſſembly of Normandy, one hundred Engliſh rams, which were to be landed at nine guineas a-piece. The government was always inclined to be liberal upon this buſineſs, but never took the right ſteps. I viewed ſeveral parcels of ſheep that were ſaid to be Spaniſh, but never ſaw a ſingle one that gave wool comparable to Spaniſh; and I was aſſured, by very reſpectable manufacturers, at Louviers and Elbœuf, that not one fleece of ſuch has ever been produced in France, and that the Rouſſillon wool is the beſt in the kingdom. The Spaniſh ſheep I examined in France were ſuch ill made animals, that as much would be loſt in the carcaſs, and in the want of diſpoſition to thrive, as could be gained in wool, ſuppoſing it as fine as poſſible. The Engliſh ſheep which I ſaw were choſen pretty much in the ſame manner; and no wonder, as ſmugglers had been the agents, who would of courſe procure ſuch as were to be had cheapeſt. Where the Marquis de Conflans bought his Engliſh ſheep, I never heard; by his death France loſt them, and, if I may judge from the others I have ſeen, the loſs is not great. All theſe exertions have been made by people whoſe profeſſions, habits of life, employments, and purſuits have been far removed from agriculture; uſually by inhabitants of the capital, or other great cities.—In a word, theſe have been made by men, in whoſe hands ſucceſs was impoſſible. If the government had, for the introduction of Spaniſh wool, fixed a Spaniſh farmer, with Spaniſh ſhepherds, and a Spaniſh flock, in ſuch a diſtrict as the Crau, in Provence, to enjoy their annual emigration, it would have been known what could really be done in carding wool. And if an Engliſhman, with a flock of well-choſen Lincolnſhire, or Leceiſterſhire, long woolled ſheep, had been fixed in the Pays d'Aux, with a ſalary of five hundred louis a-year for himſelf, and with every other expence amply provided, it would at once have been found, that as long and as fine combing wool may be produced in France as in England. But ſuch eſtabliſhments would depend abſolutely on the choice of the men; in ſome hands the whole expence would be thrown away; in others not a penny of it would be loſt.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Capital employed in Huſbandry.

THERE is no light, in which the agriculture of France can appear to leſs advantage than upon this head. It is ſcarcely credible how the metayers are able to ſupport themſelves with a ſtock ſo much inferior to what would be neceſſary to a good cultivation. In all the provinces which are backward in point of agriculture, as Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Sologne, Berry, La Marche, Limoſin, Angoumois, Poitou, part of Guienne, and Languedoc; in Champagne, Loraine, Franche Compté, Bourbonnois, Nevernois, Lyonois, and part of Auvergne, Dauphiné, and Provence; the ſtock of every ſort upon the farms, whether belonging to the landlord or the tenant, would not riſe to 20s. per Engliſh acre, and in many diſtricts not to 15s. The paſtures of Normandy, and the arable lands of Flanders, and part of Artois, are well ſtocked; but there is a great deficiency in every other part of the kingdom, even in the beſt provinces. The quantity of ſheep and cattle is every where trifling in compariſon of what it ought to be. The implements of huſbandry are contrived for cheapneſs, not for duration and effect; and ſuch ſtacks of hay in ſtore, as are found all over England, are rarely ſeen in France. Improvements inveſted in the land, by marling, draining, &c. which, on farms in England, amount to large ſums of money, are inconſiderable even in the beſt parts of France. And beſide the ſtock, transferable from tenant to tenant, the inveſtments, which in England fall upon the landlord, ſuch as all ſorts of conveniencies in building, fencing, gates, ſtiles, poſts, rails, &c. which he muſt provide or repair for a new tenant, are done in England at an expence unknown in the greateſt part of France; not but that in ſome provinces, eſpecially in the northern ones, the buildings are ſubſtantial, and erected on a large ſcale. I ſhall, however, have no doubt in calculating the inferiority of France in its preſent ſtate to that of England, in the circumſtances of building, incloſing, marling, claying, draining, laying to meadow, and other *permanent* improvements, at 30s. an acre over the whole territory. It is 40s. or 50s. inferior to all our well improved counties; but as we have ſome backward in agriculture, as well as France, I calculate the whole at 30s.

I have calculated the capital of the farmers in all the provinces of the kingdom, and the medium of my notes is 40s. an acre. A ſimilar calculation of the capital employed in the huſbandry of England gives 4l. per acre *; in other words, 40s. more than is found in France: add 30s. for the leſs quantity of permanent improvements; and we have the total of 3l. 10s. per acre for the inferiority of French to Engliſh capital employed in agriculture, which, upon 131,000,000 of acres, forms a deficiency of 458,500,000l. ſterling, or 10,480,000,000 of liv.—above ten milliards. Hence it is, that it would demand this vaſt ſum to be expended and inveſted in the agriculture of France, to bring the whole of that kingdom to an acreable equality with England; and I am confident, that I have not been guilty of the leaſt exaggeration. The capital of farmers in England being 4l. per acre, let us calculate that of Scotland at 30s. and that of Ireland at 40s.

England,	-	46,000,000 acres,	at 4l.	£. 184,000,000
Scotland,	-	26,000,000	at 30s.	39,000,000
Ireland,	-	26,000,000	at 40s.	52,000,000
		98,000,000		275,000,000
France,	-	131,000,000	at 40s.	262,000,000

The capital employed, therefore, in huſbandry in the Britiſh iſles, is conſiderably greater than is employed in France. It ſurely is not neceſſary to obſerve, in this age, that the productive ſtate of agriculture in a country depends much more on the capital employed, than on any other circumſtance whatever; and that ſince ours is larger than that of France, though in the poſſeſſion of 15 millions of people only (for that of France is to be connected with 25 or 26 millions), the Britiſh dominions ought to be eſſentially richer, and more powerful, than France; and while the two countries continue in their preſent ſituation, nothing can reverſe this concluſion, but egregiouſly ill management in our own government. It is upon the firm baſis of this momentous fact, that politicians ought to ſeek the ſolution of that apparent phœnomenon, which the two laſt wars exhibited; the ſpectacle of England reſiſting, ſucceſsfully, the whole power of France and Spain: and I will venture farther to aſſert, that thoſe who ſeek the explanation in American colonies, or Indian conqueſts, ſeek it in cauſes of weakneſs, much more than of ſtrength; and that the poſſeſſion of near 300 millions ſterling of active capital employed upon our lands, is of quite another importance than that of ſuch diſtant and brittle dependencies, or than any advantage that our boaſted foreign commerce ever gave us. When Mr. Paine * calculates, with pleaſure, the ſuperiority of France to England in *ſpecie*, at ſeventy millions, upon data which, I ſhall ſhew in another place, have nothing more to do with the proſperity of the French than of the Hurons; he adverts to a policy which will be found a rotten one, by every nation that relies on it; I mean, that of eſtimating gold and ſilver as national wealth: their rapid currency, indeed, implies proſperity—but that of paper does the ſame; and if paper has given to England a ſuperiority of FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS STERLING in the ſolid and real wealth of ſtock in huſbandry, ſhe has not much reaſon to envy France a ſuperiority of ſeventy millions in ſpecie.

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* It will be proper here to explain what I mean by *capital.* A farmer, in England, who ſtocks a farm, finds it neceſſary, on entering, to have a given ſum of money for engaging in, and carrying on the buſineſs through the firſt year, in which is reckoned a year's labour, rent, tythe, ſeed, &c.; and this ſum varies generally from 3l. to 5l. an acre: if the accounts of the ſame farmer be examined ſome years after, he will be found to have ſtock to a greater value, having increaſed it in cattle, ſheep, manuring, and other improvements, for which he would be paid if he ſuddenly left his farm. Now, take the average of all farms, of all ſtocks, and of all periods of leaſes, and I value the capital employed at 4l. an acre, which I have reaſon to believe, from circumſtances too numerous to detail here, to be a very moderate eſtimate.

One great deviation of French capital has been in the ſugar iſlands, which, according to the produce, cannot have a leſs capital employed in them than fifty millions ſterling. The royal navy of France has been, and is now, a favourite object, chiefly for the ſake of defending and ſecuring theſe colonies; let us take but twenty-five years expence of the navy, at two millions ſterling, and here are fifty other millions; in theſe two alone, without extending the ſuppoſition to many others that might be equally included, there are one hundred millions ſterling, or two and a-half *milliards* of livres, which, under a different policy, might have been inveſted in agriculture; and had this taken place, the nation would have been in the receipt (counting only at 50 per cent. *produce* for the capital inveſted) of fifty millions ſterling per annum more than ſhe receives from her agriculture at preſent; or conſiderably more than 1,000,000,000 liv. Now what compariſon can there be in the wealth, proſperity, power, or reſources, between the import of five or ſix millions ſterling in Weſt Indian commodities, and the production of ten times that amount in the native ſoil of France? Yet this wretched commercial policy is now continuing; inveſtments are ſtill made in the Weſt Indies, becauſe the nation expends two millions a-year on a navy to protect them; and it expends the two millions becauſe the inveſtments are thus made in the Indies; going eternally in this vicious circle; planting American waſtes on account of the navy, and keeping up the navy becauſe thoſe waſtes are planted; while her own agriculture wants 450 millions ſterling in capital to be placed on an equality with England, which, from a ſimilar policy, is not half improved to the perfection of which it is capable. What utter infatuation and blindneſs does ſuch a conduct prove! And may we not fairly conclude, that the greateſt favour which an enemy, or a friend, could do to France, would be the ſeizing of thoſe colonies, and thereby ſtopping this miſerable deviation of capital. Perhaps this remark may, with equal juſtice, be applied to England. Tippo Saib was mentioned to me in France as an object of ſerious alarm to our kingdom; much the contrary; if he drove us out of the Eaſtern Indies, and the negroes were to drive us out of the Weſtern, they would be our beſt friends; for the capitals of the nation would then find the employment which they ought long ago to have found.

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* *Rights of Man*, p. 155.

But I ſhall venture to carry this idea yet farther; it is not only the French capital employed in the ſugar iſlands, and in the royal navy, that is a direct deviation from agriculture, for whatever is uſed in foreign commerce falls under the ſame predicament. The value of all the navigation of France, ſhips, ſtores, furniture, ſeamen, ſeamen's-wages, and all the exertions within land, in conſequence of them, ſo much commended by numerous writers, muſt equally be conſidered as an employment of capital, much leſs profitable than that of agriculture. I do not contend that a ſtate ſhould neglect the proper means of its defence, and the advantages of a maritime ſituation; I maintain only, that the true progreſs of national induſtry is to ſtock fully the lands of a country, before any capitals are inveſted in other purſuits. It will be ſaid (for the obſervation is common), that the inveſtment of capitals in a nation muſt be left to the option of the individuals who poſſeſs them; but this objection is removed in a moment: the fact is granted; but the policy contended for is, that the ſtate ought not, by laws and regulations, to tempt and bribe men to an inveſtment of capital, contrary to the intereſts of agriculture; which Colbert did in ſo flagrant a manner, and which is yet done in every country of Europe with which I am acquainted, either by direct encouragements to the commercial ſyſtem, or by laying burthens and taxes on land. The ſole policy here inſiſted upon is that of freedom; let the ſtate take no party, and agriculture, from its ſuperior profit, will attract capitals, as long as an acre wants them; but when the ſtate lays taxes upon the land, in any other way whatever than the conſumption of its products, or carries proper taxes to an undue extent, or permits the cultivators to become the prey of a tythe-gatherer, or loads them with the ſupport of the poor, or, in fine, cramps the free ſale of products, by prohibitions and monopolies; in all theſe caſes, capital is as much driven fom land as if an expreſs law forbade the inveſtment. It is not difficult to conjecture what turn this policy will take in France, when we ſee the prepoſterous and pernicious doctrines of the *œconomiſtes* triumphant; when the falſe and abſurd doctrine, that all taxes ultimately fall on lands, is recognized and admitted; and when we know that a propoſition for a direct land-tax of twelve millions ſterling was received without abhorrence; ſuch ſpectacles are not thoſe of the *regeneration* of agriculture.

Upon the whole, the following concluſion may fairly be drawn:—as the old government of France, by all ſorts of burthens and oppreſſions, kept down the agriculture of the kingdom, and as it were prohibited improvements, treading in the falſe and fallacious ſteps of Colbert, and encouraging excluſively manufactures and foreign commerce, it neceſſarily follows, that little credit can be given to the wiſdom of the new legiſlature, which has ariſen in that kingdom, unleſs different plans be adopted. To foſter and promote agriculture in ſuch a manner as to enable her to attract the capitals ſhe has hitherto wanted, is an object not to be effected by ſugar-iſlands, and is eaſily to be deſtroyed by ſuch land-taxes as have lately been eſtabliſhed by the National Aſſembly. It is not the diviſion of farms, and holding commons ſacred, that will enrich the ſtock of huſbandry. The government of the kingdom, it is true, is regenerated; but the ideas of the people muſt alſo be regenerated upon theſe queſtions, before a ſyſtem can be embraced, which, by giving capital to agriculture, ſhall carry France to ſuch a proſperity as England has attained.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Price of Proviſions, Labour, &c.

WITHOUT knowing the price of theſe articles in different countries, the political arithmetician would want one of the principal baſes to build and ſupport many of his moſt uſeful calculations. The connection between the price of labour and of proviſions; the effects of high or low prices on agriculture, and the re-action of culture on price; the manner by which high and low prices affect population, manufactures, and national proſperity,—theſe, and a thouſand other inquiries in political œconomy, which ſo many writers have treated on the grounds of mere theory and reaſoning, ſhould be ſuſpended till a ſufficient maſs of facts be collected, the examination and compariſon of which can alone elucidate ſuch intricate ſubjects. When the rates of labour, proviſions, &c. are correctly known in countries governed upon different principles, and poſſeſſing very different quantities of the precious metals, and degrees of induſtry, the politician will have valuable data on which he may reaſon: to collect ſuch ought to be one great object of thoſe who travel with philoſophical views, and who direct their attention to ſubjects of uſeful knowledge, inſtead of the common frivolous purſuits that waſte the time and fortunes of ſo many. Without inſerting the minutes themſelves, which, but for brevity, I ſhould have done, I ſhall inſert the averages of the whole.

	French money.	Engliſh money.		French money.	Engliſh money.
Beef, per lb. aver. of 76 minutes,	7 *ſ.*	3½ *d.*	Butter, average of 38 minutes,	16¼ *ſ.*	8¼ *d.*
Mutton, average of ditto,	7	3½	Cheeſe, average of 10 ditto,	9	4½
Veal, average of 72 ditto,	7½	3¾	Eggs, average of 19 ditto,	9	4½
Meat average of the three, 7 *ſ.*			Bread, average of 67 ditto,	3	1½
Pork, average of 28 minutes,	9	4½	Wine, per bottle, aver. of 32 do.	4½	2¼

Twenty-three minutes concerning bread, having been made in 1789, when the price of wheat was extravagant, we certainly muſt not reckon the average price of ſuch bread, as the bulk of people eat in France, at more than 2 *ſ.* the pound, or 1d. Engliſh.—It is to be remembered, that the pound, *poid de marc* of France, is to the Engliſh pound *avoir-du-poids*, as 1,0000 is to 0,9264; it is therefore about $\frac{1}{11}$ heavier, a difference which muſt be kept in mind. In order to compare the prices of theſe commodities in the two kingdoms, ſome previous obſervations are neceſſary. Beef is, in many parts of France, exceedingly good and well fattened; better is not to be found any where than at Paris; and I have remarked, elſewhere, the great numbers of fine oxen fattened in Limoſin in winter, and in Normandy in ſummer, for the Paris market. I think, therefore, that the beef of England, and of great cities in France, may very fairly be compared. It is not ſo *generally* good, perhaps, in the latter kingdom, but the difference does not demand attention.—It is, however, very diſcernible in little country towns, where nothing is killed but old cows—and good beef is as rare as good mutton; whereas there is not a ſpot in England, in which a private gentleman's family, that lives in the country, is not ſupplied with good ox beef. Veal, notwithſtanding that at Paris from Pontoiſe, is much inferior; but the great inferiority of French meat to Engliſh is in mutton, which is univerſally ſo bad in France, that I may aſſert, very correctly, that from one end of the kingdom to the other, I never ſaw a live or dead ſheep that would in England be eſteemed a fat one. In general, mutton is ſo lean, that, to an Engliſh palate, it is barely eatable. The French do not like very fat mutton,—that is to ſay, they do not like much fat; but they muſt like the lean of fat meat, as being more juicy, and better flavoured, than that of lean. It is however to be remembered, that at common tables (I do not ſpeak of thoſe of great lords, for they do not form a nation) meat is uſually ſo much roaſted, that it is not an equal object to have it ſo fat as in England. But though the niceneſs of the palate is a matter of no importance, yet whether the mutton in general be lean or fat, is of very great conſequence in theſe inquiries; for this circumſtance may make that meat much dearer in France than it is in England. Upon an average in the latter kingdom, the price of meat, in 1790, as I found by numerous returns from many counties, was,—Beef, 4d. per lb.—Mutton, 4½d.—Veal, 4½d.—Average of the three 4¼d.—Pork, 4d.

I am of opinion, that the beef and veal are as cheap at theſe prices, if we conſider the quality, as in France, for theſe minutes reſpect the beſt joints only. As to mutton, it is at leaſt 20 per cent. cheaper; by which I wiſh to have it underſtood, that I allude to the ſuperior expence which muſt be incurred by the grazier, in order to bring his mutton ſo fat to market, as is univerſal in England; or, in other words, that he would make a greater profit, by ſelling it at the French price, than at the Engliſh one, provided he were to make it no fatter than is uſual in France. Whoever attentively conſiders the French huſbandry, will not be ſurprized at the leanneſs of their mutton. The want of artificial graſſes is ſo great, that ſheep, though few in number, are miſerably fed in ſummer; but as to winter, they are in moſt of the provinces fed upon ſtraw, and what they can pick up on waſtes and ſtubbles. There are few diſtricts where you ſee any thing like a regular proviſion for them; in conſequence of which, the markets are ſupplied in a very imperfect manner, and farms ſuffer dreadfully from want of the manuring, which a flock of hearty well fed ſheep are ſure to depoſit. Bread in England may be reckoned at 1½d. a pound; but we muſt not, therefore, conclude, that it is near double the French price; for the materials are not the ſame. In England, it is very generally made of wheat; and the poor, in many parts of the kingdom, eat the whiteſt and beſt; but in France, the bread minuted in the preceding notes, is often of rye and other grain; ſo that the price is not double for the *ſame* bread; though there is cent. per cent. variation in the price of the bread conſumed by the poor of the two countries. Bread being ſo much cheaper in France, in compariſon of meat, than it is in England, occaſions that great conſumption of bread in France in preference to meat, which the French poor rarely eat. In England, the conſumption of meat, by the labouring poor, is pretty conſiderable; for as bread approaches ſo much nearer to the price of meat in this kingdom, it neceſſarily occaſions this difference between the two countries, which has been already remarked by Monſ. Herrenſchwandt with his uſual acuteneſs. The conſumption of cheeſe in England, by the poor, is immenſe. In France they eat none at all. The Engliſh conſumption of meat is infinitely more beneficial to agriculture than the French conſumption of bread: it is by means of great ſtocks of cattle and ſheep, that lands are improved and rendered productive; the crops which ſupport cattle and ſheep are of an ameliorating nature; but thoſe that yield bread are, on the contrary, exhauſting. It muſt be therefore evident, that agriculture will be advanced in proportion to the quantity of meat, butter, and cheeſe conſumed by any nation.

Average.—Fowl 22*ſ.* (11d.); turkey 68*ſ.* (2s. 10d.); duck 22*ſ.* (11d.); gooſe 50*ſ.* (2s. 1d.); pigeon 7*ſ.* (3½d.)

Obſervations.

It appears from theſe averages, that poultry is not generally ſo cheap in France as it has been repreſented; it is, however, cheaper than in England; for I cannot eſtimate the prices with us lower than, a fowl 1s. 6d.; a turkey 5s.; a duck 1s. 6d.; a gooſe 4s.; a pigeon 4d.

Labour.

The minutes I took are too numerous to inſert, conſtrained as I am to brevity. Average earnings of men throughout the kingdom 19*ſ.*; maſon and carpenter 30*ſ.* There are but few minutes concerning the riſe of the price of labour; in Normandy it has been doubled in twelve years; in Provence it has riſen from ſixteen to twenty-four; but in Anjou it remains as it was fifty years ago. The idea I had of the general price of labour in France, taken about twenty or twenty-five years ago, which I acquired from reading and from information, was the average of 16*ſ.* a day. If that idea were at all correct, labour has riſen about 20 per cent. But though the price is now ſatisfactorily aſcertained, I do not know that it was ever ſo before, and the general ideas to which I allude might be very erroneous. I take the fact not to be far from the riſe of 20 per cent on the average, but to have been much more ſo in the provinces where there is ſome activity of commerce and manufactures; and no increaſe at all, or at leaſt very little, in thoſe which do not enjoy theſe advantages.

The average price of labour in England twenty years ago, when I made my tours, was 7s. 6d. a week, or 1s. 3d. a day; the price at preſent I ſhould ſtate at 8s. 5d. * a week, or 1s. 4½d. a day; but this idea is not founded on an actual ſurvey. Indeed it is much to be wiſhed that England were again travelled through, with the views that I examined it twenty years ago, that its progreſſion might be well aſcertained; ſuch a knowledge is uſeful to every man who would really underſtand the ſtate of his country; ſo uſeful, that it ought to be done at the expence, not of government, but of parliament, independently of miniſters, if poſſible, whoſe intereſt it is always to repreſent the country as flouriſhing; for moſt of them aſſume a merit from the proſperous condition of the kingdom, though perhaps not indebted to them for one atom of its amount: whatever evils befal a nation, are, for the moſt part, to be charged to the account of government alone.

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* Calculated thus, five weeks at 12s. a week; four at 9s.; and forty-three at 8s.; in all 22l.; but no eſtimate *by the week* will ſhew the real earnings of our labourers, who perform ſo much work by the piece, that they earn much more than any weekly rate can point out.

Labour in France,	-	19ſ.	Meat,	-	7ſ.
			Bread,	-	2
Labour in England,	-	33½	Meat,	-	8½
			Bread,	-	3½

If meat and bread be combined into one price, it follows, that labour in England, when proportioned to labour in France, ſhould be at 25½ſ. a day, inſtead of 33½ſ. If bread alone be taken, there is almoſt the ſame proportion; that is, 19 at 2 are the ſame as 33½ at 3½; but this coincidence, perhaps, is accidental; becauſe in England the rate of labour, ſuppoſing it to depend on proviſions, would certainly depend, not on bread only, but on an aggregate of bread, cheeſe, and meat; however, one would wiſh to ſee theſe naked facts aſcertained, whatever concluſions may be drawn from them. The conſumption * of bread, and the price of labour being about 76 per cent. cheaper in France than in England, is an enormous deduction from what may, with propriety, be called the maſs of national proſperity in the former kingdom. This opinion, however, I venture to maintain againſt a cloud of writers and politicians, who ſtrenuouſly contend for cheap proviſions and cheap labour, in order to have cheap, and conſequently flouriſhing, manufactures; but the example of England, which has outſtripped the whole world in this circumſtance, ought long ago to have driven ſuch ſentiments from every mind. Country-labour being 76 per cent. cheaper in France than in England, it may be inferred, that all thoſe claſſes which depend on labour, and are the moſt numerous in ſociety, are 76 per cent. leſs at their eaſe (if I may uſe theſe expreſſions), and worſe fed, worſe cloathed, and worſe ſupported, both in ſickneſs and in health, than the ſame claſſes in England, notwithſtanding the immenſe quantity of precious metals, and the impoſing appearance of wealth in France. And if the labouring poor conſume 76 per cent. leſs than the poor in our kingdom, they conſequently afford, in the ſame ratio, a worſe market to the farmer; whence agriculture ſuffers in the ſame proportion, and ought to be found, by this combination, at leaſt 76 per cent. worſe than the agriculture of England. Every country contains a certain portion of the precious metals, or of ſome other currency that anſwers the ſame purpoſe; and the difference between a high and a low price of labour and proviſions is, that in one country a large proportion of thoſe metals is in the hands of

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† I ſay the *conſumption*, and not the *price*, becauſe the kinds of bread in the two kingdoms are not the ſame: there is no ſuch difference as this in the price of wheat; I apprehend no difference at all.

farmers and labourers; and in the other a ſmall one only. In one caſe great activity and vigour will be found in huſbandry; in the other very little. But this argument may be extended yet farther; for if there be 76 per cent. difference in the conſumption of the French and Engliſh labourers, there ought to be 76 per cent. difference in the ſtrength of body between the two nations. Strength depends on nouriſhment; and if this difference be admitted, an Engliſh workman ought to be able to do half as much work again as a Frenchman,—this alſo will I believe be found to be correctly the caſe; and if the great ſuperiority, not only of the Engliſh huſbandry, but alſo of thoſe manufactures into which machines do not enter any more than in France, be well conſidered, this extenſion of theſe proportions will not be thought at all extravagant. To what is all this to be aſcribed? Moſt clearly to the pernicious influence of a government, rotten in its principles; that ſtruck a palſy into all the lower and productive claſſes to favour thoſe whoſe only merit is conſumption. If ſome future traveller ſhould examine France with the ſame attention I have done, he will probably find, under a free government, all theſe proportions greatly changed; and, unleſs the Engliſh government be more vigilant and intelligent than it hath hitherto been, France will be able to boaſt as great a ſuperiority as England does at preſent.

Of the Public Support of the Poor.

It was not long after the ſeizure of the eccleſiaſtical eſtates, that the National Aſſembly publicly declared, they would conſider the care of the poor as one of their primary duties. They appointed alſo a committee of *mendicité*, whoſe buſineſs was to inquire into, and report to the Aſſembly, the ſtate of the poor, and their opinion of the beſt means of extinguiſhing indigence in France. Of this committee, the duke of Liancourt was chairman. In their third report, they ſtate to the Aſſembly the heads of thoſe propoſitions which they thought neceſſary to form the baſe of a decree for that purpoſe. The committee examine, in this report, the idea of eſtabliſhing a poor's rate, and with great wiſdom abſolutely reject it. In their fourth report, they ſtate the miſchiefs of the Engliſh ſyſtem—and add, "Mais cet exemple eſt un grand & important leçon pour nous: car, independamment des vices qu'elle nous preſente, & d'une dépenſe monſtreuſe, & d'un encouragement neceſſaire à la fainéantiſe, elle nous decouvre la plaie politique de l'Angleterre la plus dévorante, qu'il eſt egalement dangereux pour ſa tranquillité & ſon bonheur de détruire ou de laiſſer ſubſiſter *.—I am rather ſurpriſed, that while they ſeem perfectly well informed of the evils attending the miſchievous ſyſtem of England, they ſhould adopt the principle of our poor's laws, by declaring, that the poor have a right to pecuniary aſſiſtance from the ſtate; that the National Aſſembly ought to conſider ſuch proviſion as one of its firſt and moſt ſacred duties; and that an expence, with this view, ought to be incurred to the amount of 50 millions a year. I do not comprehend how it is poſſible to regard the expenditure of 50 millions as a ſacred duty, and not extend that 50 to 100, if neceſſity ſhould demand it—the 100 to 200—the 200 to 300—and ſo on in the ſame miſerable progreſſion, that has taken place in England. We have found, by long experience in England, that the more money is expended—even well and humanely expended, the more poor are created: and that the degree of indigence and miſery is exactly in proportion to the aſſiſtance given to them by rates. The ſame effect would certainly take place in France; the expenditure of 50 millions would inevitably make 100 neceſſary. It is in vain to ſay, that of that 50 there are 30 already expended by hoſpitals, and ſix * by the clergy; for the committee themſelves give ſuch a detail of the horrors of the hoſpitals, that a dependence on ſuch charity will not be among the regular reſources of the poor; and as to the eccleſiaſtical aſſiſtance, no families could rely on it as a matter of appropriated right. The caſe would be very different, if the National Aſſembly were ſolemnly to declare it their duty to provide for the poor, and aſſign 50 millions for that purpoſe; there would then be an univerſal reliance on that duty, and that humanity, of the legiſlature; and the conſequence we know by fatal experience. I cannot but be perſuaded, that the poor ought to be left to private charity, as they are in Scotland and in Ireland, to an infinitely better effect than reſults from the rates in England. In proportion as the public interferes, private charity is wounded, till the maintenance of the poor comes to be conſidered as one of the moſt grievous evils to which property is expoſed.

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* *Quatrième Rapport du Comité de Mendicité.* 8vo. 1790. p. 7.

If fifty millions could be expended in France without creating a dependence, the burthen would be very moderate; but we are convinced of the utter impoſſibility of ſuch a caſe; we know that the wiſeſt diſpenſation of money amongſt the poor, not earned by induſtry, always creates a dependence, and conſequently becomes, in ſuch a proportion, the origin of the evil that is cured. For the like reaſon, hoſpitals, *if well adminiſtered*, are equal nuiſances; they are attended by a ſimilar effect, and the more that effect is leſſened by a vicious and cruel management, ſo much, perhaps, the better for the benefit of the great maſs of poor, who will not be tempted into a reliance on an abode of miſery, deſpair, and death. The expenditure of the poor's rates of England is certainly not free from abuſes, but they are, all things conſidered, leſs than might reaſonably be expected. They amount to above two millions ſterling, and I am confident, from a long and attentive obſervation of their effects upon the poor, that the maſs of human wretchedneſs is quadrupled by their influence; or, in other words, that

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[*] *Cinquieme Rapport*, p. 21.

for one perſon made eaſy, at the expence of the public, four are rendered poor or miſerable, by depending on that expence, inſtead of the exertions of private induſtry; and when it is conſidered, that on a moderate average the amount of our poor's rates increaſes in the proportion of near 100,000l. a year, of courſe approaching rapidly towards three millions, and at the ſame time curing no evils that they have not created, what ought to be thought of the political œconomy of our government, which, intent upon trifles, neglects this growing and alarming evil? Had an act paſſed ten years ago, limiting theſe aſſeſſments to the average of the laſt ſeven years (a meaſure I urged in print for more than ten years paſt), it would have ſaved half a million a year in expenditure, and four times that amount in the prevention of poverty and diſtreſs. What has fatally obtained in England will take place in France, if the Engliſh *principle* be adopted, namely, that the ſtate is compelled in duty to ſupport the poor; fifty millions will be the forerunner of one hundred, and both of them the parent of increaſing miſery. It is not the ſtate, but individuals that are bound; and private charity is indiſputably the proper method. Foundling hoſpitals may be claſſed among the moſt miſchievous inſtitutions that can be eſtabliſhed; for they muſt certainly encourage that vicious procreation, which, from its miſery, does not deſerve the name of population. From the almoſt indiſcriminate diſtinction of the children they receive, which in France is ſo enormous, that of 101,000 in ſixteen years, 15,000 only were in exiſtence *, it might by ſome be thought, that they do not tend to increaſe the people; but the preſervation of the children, ſuppoſing them to effect it, would not be the principal operation. Such hoſpitals encourage marriage, from the certainty that the children need not to remain a burthen upon the parents; but when the conflict comes in the mother's boſom, the feelings of nature will oftener triumph than the dictates of ſo infamous a crime as that of abandoning her offspring; and thus more children will be preſerved than expoſed. A government cannot, by any methods, encourage marriage without increaſing the people; for whatever tends to facilitate the maintenance of children, whether by an increaſe of induſtry, that ſhall enable children to ſupport themſelves, or by foundling hoſpitals, that remove the burthen altogether, the effect in the end will be inevitable. And this effect in France is of a moſt pernicious nature; for the competition for employment being already too great to permit the people to live with comfort, no inſtitutions to encourage population can take place there at preſent without entailing miſery upon the bulk of the nation. It may alſo be added, that the encouragement afforded by foundling hoſpitals, is an encouragement alſo of vice and inhumanity; and a public premium given to the baniſhment of the beſt feelings of the human boſom.

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* *Rapport fait au nous du Comité de Mendicité des viſites faites dans divers Hôſpitaux.* 8vo. 1790. p.27.

Riſe of Prices.

SOLOGNE—*La Ferté.*—Cattle of all kinds increaſed in price more than a third in one year. A cow from 48 liv. to 90 liv.; a horſe 7 or 8 louis to 12½; a hog 15 liv. to 30 liv. It has been owing to a want of forage.

BERRY—*Vatan.*—See two good cart-horſes, which were ſold this year for 20 louis each; and ſeveral farmers aſſerted, that a horſe which three years ago was worth 5 louis, would now bring 12.

LIMOSIN—*Limoges.*—The ſame quantity of cord wood, which was ſold 15 years ago at 50 liv. now ſells at 150 liv. Land greatly raiſed in its value, and huſbandry doubly more productive than 20 years ago.

LANGUEDOC—*Bagnere de Luchon.*—The meaſure of land, called the coperade, which ſome years ſince ſold at 12 liv. is now at 24 liv. and even 30 liv.

Bayonne.—Within ten years, prices of every thing, including houſe-rent, very much increaſed.

Bourdeaux.—Very great increaſe in the price of every thing in ten years.

ISLE OF FRANCE—*Liancourt.*—Within ten years, the general expences of living, bread alone excepted, have riſen 50 per cent. and labour nearly in the ſame proportion.

NORMANDY—*Havre.*—A houſe, in 1779, let, without any fine, on a leaſe of ſix years, for 240 liv. per annum, was let this year again for three years, with a fine of 25 louis for 600 liv. per ann. A cellar, which is now 60 liv. was only 24 liv. 12 years paſt.

BRETAGNE—*Rennes.*—Cord of wood 16 liv. In 1740, it was 9½ liv.

CHAMPAGNE—*St. Menehoud.*—Cord of wood 18 liv. 10*ſ.*—but 25 years ago 7 liv. 10*ſ.*

LORAINE—*Pont au Mouſſon.*—The prices of all the neceſſaries of life riſen one-third in twenty years.

Luneville.—Cord of wood now 26 liv. was, fifty-two years ago, 9 liv.

Straſbourg.—Cord of wood 27 liv. which, twenty years ago, was 12 to 15 liv.

FRANCHE COMPTE.—Thoſe eſtates, which twenty years ago ſold at 300 liv. now are at 800 liv.

Beſançon—Dole.—Meat now 7*ſ.* the pound—ſome years ago 4*ſ.*—A couple of fowls 24*ſ.* which were 12*ſ.*—In general every thing is doubled in price in ten years. *To what is this to be aſcribed?*—To the great increaſe of population. Such was the anſwer I received; there is, however, no manufacture in the country, iron forges excepted.

BOURGOGNE—*Dijon.*—Every thing raiſed in 20 years cent. per cent. partly on account of the improvement of roads.

Obſervations.

There is ſcarcely any circumſtance in the political œconomy of France which makes ſo reſpectable a figure as that of the general riſe of prices, which has taken place in the laſt twenty years. This is a ſure ſign that the maſs of currency has conſiderably increaſed, which, in the caſe of that kingdom, muſt neceſſarily have ariſen from an increaſe of induſtry. We know that taxes cannot have been the cauſe, as they have not in the ſame period been increaſed; or, at leaſt, to ſo ſmall an amount as to be irrelative to the queſtion. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this *apparent* proſperity (for this circumſtance is uſually concomitant with proſperity, though not of neceſſity flowing from it) is the ſtill miſerable ſtate of the labouring poor; it is rather a matter of ſurpize, that the price of labour has not riſen equally, or in ſome degree of proportion, with other things; this muſt probably be attributed to the too great populouſneſs of the kingdom, of which I ſhall ſpeak more particularly in another chapter. Certain it is, that the miſery which we ſee amongſt the lower claſſes in France ſeems quite inconſiſtent with a great riſe in the price of commodities, occaſioned by an increaſe of induſtry and wealth; and as the price of labour continues ſo low as not to enable the people to ſupport themſelves tolerably, notwithſtanding the riſe of other prices, it affords a clear proof, as it has been juſt obſerved, that there is too great a competition for employment, ariſing from the exceſs of population in the kingdom.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Produce of France.

THIS may properly be conſidered as the great queſtion of political œconomy, in relation to the preſent ſtate of kingdoms; there being no circumſtance in the ſituation of any people, whether it concerns their wealth, proſperity, power, or reſources, but what muſt depend, in a high degree, on the produce of their lands. As it is a ſubject which becomes every day more intereſting, on account of the abuſes generated by the complex ſyſtem of modern taxation, it has naturally put politicians upon comparing the productions of a kingdom, and the contributions of the people, with the neceſſities, or rather vices, of their government. It is well known, that this proportion was ſought for with the moſt anxious ſolicitude by the *œconomiſtes*. They conceived, that *produce* ought alone to bear all the impoſitions which the government of any kingdom ſhould lay upon its ſubjects; a doctrine equally ill-founded and dangerous, but which has been dreſſed and decorated with ſo much ability as to have found advocates in every part of Europe. The conjectures which have been made of the groſs produce of all the lands in France, are innumerable. There has been ſcarcely a political writer on the affairs of that ikngdom, for the laſt twenty years, who has not taken an opportunity, perhaps ill-afforded by his ſubject, to calculate the amount; but all the accounts that I have ſeen have been made on ſuch inſufficient data, that it is unintereſting whether the imagined reſult happens to be near to, or far from, the fact; ſince of ſo many random gueſſes it is hardly poſſible that all ſhould be remote from truth. Of the methods uſed in calculating the national produce by various French writers, two have been principally relied upon; the produce of certain taxes, particularly the *vingtiemes*, and the quantity of food eaten by the people. More vague foundations could hardly have been ſought or deviſed; the taxes were laid with ſo little regard to a fair proportion, the exemptions were ſo numerous, and abuſes ſo univerſal, that the poſition of the ſtars might almoſt as well be reſorted to as a political guide. The conſumption of bread is almoſt equally unſatisfactory in a kingdom, where wheaten bread is not probably eaten by half the people; and where cheſnuts, maiz, harricots, and other legumes, form principal objects of conſumption. But if this difficulty were gotten over, in which there are no data that deſerve a moment's attention, we muſt alſo take into the account the conſumption of the earth's products, in meat, butter, cheeſe, liquors, fuel, timber, and all the variety of objects that adminiſter to, or are conſumed by manufactures, commerce, and ſhipping. However, though we have every reaſon imaginable to believe, that ſuch data are abſolutely inſufficient for calculating the produce of a kingdom like France, yet juſtice ought to be done to the authors who have given attention to a ſubject of ſo much utility. Accuracy was not to be attained by purſuing any methods; but it muſt be confeſſed, that thoſe which they adopted, though not applicable to the ends they had in view, gave riſe to important diſquiſitions; and we owe to their labours ſome facts truly uſeful, and many obſervations deſerving attention. The extreme difficulty of forming the calculation in a ſatisfactory manner, appears clearly from the attempts that have been made by miniſters at the head of the national finances, and conſequently poſſeſſed of every opportunity which power could confer, to acquire whatever knowledge they ſought; yet the ideas have been as vague and unſatisfactory as thoſe of ſpeculatiſts, who have been devoid of ſuch advantages. It ſhould ſeem, that it is not in the bureau or the cloſet that data for this calculation are to be ſought; but that he who would know what the lands of a kingdom produce, ſhould view and examine them. It would be madneſs in a traveller like myſelf to pretend that it is poſſible to give a true eſtimate of the productions of a kingdom from viewing but a part of it: I know the difficulties and hazard of the undertaking too well to have any ſuch pretenſions; and all I would aſſume, is nothing more than the probability that my eſtimate of the part I ſaw is not greatly removed from fact. Thirty years experience, I hope, have contributed to enable me to form more than a vague conjecture of the products of any country that I view with attention; and when it is conſidered, that my journies, in almoſt every direction, amount to ſeveral thouſands of miles, there will not appear to be any great hazard in ſuppoſing, that the average of ſuch a portion, corrected on reflection and from information relative to the parts not ſeen, cannot be very far diſtant from the real one of the whole kingdom.

To purſue this inquiry, I ſhall divide France not into generalities, which have no longer any exiſtence, nor into departments, which are yet hardly in exiſtence, but into diſtricts relatively to their ſoil, according to the map which is annexed to the chapter of ſoils.—The method by which I made the eſtimate is this: in viewing the country, I combined thoſe circumſtances which ſtrike the eye in regard to ſoil, crops, proportion of thoſe crops, of vines, of wood, and waſte, with the courſes and the products of all ſorts by information; and from the whole deduced the concluſion of what I conceived was the annual produce; and at each ſtage, or reſting-place, ſtruck the average of the preceding ten, fifteen, or twenty miles, which were afterwards, in ſome inſtances, thrown into diviſions, by calculating the average of larger diſtricts of country. I give, in another chapter, the produce of corn, and price per acre at which the cultivated parts of the diſtricts I travelled through are let and ſold; but the reader will carry in his mind, that the preſent view of the produce of the kingdom has nothing in common with what is juſt mentioned; for the object here in contemplation is, the average product of all ſorts of land, heath, rock, marſh, and mountain, as well as cultivated fields; tracks of which it is in vain to demand the produce, ſince not one inhabitant in a thouſand ever thought of them with any ſuch view: in countries where agriculture is ſo ill underſtood, and where the peaſants are ſo little enlightened, a traveller will come out of a province as ignorant as he entered it, if he has no other means of information.

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF RICH LOAM,

Contains the Provinces of Flanders, Artois, Picardy, Normandy, and the Iſle of France.

Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce per Eng. acre.
To Amiens,	95	39*s.*
Clermont,	40	43
To Orleans,	70	46
Petiviers,	25	49
Malſherbs,	11	52
Fontainbleau,	17	47
The Foreſt,	7	0
Yerſaint,	10	43
Paris,	20	52
Liancourt,	38	52
Pontoiſe,	30	39*s.*
Dammartin,	22	60
Villeſcoterets,	26	55
Coucy,	24	54
St. Quintin,	30	43
Cambray,	22	43
Valenciennes,	18	43
Orchies,	16	120
Lille,	16	100
Mont Caſſel,	30	90
Dunkirk,	18	70*s.*
Calais,	25	22
St. Omers,	25	45
Bethune,	25	80
Araſs,	17	45
Dourlens,	20	45
Amiens,	17	45
Poix,	15	36
Aumale,	10	45
Neufchatel,	15	45

Rouen,

Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce.	Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce.	Vicinity.	Miles.	Produce.
Rouen,	25	60*s.*	Carentan,	22	80*s.*	Magny,	15	50*s.*
Barentin,	10	50	Vologne,	17	70	Eccouis,	15	60
Yvetot,	11	60	Gacé,	10	60	Rouen,	20	60
Havre,	30	60	Bernay,	25	32	Tote,	17	50
Pont au de Mer,	20	60	Bonterode,	17	80	Dieppe,	17	53
Pont l'Eveque,	20	70	Elbœuf,	7	60	Nangis,	45	53
Liſieux,	6	80	Rouen,	10	16	Meaux,	23	40
Caen,	27	75	Louviers,	17	30	Ditto,	10	80
Bayeux,	15	50	Vernon,	15	55			

Miles, 1220.——Average produce, 2l. 13s. 9¼d.

There is not the ſame difficulty in calculating the produce of this track of rich land, as in ſome other provinces, where the ſoil is much more various.—Bad huſbandry and fallows occaſion a much greater deduction here, than inferiority of ſoil. No particular reaſons induce me at preſent to lower this eſtimate, except, perhaps, the foreſts of Chantilly and Villeſcoterets, may not have been croſſed in ſuch directions as to allow ſufficient deductions; but of this I am in doubt. Conſidering, however, the number of foreſts which are within theſe limits, which I did not paſs, I am inclined to make the further allowance of 3s. 9¼d. and ſet down this average product at 2l. 10s.

Plain of Alſace.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Straſbourg,	22	70*s.*	Colmar,	12	50*s.*
Scheleſtadt,	25	60	Iſenheim,	25	45

Miles, 84.——Average produce, 2l. 16s. 8½d.

Much of this diſtrict is not ſo rich as a great part of the former; but the ſoil within theſe limits more equal—and of courſe not ſuch deductions on account of foreſt.

The Limagne.

Riom to Izoire. Miles, 20.——Average produce, 5l.

This celebrated volcanic vale is very narrow; and in this eſtimate nothing is included but the mere vale: if the ſlopes were to be included, the produce would not be more than 45s.

Plain of the Garonne.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
In Quercy,	90	60*s.*	Leitour,	5	60*s.*	Tonneins,	8	120*s.*
To Pyrenees,	103	50	Leyrac,	17	80	Reolle,	22	100
Fleuran,	14	50	Aguillon,	17	85	Bourdeaux,	15	60

Miles, 291.——Average produce, 3l. 3s. 3¼d.

As this route carried us very much on the banks of the Garonne, one of the richeſt vales in the world, though not wide, I am not inclined to raiſe this eſtimate on account of the immenſe vineyards of the Pays de Medoc, &c. which ſhould be done, if I had not pretty much extended the diſtrict, as may be ſeen on the map. Not having viſited the Bas Poitou, another rich track, which may be claſſed with the above mentioned, I am unable to give any other eſtimate than I was favoured with by an intelligent gentleman, who apparently knew it very well; he aſſured me, that the moſt exact calculation of its produce was 50 liv. per arpent de Paris:—this is 2l. 10s. 9d. per Engliſh acre.

Obſervations.

In theſe parts of France, which are undoubtedly the richeſt, the produce is very much beneath what it would become with a more enlightened practice.—Flanders, part of Artois, Alſace, the vale of the Garronne, and the Limagne of Auvergne, are the only diſtricts of the kingdom where fallows are baniſhed; and the great products of thoſe territories ſhew the prodigious conſequence of this improvement. They form, however, but a ſmall portion of the diviſion of the kingdom which we are conſidering at preſent; the arable part of the reſt is uniformly applied in the barbarous courſe of, 1, fallow; 2, wheat; 3, ſpring corn; the products are conſequently much inferior to what they ought to be; and the number of horſes much greater. Conſiderable tracks are in open fields, and ſhackled with the rights of commonage, and preſcribed rotations. As the National Aſſembly has paſſed a decree againſt incloſures, and there are no ſuch methods known in France to effect the allotment of open fields, as we practiſe ſo beneficially in England; and as power in that country, under the new conſtitution, reſides very much in the people, we may take for granted, that ſuch methods will either not be adopted at all, which is the moſt probable, or at leaſt very ſlowly and incompletely.—In whatever manner the improvement is introduced, and by whatever preparatory ſteps, it is certain, that the management of theſe diſtricts muſt be very much changed, before they can be made to yield a produce adequate to the great excellency of the ſoil.

DISTRICT OF HEATH,

Contains the Provinces of Bretagne, Anjou, Parts of Normandy, and Guienne and Gaſcoign.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Carentan to Perry,			Montauban,	20	45s.	Faou,	10	17s.
	10	80s.	Broons,	12	40	Chateaulin,	10	23
Coutances,	10	50	Lamballe,	17	32	Quimper,	15	13
Avranches,	30	50	St. Brieux,	12	40	Roſpolin,	12	20
Pont Orſin,	10	50	Guingamp,	17	30	Quimperlay,	15	19
Doll,	10	45	Belleiſle,	12	40	L'Orient,	12	26
Hedé,	18	20	Morlaix,	20	35	Hennebon,	7	30
Rennes,	13	35	Breſt,	34	30	Auray,	17	13

Vannes,

	Miles.	Produce.
Vannes	10	14*s.*
Muſſiliac,	15	24
La Roche Bernard,	10	13
Auvergnac,	20	28
St. Nazaire,	18	40
Savanel,	15	28*s.*
Nantes,	20	15
Ancenis,	22	75
St. George,	17	80
Ditto,	5	50
Angers,	10	38
Duretal,	30	40*s.*
Guerceſſand,	17	26
Le Mans,	10	8
Allençon,	30	40
Nonant,	16	36

Miles, 608.——Average produce, 1l. 14s. 9¼d.

Guienne and Gaſcoign.

	Miles.	Produce.
Bagnere de Luchon to Monrejeau,	18	20*s.*
Bagnere Bigore,	25	30
Pau,	32	40
Navarens,	22	45*s.*
St. Palais,	15	40
Anſpan,	14	18
Bayonne,	12	20
Tartaſs,	40	16
St. Severe,	15	40*s.*
Plaiſance,	35	45
Beek,	17	45
Auch,	14	45

Miles, 259.—— Average produce, 1l. 13s. 9d.

I have not much apprehenſion that my eſtimate, of the lands in theſe provinces through which my route led me, is materially erroneous; but there is great reaſon to doubt, whether the tracks I travelled through be ſimilar to the provinces at large. I have very little doubt, on the contrary, that the road conducted me, both in Bretagne and Guienne, through a track ſuperior to the average of thoſe countries. I was informed of ſome immenſe heaths in Bretagne, which had ſcarcely a houſe in ten leagues; and from the communication of a nobleman, perfectly well acquainted with the province, I have traced in the map a large track, in which the cultivation is quite inconſiderable—of ſuch diſtricts I ſaw little. And in Guienne, the *landes* of Bourdeaux have been notorious, and almoſt proverbial, for ſome centuries. I have been aſſured, that they do not contain leſs than 300 ſquare leagues, or 1,468,181 Engliſh acres. It muſt not, however, be imagined, that all theſe, or nearly all, are waſte; for the greater part is covered with pines that yield from 15s. to 20s. an acre. Much, however, is really waſte and deſerves the French appellation, *lande*. This immenſe diſtrict probably occupies about one-ſixth part of all I have marked of Gaſcoign; five-ſixths at the average noted, of 1l. 13s. 9d. and one-ſixth, three-fourths at 15s. and one-fourth at 2s. 6d. being mere waſte;—the medium of this ſixth, therefore, is 11s. 10d.; or, for the whole, 1l. 10s. 1d.—The proportion of waſtes, in Bretagne, is not well aſcertained; I was aſſured, on no mean authority, that two-fifths of the whole province are uncultivated; and by a very intelligent nobleman, that even of 39 parts, 24 are *lande*, which amounts to three-fifths. And the author of the *Conſiderations ſur le Commerce de Bretagne*, who knew it well, ſays, p. 30, that one-third of it is in that ſtate. The part I viſited, is not the worſt; yet, from what I ſaw, I can eaſily credit there are three-fifths in that ſtate. Anjou and Maine are equally noted for the immenſity of their heaths (*bruyeres*), which are reported to extend 60 leagues at one place. In going from La Flêche to Tourbilly, I ſaw more than in any other quarter, but heard ſo much of them from perſons I could depend upon, that I am clear my own notes of the country I paſſed through go a good deal beyond the fair average of the whole: a conſideration which will induce me to calculate the three provinces of Bretagne, Anjou, and Maine, with that part of Normandy not included in the rich loam diviſion, at 28s. It would ſwell theſe papers too much, to ſpecify all my reaſons for this eſtimation, which I have not made without duly adverting to various circumſtances that affect the produce in different quarters of theſe provinces.

Obſervations.

One pound eight ſhillings average produce of all the lands of Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and a conſiderable part of Normandy, ſome of which territories poſſeſs ſingular advantages, evidently marks the miſerable ſtate of agriculture. I am within bounds, when I offer the opinion, that the whole of this diſtrict, containing above fifteen millions of acres, and, with great probability, twelve millions capable of improvement, might be made to produce, on an average, 2l. 5s. per acre, without any extraordinary efforts, were the farmers induced to change their methods, and adopt new rotations of crops. Thus 17s. an acre would be gained to the community, which, on twelve millions, amounts to 10,200,000l. a year. Improvements, on the heaths of Bourdeaux, that is, in the Gaſcoign diviſion, are not equally obvious, becauſe on immenſe tracks the *proprietor* receives as much perhaps at preſent from pines, as he would receive were the whole in cultivation. But the difference to the nation is prodigious; it is not the net income of the landlord which makes a kingdom proſperous; it is the groſs produce of the lands; this, on the heaths above-mentioned, would be trebled, though the landlords gained nothing. But there are on theſe heaths very conſiderable tracks not occupied by pines, but, on the contrary, left abſolutely waſte; I paſſed many of them which were noticed in other parts of this work; theſe are capable of as great an improvement as the heaths of Bretagne: at preſent, they produce nothing, but are all capable of yielding from 40s. to 50s. an acre. If, however, they were converted into *good* ſheep-walk only, the advantage would be very conſiderable.

DISTRICT

DISTRICT OF CHALK.

Containing the Provinces of Champagne, Sologne, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois.

Acroſs Sologne. Miles, 50.——Average produce, 5s.

		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
ANGOUMOIS.—	Cavignac to Monlieu,	15	4*s.* 6*d.*	Angoulême,	25	24*s.*
	Barbeſieux, -	22	24*s.*	Verteuil, -	27	24

Miles, 89.——Average produce, 1l. 0s. 8½d.

		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
POITOU.—	Vivonne,	35	35*s.*	Poitiers,	12	25*s.*	Chateauraults,	25	25*s.*

Miles, 72.——Average produce, 1l. 9s. 10¼d.

		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
TOURAINE.—	To Tours,	25	40*s.*	Amboiſe, -	17	40*s.*
	Saumur,	10	60	Blois, -	25	60

Miles, 77.——Average produce, 2l. 9s. 1d.

		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
CHAMPAGNE.—	Near Meaux to Chateau Thiery,	30	40*s.*	La Loge, -	12	10*s.*
				Chalons, -	12	10
	Epernay, -	25	40	Ove, - -	15	20
	Rheims, -	15	50	St. Menehoud,	15	27

Miles, 124.——Average produce, 1l. 13s. 5d.

I received no information relating to the parts of Poitou, Touraine, and Sologne, which I had not examined, that gives me reaſon to doubt of the general reſemblance between the different diſtricts of thoſe provinces. I was, however, aſſured, that if I ſaw more of Angoumois, I ſhould form a better opinion of it than from the part I had viewed: ſuch hints, from perſons of obſervation, ought not to be diſregarded; and will induce me to ſuppoſe the average value ſomething higher, *viz.* 1l. 4s.—This province is ſaid, by an author who has written upon it, to contain—arable, 437,000 journals;—vines, 290,000;—graſs, 145,000;—woods, 107,400;—*chaumes*, 88,000;—total, 1,067,400. Beſide foreſts and waſtes.—What *chaumes* means, diſtinct from arable land, I know not; unleſs it be arable left to weeds for ſome years, after being exhauſted by crops *. The caſe with Champagne is exceedingly different:—a very conſiderable portion of that province, which I did not view, is called *Pouilleux*, or louſy, from its poverty of ſoil—a poor hungry chalk. But my route, except from Rheims to Chalons, was in the vale of the Marne, and through the fineſt vineyards of the province. The provincial aſſembly of Chalons ſent to the miniſtry a repreſentation of the condition of the whole province, in which they gave a detail of its products as follows:

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* *Eſſai d'une methode a etendre les Connoiſances des Voyageurs*, par M. Meunier. 8vo. 1779. tom. i. p. 176.

Extent, in arpents, -	4,000,000	Of which wood, -	850,000
		meadow,	150,000
		vines, -	100,000
		commons,	97,000
		vague, -	160,000
		arable, -	2,643,000
			4,000,000

Total groſs produce, - 60,000,000 liv.——Or per arpent, - 15 liv.

Repreſentations of this kind, however, are rarely deſerving of much attention, in thoſe circumſtances that concern the value or income of land, for it is always the intereſt of ſuch bodies to ſink the value; and no doubt can be entertained in the preſent caſe; as it is impoſſible, that the valuation of 15 liv. can be juſt, if there be the quantity of vines, meadow, and arable lands here ſpecified; ſince theſe alone muſt, in the nature of things, produce much more than 60,000,000 liv. For the vines at 150 liv.—the meadows at 80 liv.—and the arable at no more than 20 liv. amount to 79,860,000 liv.—If the wood were to yield no more than 10 liv. it adds 8,500,000 liv. making 88,360,000 liv. without reckoning a livre for the reſt. Inſtead of 15 liv. per arpent on the whole, I have no heſitation at all in calculating at 25 liv. which makes 1l. 6s. 3d. per acre.

Recapitulation.

			£.			
Sologne,	50 miles,	at 5s. -	12	10	0	
Angoumois,	89	at 1l. 4s. -	106	16	0	
Poitou,	72	at 1l. 9s. 10¼d.	107	9	6	
Touraine,	77	at 2l. 9s. 1d.	188	19	5	
Champagne,	124	at 1l. 6s. 3d.	162	15	0	
	412		578	9	11	Average, 1l. 8s.

Obſervations.

The produce of theſe wretched provinces, riſing ſo high as 28s. is, in a great meaſure to be aſcribed to vines, which, it is always to be noted, is a branch of cultivation better underſtood than any other in France, if we may judge from the general ſucceſs that attends it. Without the aid of the vineyards, the average produce of the chalk diſtricts would be low indeed. Nothing can be worſe cultivated, or rather more neglected. Sainfoin is known, and yet no uſe is made of it, comparatively ſpeaking; ſo little underſtood, that I have ſeen the farmers ſedulouſly ſummer-fallowing a field at no ſlight expence, in order to get ſome miſerable rye and oats, while his adjoining field was abandoned to nature, as not worth cultivating. The chalk provinces contain 16 millions of acres: and the whole are ſuſceptible of a very eaſy and obvious improvement, to the amount of 15s. an acre, which, on 12 millions only, would add nine millions ſterling per annum to the wealth and proſperity of the nation; and would ſtill be capable of much greater improvement, and yet would be far behind what we are well acquainted with in ſome parts of England.

DISTRICT OF GRAVEL,

Contains Bourbonnois and Nevernois.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Autun to Luzy,	22	15*s.*	St. Poncrin,	30	26*s.*	Pogues,	8	30*s.*
Chavanne,	27	15	Roanne to Moulins,	45	15	La Charité,	8	25
Moulins,	10	15	St. P. le Mont,	18	12	Pouilly,	9	50
Riaux,	10	12	Magny, -	7	30	Croiſſiere,	47	25

Miles, 241.——Average produce, 1l. 0s. 6½d.

I ſaw too little of the Nevernois to judge of its equalizing what I remarked in other ſimilar tracks, and therefore have given theſe products from information, on comparing them with other diſtricts I knew much better. There are no particular circumſtances that make the attainment of ſomething approaching accuracy difficult. My information at Moulins was, that three-fourths of the Bourbonnois are heath, broom, or wood; if any thing like this be true, I certainly am not too low in the eſtimation, but probably above it.

Obſervations.

Theſe muſt be ranked among the moſt improveable of the French provinces. The agriculture that is carried on here (1 fallow, 2 rye), is hardly better than that of Sologne, though the crops are ſuperior. The whole country being incloſed, there is little wanted but to change the courſe of huſbandry, and to multiply and improve the breed of ſheep. A farmer, with a little money, and much ſkill, would no where make a fortune ſooner than in the Bourbonnois.—Theſe provinces, inſtead of 20s. an acre, ought to produce 33s. which, over more than three millions of acres, would be an improvement of ſome conſequence to the nation.

DISTRICT OF STONY SOILS,

Contains Loraine, Bourgogne, Franche Compté, &c.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
St. Menehoud to Metz,	62	27*s.*	Savern,	49	33*s.*	Dole,	10	30*s.*
Pont a Mouſſon,	17	36	Befort,	28	30	Dijon,	28	45
Nancy,	17	35	Beaume,	35	25	Beaune,	22	85
Luneville,	17	40	Beſançon,	17	30	Mont Cenis,	28	40
			Orechamps,	12	30	Autun,	20	18

Miles, 362.——Average produce, 1l. 15s.

From information, on which I have reaſon to depend, I am inclined to believe, that the line traverſed, in theſe provinces, is a good deal richer, and more cultivated than the average of them; which is a natural ſuppoſition, from the road leading very much in vales by rivers, and by many conſiderable towns: on this account, it will be proper to make a deduction of 6s. an acre, and to calculate the average produce at 1l. 9s.—Commons are of immenſe extent in Loraine, and yield ſcarcely any thing; for the cattle that are ſtarved, rather than kept on them, are attended with the ſame loſs, want, and even miſery, which we ſee ſo often in England.—50s. an acre ought, moderately ſpeaking, to be the produce of theſe provinces, in which I ſaw no bad land; or ſo little, as not to prevent any general concluſions. Here is, therefore, a deficiency of a guinea an acre over 15 or 16 millions of acres.

DISTRICT OF VARIOUS LOAMS,

Contains Limoſin, Berry, and La Marche.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Acroſs Berry,	60	30*s*.	La Marche and Limoſin,	130	32*s*.

Miles, 190.——Average produce, 1l. 11s. 4½d.

Theſe provinces are diſgraced by miſerable huſbandry, though poſſeſſing the advantage of a good climate, and a ſoil almoſt every where good. Even the ſands are of a quality which well adapts them to very profitable courſes of huſbandry, that are here utterly unknown. The produce, inſtead of 31s. ought to be 50s.—for the whole country that I ſaw is incloſed, and wants little more than a ſkilful variation in the courſes of crops. Here is a loſs of 19s. an acre over ſix or ſeven millions.

DISTRICT OF MOUNTAIN,

Contains Auvergn, Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, &c.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
Rouſſillon,	56	30*s*.	Lodeve,	36	5*s*.	Le Puy,	15	25*s*.
LANGUEDOC.			Beziers,	40	15	Pradelles,	20	20
Narbonne to Nimes,	94	50	Carcaſſonne,	40	40	Thuytz,	20	2*s*. 6*d*.
Pont du Gard,	12	38	Fanjour,	16	30	Villeneuve,	22	10
Gange,	30	30	St. Martory,	86	27	Montelimart,	20	25

Miles, 507.——Average produce, 1l. 8s. 6¼d.

DAUPHINE.

	Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.		Miles.	Produce.
L'Oriol,	15	60*s*.	PROVENCE.			Tour d'Aigues,	20	30*s*.
Pierelatte,	15	6	Avignon,	19	26*s*.	Marſeilles,	20	38
Orange,	20	28	Liſle,	16	60	Cuges,	21	25
Pont Beauvoiſin to Lyons,	46	35	Vaucluſe,	20	45	Toulon,	20	10
LYONNOIS.			Organ,	12	60	Hyeres,	10	60
			Salon,	15	15	Frejus,	30	5
Les Arnas,	17	30	St. Canat,	20	28	Cano,	22	5
Roanne,	28	25	Aix,	12	60	Nice,	25	10

Miles, 423.——Average produce, 1l. 8s. 8½d.

AUVERGN.—Riom, 20 30*s*. | Briude, 17 40*s*. | Fix, 20 15*s*.

Miles, 57.——Average produce, 1l. 7s. 8d.

The author of the *Hiſtoire des Plantes de Dauphiné*, ſays, in his preface, that if that province were divided into three parts, three-fourths of one would be cultivated; more than three-fourths of another mountains, and uncultivated; half the third mountain, and one-half in culture. I am inclined to think, that theſe notes do not materially vary from truth, except in the caſe of Languedoc, which here appears inferior in produce to what I conceive to be the fact, for reaſons too complex to detail at preſent. I have reflected on various circumſtances connected with this queſtion, and believe I ſhall be well founded in eſtimating that province at 1l. 11s. inſtead of 1l. 8s. 6d.

507 miles, at 1l. 11s. per mile.—423 at 1l. 8s. 8½d.—57 at 1l. 7s. 8d.
Average, 1l. 9s. 9d.

Thoſe of my readers, who have travelled only through the vale, ſo rich in various productions, that reaches from Narbonne to Niſmes; who have viewed the exuberant fertility of the watered grounds of Avignon to Vaucluſe, or the rich borders of the Rhone at Montelimart, or the vale waſhed by the Iſere, will find it difficult to believe, that provinces which can preſent ſuch pictures of fertility ſhould, on an average, produce no more than what has been ſtated; but they ſhould have in their recollection the proportion of the whole diſtrict that is mountainous. None of the vales, through which I travelled, are of any conſiderable breadth, except the vicinity of Toulouze. That from Narbonne to Nimes, which is the moſt celebrated for its productions, is no where more than a few leagues acroſs: mountains are every where contiguous; and I croſſed very extenſive tracks of theſe that appeared to be the leaſt productive of any land I ſaw in France. The Vivarais has been extolled for its cultivation; ſome vales and ſlopes undoubtedly evince much induſtry: but they are uſually accompanied by tracks of ten and twenty times the extent that yield little. I muſt make the ſame remark on this diſtrict of mountain that I have done on ſo many other occaſions; every part, except the rich vales, is capable of great and palpable improvement. I examined the mountains between Gange and Lodeve with attention, becauſe they appeared to be in a ſtate of the moſt miſerable neglect, and the leaſt productive of any I ſaw in Languedoc; and I am confident they might with great eaſe be made to produce four times as much as they yield at preſent, were they improved for ſheep only. A ſyſtem of tillage is too much introduced, by ſmall proprietors, on all the mountains of France; they ſhould be tilled with no other view than of being prepared for graſſes, and for profit derived by means of ſheep and cattle, eſpecially the former. This vaſt portion of the kingdom, containing 28 millions of acres, might, with very moderate exertions be brought to produce 15 millions ſterling more than at preſent; and ſtill be far from that pitch of improvement of which it is really capable.

GENERAL

GENERAL RECAPITULATION.

In order to aſcertain the proportional areas of the ſeveral diviſions into which I have thrown the kingdom, according to the ſoil of it, I procured a copy of the map to be made on a ſheet of paper of equal and ſimilar thickneſs, as exactly as could be choſen; and then cut out, with a fine pair of ſciſſars, the ſeveral diviſions, which were firſt weighed ſeparately, and afterwards the whole together. All France weighed 413 weights, equal to one-fourth of a grain. The ſeveral diviſions as follow:

The rich diſtrict of the N. E. 57 parts of 413.—The plain of the Garronne 24.—The plain of Alſace 2.—The Bas Poitou, &c. 6.	
RICH LOAM,	89
Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, and part of Normandy 48.—Part of Guienne and Gaſcoign 32.	
HEATH,	80
MOUNTAIN,—containing Auvergn, Languedoc, Rouſſillon, Rouerge, Provence, and Dauphiné. (Of theſe Dauphiné by itſelf 14.)	90
CHALK,—containing Champagne, and parts of Angoumois, Poitou, Touraine, Iſle of France, Sologne, &c.	52
GRAVEL,—containing the Bourbonnois, and Nevernois,	12
STONE,—containing Loraine, Franche Compté, Bourgogne, and part of Alſace,	64
SAND, granite, gravel, ſtone, &c. containing the Limoſin, La Marche, Berry, &c.	26
	413

The queſtion ariſing from theſe proportions, is the following:—If 413 give 131,722,295 acres, what will be the proportional quantities of theſe diviſions reſpectively? The anſwers are theſe:

	Acres.	Acres.
Rich diſtrict of the N. E.	18,179,590	
Plain of the Garonne,	7,654,564	
Plain of Alſace,	637,880	
Bas Poitou, &c.	1,913,641	
Rich Loam,		28,385,675
Bretagne, Anjou, &c.	15,307,128	
Guienne, &c.	10,206,085	
Heath,		25,513,213
Mountain,		28,707,037
Chalk,		16,584,889
Gravel,		3,827,282
Stone,		20,412,171
Sand, &c.		8,292,444
		131,722,711
Error in weighing,		416

And the products of theſe diviſions, according to the preceding minutes, are,

	Acres.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Rich Loam,	28,385,675	—	2	13	9½	—	76,345,638	7	9½
Heath, -	25,513,213	—	1	8	9¾	—	36,754,972	9	6¼
Mountain, -	28,707,037	—	1	9	9	—	42,701,717	10	9
Chalk, -	16,584,889	—	1	8	0	—	23,218,844	12	0
Gravel, -	3,827,282	—	1	0	6½	—	3,930,937	11	1
Stone, -	20,412,171	—	1	15	0	—	35,721,299	5	0
Sand, -	8,292,444	—	1	11	4¼	—	12,950,133	11	3
	131,722,711		1	15	1¼		231,623,543	7	5¼

The meaſurement of the kingdom here given, includes its whole ſurface; roads, rivers, canals, towns, &c.; wherefore a deduction muſt be made from the total area, and alſo from the total produce, calculated at the above mentioned average per acre. Mr. Necker tells us, there are 9000 leagues of roads in France. Let us allow 10 toiſes of breadth, which is not too much, conſidering not only the great width of the roads themſelves, but the waſte of ground they occaſion on each ſide; this will give for the whole 228,200 arpents of Paris, or 193,207 Engliſh acres. Rivers probably occupy a much larger ſpace. If the number of acres be ſuppoſed 131,000,000, and the 722,711 be given up for all theſe deductions, we poſſibly may not be far from the truth; as it is to be remembered, that foreſts, woods, heaths, waſtes, and commons, are included in the calculation.

	Acres.		£.	s.	d.		£.
Totals, -	131,722,711	—	1	15	1¼	—	231,623,543
Deduct,	722,711	—				—	1,268,506
	131,000,000	—				—	230,355,037
	In livres tourn.			40			5,240,000,000

The next inquiry, which is not unimportant, is concerning the diviſion of this total produce into the moſt material articles that compoſe it, ſuch as wheat and rye; vines; wood; arable land in general; meadow and paſture:—this is a much more difficult inquiry; for the data on which the calculation is to be made are uncertain, and diſputed. By one writer *, the lands *in culture* are aſſerted to be 112,760,000 arpents. By another 70,470,000 †. By a third, 65,000,000 ‡. By a fourth, the arable is calculated at 40,000,000 §. Another makes 60,000,000 of winter and ſpring corn and fallow ‖. Another, 18,000,000 of wheat and rye, as much of ſpring corn, and as much of fallow ¶. The authors of the Encyclopædia eſtimate the corn, cultivation, and fallow, at 50,000,000 [*]. The marquis de Mirabeau makes the ſame 60,000,000 [†]; in which a later author [‡] agrees with him, calculating by the conſumption of the people. Monſ. Dellay d'Agier, in the National Aſſembly, calculated the arable at 70,000,000 [§].—It is ſufficiently evident, from the variety of theſe accounts, that their authors did not calculate on the ſame data. The common conſumption of bread corn, by the people of France, is known, from many obſervations and experiments, to be 3 ſeptiers a head for both ſexes and all ages, on an average. Now, if we compute the people at 25,000,000 (and we cannot at a leſs number), this makes 75,000,000 of ſeptiers, each of 240 lb. French weight, or 342,105,263 Engliſh buſhels, at 57 lb. If, therefore, the average product be 18 buſhels per acre, there are conſequently 19,005,847 acres employed in raiſing that quantity of bread corn. Reckoning the ſeed at 2½ buſhels an acre, there muſt be allowed farther 3,006,325 acres; in all 22,012,172 acres. But here it is neceſſary to remark, that many of the people in France eat but little rye, and no wheat: in part of Normandy and Bretagne, they live very much, though not entirely, upon buck-wheat. In Limoſin, La Marche, and in part of Languedoc, they eat cheſnuts abundantly; and through the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, they are nouriſhed principally by maiz. To ſuppoſe, therefore, that the quantity of land here noted is all under wheat or rye, would be a groſs error. It is, however, very probable, that thoſe two products, with maiz, do not occupy a leſs extent; which calculation would ſet the buck-wheat, millet, potatoes, cheſnuts, &c. againſt that portion of wheat, rye, and maiz conſumed by cattle and manufactures; but this ſuppoſition has no data for its foundation. There is a conſiderable export of wheat flour to the Weſt-Indies, but no notice can be taken of it here, as the kingdom, on the other hand, imports largely.—About two-thirds of the arable lands in France, as I conjecture from reviewing the article of courſes of crops, are under the rotation of three years, *viz.* 1, fallow; 2, wheat or rye; 3, ſpring corn, or ſome other courſe ſimilar in its reſult. The other third is made up of a great variety of courſes, that cannot be brought to a ſtandard for drawing any concluſions. In ſome diſtricts, the courſe is for two years; but in the greater part it is for more than three. Hence we may ſafely conclude, that the arable lands of the kingdom exceed rather than fall ſhort of thrice 22 millions of acres, or in the whole 66 millions. I ſhould conceive, that they cannot be leſs than 70. The fallows amount to 15 or 16 millions.

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* The Maréchal de Vauban. + *Apol. ſur l'Edict de Nantes.* ‡ Voltaire. § Du Pont; *de l'Exp. & Imp. des Grains* Soiſſons. 1764. p. 150. ‖ De l'*Aminiſt. des Finances*, par M. Malpart. 8vo. 1787. p. 31. ¶ *Recherches ſur la Houille d'Engrais.* tom. ii. p. 3.

Vines.

Notwithſtanding the aides and cuſtoms afford ſome aſſiſtance towards calculating the conſumption and export of wine, yet it is very difficult to eſtimate with any degree of certainty, the quantity of vineyards in the kingdom. Of this difficulty, we may judge, by obſerving the amazing difference in the reports of French writers. Monſ. le Trône *, who appears generally very well informed, gives 1,600,000 arpents for their extent; this the ſame as the calculation of M. de Mirabeau †; but another writer, who publiſhed one year after only, calculates the quantity (however from very vague ideas) at 18,000,000 ‡. —Monſ. Lavoiſier ſuppoſes the produce 80,000,000 liv. §—The *œconomiſtes*, of the *Encyclopædie*, make the annual produce 500,000,000 liv. ‖. This, at the average produce of 175 liv. per acre (ſee the chapter on vines) makes 2,857,142 acres. If we deduct from this ſum of 500,000,000 liv. that of 40,000,000, which is nearly the export of wine and brandy, there will remain 460,000,000 liv. for the home conſumption of France.—1 *ſ.* per diem for 25,000,000 of people, amounts to 456,250,000 liv.; but I cannot conceive that this is an adequate allowance, poor as the lower claſſes are in France. Yet that the author of *Credit National* has committed a groſs error, will appear from conſidering, that 18,000,000 of arpents de Paris, which is his calculation, producing in the proportion of 175 liv. per Engliſh acre, amount to about 3000 millions of livres; that is to ſay, nearly as much as many writers make the whole land produce of France. I cannot, however, agree, as I have juſt obſerved, to the calculation of 1 *ſ.* per diem for the home conſumption; the number of people in the kingdom, who either drink their own wine, or are provided with it by their maſters, in both which caſes the conſumption is void of that œconomy which always takes place in a greater degree when the commodity is *bought*, muſt render ſuch a calculation below the truth: for it is to be remembered, that the 1 *ſ.* per diem is a mark only of that quantity of wine which 1 *ſ.* repreſents in the market; but which, in ſo many inſtances, is neither bought nor ſold. I met with labourers in Languedoc, who drank each three bottles of ſtrong wine a day; and I ſaw, amongſt the poor, in every part of the kingdom, an appearance of a pretty regular conſumption, either of wine or cyder; and recourſe was not had to water, but in caſe of failing crops. If, by calculating the conſumption at 2 *ſ.* a-day, I meant that ſo much *money* was thus *expended*, the idea would be abſurd and extravagant; but in this caſe, through all the wine provinces, no *expenditure* takes place; an immenſe quantity is conſumed which is neither bought nor ſold—and which, in plentiful years, has no value: money is here merely a meaſure of quantity. *Price* conſidered, the conſumption per head of 4½ *ſ.* at Paris, is twenty times greater than 2 *ſ.* for the whole kingdom. If the reader be not very careful in this combination, he muſt of neceſſity think the eſtimate high; but, taken as a calculation of the real money-payment, probably would not be near 1 *ſ.* But the ſoil as much produces wine that is given away, as wine that is bought. It is like that conſumption of wood which the poor make in all countries by theft. When the ſpace of land occupied by vines is the queſtion, of what conſequence is it whether the wine be bought, given, or ſtolen?—Upon the whole, I am inclined to calculate the vineyards of France at five millions of acres; in which caſe, their produce will amount to 875,000,000 liv. and the conſumption of the people will be under 2 *ſ.* a-head.—The conſumption of Paris, according to the *entreés*, amounted to 36,000,000 liv. (*See M. Lavoiſier Reſultats d'un ouvrage*, 1791, p. 43.) or near 4 *ſ.* per head per diem; but this, as every one well knows, was not the whole; for it ſuppoſes nothing for contraband, which probably was not leſs than one-eighth, and which would make it nearly 4½ *ſ.* a head.

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[*] Tom. vi. p. 533. Folio edit. [†] *Theorie de l'Impôt.* p. 142. [‡] *Credit National.* 1789. p. 102.

[§] *Balance du Commerce.* 1791. tom. 2. p. 220.

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* *De l'Adminiſtration Provinciale de l'Impôt.* 8vo. 2 tom. 1788. tom. i. p. 293.

† *Théorie de l'Impôt.* p. 126. ‡ *Credit National.* 8vo. 1789. p. 106.

§ *Réſultats d'un Ouvrage remis au Comité de l'Impoſition.* 8vo. 1791. p. 35. ‖ Art. *Grains.*

Woods.

There is as great a difference in the calculation of the extent of woods, as of that of vines. The marquis de Mirabeau repreſents them as 30,000,000 of arpents *, in which another writer agrees †. But another allows only 6,000,000 ‡. And a third, 8,000,000 §.—Neither of the three gives any reaſons whatever for his opinions; conſequently they may be mere conjectures. There are two methods, by which ſome approximation to the truth may be gained; 1, by the maps of Caſſini; 2, by the conſumption of the people.—In examining the maps, I meaſured, as accurately as poſſible, the proportion of the ſpace covered by wood in each map; and, from many experiments on 140 of them, I found the following reſult:—but, it is neceſſary to premiſe, that I ſuppoſe each map to contain one million of arpents, or acres; not becauſe they are the real contents, but merely to be enabled from the total to calculate the proportion of the whole. The firſt of the following columns contains the number of maps, the ſecond the proportion of the ſurface covered by wood; and the third the number of acres of wood, ſuppoſing each map to repreſent one million of arpents of country. Example of the firſt line; there are three maps, in which half of the contents is wood; and conſequently, if thoſe maps contain each one million of arpents, there are 1,500,000 arpents of wood.

		Arpents.			Arpents.			Arpents.
3	$\frac{1}{2}$	1,500,000	6	$\frac{1}{8}$	750,000	12	$\frac{1}{15}$	800,000
16	$\frac{1}{3}$	5,333,000	10	$\frac{1}{9}$	1,111,000	6	$\frac{1}{16}$	375,000
3	$\frac{1}{4}$	750,000	14	$\frac{1}{10}$	1,400,000	2	$\frac{1}{18}$	110,000
13	$\frac{1}{5}$	2,600,000	9	$\frac{1}{12}$	750,000	16	$\frac{1}{20}$	800,000
16	$\frac{1}{6}$	2,666,000	2	$\frac{1}{13}$	154,000	1	$\frac{1}{30}$	33,000
9	$\frac{1}{7}$	1,285,000	2	$\frac{1}{14}$	140,000	140		20,557,000
60		14,134,000	103		18,439,000			

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* *Theorie de l'Impot.* p. 124. † *Plan d'Adminiſt. des Finances*, par M. Malpart. 8vo. 1787. p. 36.

‡ *Credit National.* p. 110. § M. Dellay d'Agier in the National Aſſembly.

Hence it appears, that the quantity of wood may (rejecting the fraction) be called one-ſeventh of the kingdom; and as there are 131,722,295 acres in it, the woods amount to 18,817,470 acres. Upon this reſult, it is to be obſerved, that none but woods of conſiderable extent are marked in the maps; or at leaſt if marked, have not an extent ſufficient to come into ſuch an eſtimation: hence this method, of aſcertaining the quantity, is confeſſedly imperfect: if the maps be tolerably accurate, we are certain, that this calculation is below the truth.— The next method of inquiry is by the conſumption of the people; I took ſome notes concerning it, in different parts of the kingdom, which will aſſiſt the calculation.

Conſumption.

Quantity per ann.	Value.	Paris cords.	Quantity per ann.	Value.	Paris cords.
Liancourt, the pooreſt family,	60liv.		Dijon, 24,000 ſouls, 40,000 moeul, which is per family of 6 ſouls 10 moeul,	130	4½ *
Orechamps, a little auberge, 25 loads, -	200	7½	Riom, a poor family,	80	3
Auxonne, ditto, one fire,	200	7½	Clermont, ditto, 10 cord,	60	2½
——— a poor family,	80	3	Tour d'Aigues, the pooreſt family, 60 quintals,	60	2
Dijon, a poor family, 5½ moeul at 4 cubical feet,	71	2½	Average of the poor families,	70	2½

It is here proper to examine the conſumption of Paris.

From 1731 to 1740, the quantity for which duty was paid at the gates was, on an average †, cords, - - - - - 192,362

In 1748, *voyes*, 350,000——In 1770, 550,000——In 1778, 630,000 ‡.

I have procured the following from the bureau.

In 1784, *voyes*,	669,017	In 1786, *voyes*,	602,314	In 1788, *voyes*,	608,403
1785,	592,311	1787,	584,602	1789,	619,900

Average of the ſix laſt years, 612,091.

Charcoal.

In 1784, *voyes*, each of 16 boiſeau, or 5 buſhels Engliſh,	790,100
1785, - - - -	783,319
1786, - - - -	767,900
1787, - - - -	795,001
1788, - - - -	749,167
1789, - - - -	687,429
Average, - - -	762,152
Equal to cords of wood to form it, -	38,107
Average of both wood and charcoal, - -	650,198

Monſ. Necker informs us, that the inhabitants are 660,000; if we call them 66,000 families, the conſumption will be about 10 cords per family. The Dijon bably would not be near 1*ſ.* But the ſoil as much produces wine that is given away, as wine that is bought. It is like that conſumption of wood which the poor make in all countries by theft. When the ſpace of land occupied by vines is the queſtion, of what conſequence is it whether the wine be bought, given, or ſtolen?—Upon the whole, I am inclined to calculate the vineyards of France at five millions of acres; in which caſe, their produce will amount to 875,000,000 liv. and the conſumption of the people will be under 2*ſ.* a-head.—The conſumption of Paris, according to the *entreés*, amounted to 36,000,000 liv. (*See M. Lavoiſier Reſultats d'un ouvrage,* 1791, p. 43.) or near 4*ſ.* per head per diem; but this, as every one well knows, was not the whole; for it ſuppoſes nothing for contraband, which probably was not leſs than one-eighth, and which would make it nearly 4½*ſ.* a head.

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* Excluſive of charcoal.

† *De la Lande des Canaux de Navigation*, p. 373.

‡ *Recherches ſur la Houille d'Engrais*, par M. de Laille vault. 12mo. 1783. tom. ii. p. 21.

Woods.

There is as great a difference in the calculation of the extent of woods, as of that of vines. The marquis de Mirabeau repreſents them as 30,000,000 of arpents *, in which another writer agrees †. But another allows only 6,000,000 ‡. And a third, 8,000,000 §.—Neither of the three gives any reaſons whatever for his opinions; conſequently they may be mere conjectures. There are two methods, by which ſome approximation to the truth may be gained; 1, by the maps of Caſſini; 2, by the conſumption of the people.—In examining the maps, I meaſured, as accurately as poſſible, the proportion of the ſpace covered by wood in each map; and, from many experiments on 140 of them, I found the following reſult:—but, it is neceſſary to premiſe, that I ſuppoſe each map to contain one million of arpents, or acres; not becauſe they are the real contents, but merely to be enabled from the total to calculate the proportion of the whole. The firſt of the following columns contains the number of maps, the ſecond the proportion of the ſurface covered by wood; and the third the number of acres of wood, ſuppoſing each map to repreſent one million of arpents of country. Example of the firſt line; there are three maps, in which half of the contents is wood; and conſequently, if thoſe maps contain each one million of arpents, there are 1,500,000 arpents of wood.

		Arpents.			Arpents.			Arpents.
3	$\frac{1}{2}$	1,500,000	6	$\frac{1}{8}$	750,000	12	$\frac{1}{15}$	800,000
16	$\frac{1}{3}$	5,333,000	10	$\frac{1}{9}$	1,111,000	6	$\frac{1}{16}$	375,000
3	$\frac{1}{4}$	750,000	14	$\frac{1}{10}$	1,400,000	2	$\frac{1}{17}$	110,000
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16	$\frac{1}{6}$	2,666,000	2	$\frac{1}{13}$	154,000	1	$\frac{1}{30}$	33,000
9	$\frac{1}{7}$	1,285,000	2	$\frac{1}{14}$	140,000			
60		14,134,000	103		18,439,000	140		20,557,000

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Conſumption.

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Liancourt, the pooreſt family,	60 liv.	
Orechamps, a little auberge, 25 loads, -	200	7½
Auxonne, ditto, one fire,	200	7½
——— a poor family,	80	3
Dijon, a poor family, 5½ moeul at 4 cubical feet,	71	2½
Dijon, 24,000 ſouls, 40,000 moeul, which is per family of 6 ſouls 10 moeul,	130	4½ *
Riom, a poor family,	80	3
Clermont, ditto, 10 cord,	60	2½
Tour d'Aigues, the pooreſt family, 60 quintals,	60	2
Average of the poor families,	70	2½

It is here proper to examine the conſumption of Paris.

From 1731 to 1740, the quantity for which duty was paid at the gates was, on an average †, cords, - - - - - 192,362

In 1748, *voyes*, 350,000——In 1770, 550,000——In 1778, 630,000 ‡.

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1789, - - - -	687,429
Average, - - -	762,152
Equal to cords of wood to form it, -	38,107
Average of both wood and charcoal, - -	650,198

Monſ. Necker informs us, that the inhabitants are 660,000; if we call them 66,000 families, the conſumption will be about 10 cords per family. The Dijon conſumption of wood only per family, of ten moeul, at 64 cub. feet, is 640 feet, or 4½ Paris cords. The Paris conſumption of both wood and charcoal, at 140 cub. feet is 1400 feet. The difference between theſe is not greater than would be reaſonably expected, if we conſider the manufactures of Paris, the vaſt number of great hotels, and its being the centre of all wealth and all luxury. We are farther to ſuppoſe the 5,709,270 ſouls, inhabitants of all the towns of France (which is the reſult of the late enumeration) to be, excluſively of Paris, 1,000,000 of families, and we may allow them by the Dijon regiſter, charcoal included, five cords each. To the remainder of French population, *viz.* 4,000,000 of families, we will ſuppoſe 300,000, each at four cords; and 3,700,000 at 2½.

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* Excluſive of charcoal. † *De la Lande des Canaux de Navigation*, p. 373.

‡ *Recherches ſur la Houille d'Engrais*, par M. de Laille vault. 12mo. 1783. tom. ii. p. 21.

		Cords.
Paris at ten cords,	- -	687,121
Other towns at five,	- -	5,000,000
300,000 country families, at four,	-	1,200,000
1,700,000 ditto at 2½,	- -	4,250,000
		11,137,121

Which, at the average price of 30 liv.* is 334,113,630 †, or ſterling £. 14,618,493.

We are, in the next place, to enquire into the produce of the woods of the kingdom. The following are the minutes:

Places.	Yrs. growth.		Produce per ann.		Produce per Eng. acre.	Places.	Yrs. growth.		Produce per ann.		Produce per Eng. acre.
Senar,	20	—	24 liv.		£.0 16 8	Metz,	20	—	10 liv.		£.0 15 0
Liancourt,	12	—	12	—	0 8 4	Luneville,	25	—	3	—	0 8 9
Falaiſe,	12	—	22	—	0 11 0	Beſançon,	25	—	8	—	0 8 9
Normandy,		—	20	—	0 10 6	Do. near Forges,		—	12	—	0 12 9
Columiers,	9	—	20	—	1 0 0	Moulins,	15	—	3½	—	0 2 6
Mareuil,	20	—	15	—	0 10 6						
Braban,	20	—	12	—	0 18 4	Average,	17		13		0 12 0

It is on this to be obſerved, that the ſums here noted are to be conſidered as net produce, or rent; and that conſequently the groſs produce is more conſiderable, as there are many expences to be deducted; theſe cannot make it leſs than 14s. an acre, or 16 liv. And in the calculations to be founded on this produce, no difference ariſes from the age at which the wood is cut: if at 20 years, it is 320 liv. per acre, that is, twenty times ſixteen: if at 100 years, it is 1600 liv. &c.

Hence 14s. an acre being the annual produce, it will give 20,883,561 acres for the total of France.—Upon this, however, ſome obſervations are neceſſary, or erroneous concluſions muſt be the conſequence.—If it is objected, that there are many families ſo poor as to be utterly unable to afford 60 or 70 liv. for fuel; I grant it readily, but immenſe numbers burn, though they buy perhaps none; they ſteal it as in England, as I was very generally informed; but this mode of acquiring it does not affect the calculation, ſince the wood is as clearly produced by the ſoil as if all was bought: I am, however, of opinion, that there are many families too poor, and too badly ſituated, to be able by any means to command ſuch a conſumption. But, on the other hand, if we take into the account, as we ought to do, the vaſt iron forges which are ſo numerous in Franche Compté, the Limoſin, Loraine, and other provinces; and the very conſiderable founderies, glaſs-houſes, ſalt pans *, and other manufactures, which conſume aſtoniſhing quantities of wood, we ſhall be inclined to think, that many ſuch deficiencies are amply counterbalanced; not forgetting the conſumption by houſe and ſhip-building.

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* This the average of the notes.

† Monſ. Lavoiſier calculates the produce of all the woods of France at 120,000,000 liv. *Réſultats d'un ouvrage*, 1791, p. 35. I ſhould probably be nearer the truth in aſſerting, that the conſumption of manufactures alone amounts to this ſum, than he is in calculating *the total* at no more. The utter impoſſibility of the truth of his eſtimate, will appear by the conſumption of Paris only, being by his own account 27,500,000 liv.

Acres, by the maps of Caſſini, 18,817,470.—By the conſumption, 20,883,561.
Average of the two, 19,850,515.
Which, at 16 liv. per acre, is - 317,608,240 liv.—Or ſterling, - £. 13,895,360.

The marquis of Mirabeau does not acquaint us with the data by which he calculated the quantity at 30,000,000; but as it is probable he went upon different grounds from thoſe by which I have calculated, the two reſults may poſſibly be a confirmation of each other.

Recapitulation.—Arable lands, - - - -	70,000,000 acres.
Vines, - - - - -	5,000,000
Woods, - - - - -	19,850,000
	94,850,000
Remains for meadows, permanent paſtures, ſuch waſtes as do not produce wood; roads, rivers, ponds, &c. -	36,872,711
Total, - - -	131,722,711

A modern author † has calculated the meadows at 15,000,000 of arpents, that is, at one-fourth of what he makes the arable land; I do not conceive, from the notes I took throughout the kingdom, that they amount to one-third of that quantity. The cattle of great tracks of arable are ſupported without any meadows, upon clover, lucerne, &c.; in whole provinces there are none, except on the banks of rivers—and of theſe the breadth is not conſiderable. The plough moves to the water's edge of the Marne; and wherever I ſaw the Loire, the meadows were very inconſiderable, and often none at all. Chalk hills covered with wood, or gravelly plains under the plough are ſound on the Seine; much tillage on the Garonne; and vines and rocks on the Rhone. On the Soanne there are large tracks of meadow; but theſe are ſound more generally on the ſmaller than on the largeſt rivers, and, relatively to the quantity of arable land, are very inſignificant. The ſame author remarks, that the vineyards appear to every one more extenſive than meadows; conſequently theſe do not amount to 5,000,000 of acres, the ſpace covered by vines. We have found the groſs produce of the kingdom, by another mode of calculation, to be 5,240,000,000 liv. or 230,516,263l. The details now explained, give the following reſult:

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* The ſalins of Franche Compté and Loraine make 750,000 quintals, which coſts 2 liv. per quintal in wood only; this is a conſumption to the value of 2,500,000 liv. *Recherches & Conſid. ſur les Finances.* 8vo. 1789. tom. ii. p. 163.

† *Credit National.* p. 105.

	Acres.		French money.	English money.
Arable land, -	70,000,000	at 40 liv.	2,800,000,000 liv.	£. 122,860,583
Vines, - -	5,000,000	175	875,000,000	38,225,250
Woods, - -	19,850,000	16	317,608,240	13,895,360
Meadow and rich paſturage,	4,000,000	100	400,000,000	17,500,000
Lucerne, &c. -	5,000,000	100	500,000,000	21,875,000
Paſtures and waſtes,	27,150,000	* 10	271,500,000	11,878,125
	131,000,000	40	5,164,108,240	226,238,318

Hence it is clear, that the latter calculation, which is made on different data from the other, is probably a moderate one. At the ſame time, it comes as near to it as can be expected, from ſuch diſtinct variations in the mode of eſtimation. Vines, meadows, and lucerne, are the only objects here that admit of little improvement; and it would be well for France, if their extent were proportioned to their merit. The product of the arable land is doubtleſs very much beneath what it might be. The product of arable, in England, may be eſtimated, perhaps not remotely from truth, at 50s. an acre, or 15s. more than France; which makes, in 70 millions of acres, a difference of 52,500,000l. or, in French money, 1,200,000,000 liv.: and no one ſhould conſider this as the utmoſt term of improvement, ſince it includes all arable in England, great tracks of which are very ill cultivated. By an eſtimate, drawn up with much attention, the arable land in that kingdom, at the rent of 15s. *well managed*, yields an average produce of 3l. 14s. 7d. per acre, which is conſiderably more than double of the French produce. Twenty-ſeven millions of acres of paſtures and waſtes, one with another, at 10 liv. (more likely to be too high than two low an eſtimate), are a field for ample improvement. There are very few of theſe not ſuſceptible of culture; but if ten millions of theſe acres were made, as they might be, to produce 40s. only an acre, the amount 20 millions ſterling, would be a vaſt reſource to the kingdom. Upon the queſtion of the value of the groſs produce of

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* Monſ. Roland de la Platerie informed me, at Lyons, that in general waſte lands are ſold for one-third of the price of woods; if the produce be proportioned, this would make that of waſtes 5 or 6 liv. per acre; but in the preſent caſe all *paſtures* come into the calculation.

France, the French writers vary much. The marquis de Caſſaux makes it 2,000,400,000 liv. or 87,517,500l.* Another late writer † 5,015,500,000 liv. or 219,428,125l. Another ‡ makes it 1,780,330,000 liv. which is 77,889,437l.—Monſ. de Tolozan makes it 1,826,000,000 liv. or 79,887,500l. §. And Monſ. Dellay d'Agier, of the National Aſſembly, 1,449,200 liv. ‖.—Theſe calculations being founded on no data that confer any authority, admit of no other merit than that of one conjecture being nearer the truth than another; but all are little more than gueſſes.—It is eaſier to calculate the produce of France than the rent of it, by reaſon of the various modes of letting or adminiſtrating land. It will not, however, be far from the fact, to calculate the rent of the arable and lucerne at 15s. 7d. which is the average of my notes on that ſubject; the woods at 12s.; the vines at their profit of 8¼ per cent. on the purchaſe 45l.; the meadow at half produce, or 50 liv. that is 2l. 3s. 9d.; and the paſtures and waſtes at 2 liv. which is probably not too low, as they are, in ſo many diſtricts, thrown into the bargain with the adjoining lands, in which caſe, though they are of eſſential conſequence to the tenant in the produce, yet are they of none to the landlord.

Recapitulation.

	Acres.		Rent per acre.			Total.
Arable & lucerne,	75,000,000	at	£. 0	15	7	£. 57,437,500
Woods, -	19,850,000		0	12	0	11,910,000
Vines, -	5,000,000		3	16	6	19,125,000
Meadow, -	4,000,000		2	3	9	8,750,000
Waſtes, -	27,150,000		0	1	9	2,375,625
	131,000,000		0	15	10	99,898,125

While the produce of land in England is ſo much higher than in France, the landlord's rent is lower upon the whole; this is on account of the vines, which yield near one-fifth of all the rent of France. If, by net produce, we are to underſtand rent, and if it does not mean that, I know not what it can mean, the rent has been calculated by ſeveral writers. By M. de Forbonais ¶, at 800,000,000 liv.; this is 35,000,000l. which is not within two-thirds of the probable truth. Another **, at 1,794,000,000 liv. or 78,487,500l. A third makes ſo groſs a blunder as to eſtimate it at only 23,000,000l. †† A fourth ‡‡, that it is ſuppoſed to exceed 1,000,0000 liv. or 43,750,000l. Monſ. de Calonne[*], from many compariſons, ſtates it at 1,500,000,000 liv. or 65,620,000l. But what are we to think of the political information of the parliaments of the kingdom, which declared, that the taxes at 600 millions exceeded two-thirds, and even reached three-fourths of *l'entier revenu territorial de la France!*[†]—By theſe expreſſions, they ought to mean the groſs produce of the ſoil, and therefore were not near the truth by five-ſixths.

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* *Queſtions a examiner avant l'Aſſemblé des Etats Generaux.* p. 36. 1788. † *Apologie ſur l'Edict de Nantes.* ‡ *La Subvention territoriale en nature, par M. Garnier de St. Julien.* 1789. 8vo. p. 24. § *Memoire ſur la Commerce de la France.* 4to. 1789. p. 20. ‖ *Balance du Commerce.* 1791. tom. ii. p. 220. ¶ *Proſpectus ſur les Finances.* 1789. p. 11. ** *Credit National.* 1789. p. 136.

†† *Patullo's Eſſay on the cultivation of Bengal.* p. 5. Another work of this author, *Eſſai ſur l'Amelioration de Terre.* 12mo. 1758, is much quoted by French writers.

‡‡ *Reflexions ſur un queſtion d'economie Pol.* par M. Varenne de Fenille. 8vo. 1790. p. 24.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Population of France.

AS the ſubject of population is beſt treated by an inquiry into the induſtry, agriculture, diviſion of landed property, &c. I ſhall at preſent merely lay before the reader ſome facts collected with care in France, that afford uſeful data for political arithmeticians. Monſ. L'Abbé Expilly, in his *Dictionaire de la France*, makes the number 21,000,000. And the marquis de Mirabeau[‡] mentions an enumeration of the kingdom in 1755; total 18,107,000. In Normandy 1,665,200, and in Bretagne 847,500. Monſ. de Buffon, in his *Hiſtoire Naturelle*, aſſigns for the population of the kingdom 22,672,077. Monſ. Meſſance, in his *Recherches ſur la Population*, 4to. 1766, gives the details from which he draws the concluſion, that in many towns in Auvergne the births are to the number of inhabitants as 1 to $24\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{40}\frac{1}{80}$; the marriages per annum 1 to 114 inhabitants; and families, one with another, compoſed of $5\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{24}$, or 24 families contain 124 inhabitants. In various towns in the Lyonnois, births are to the inhabitants as 1 to $23\frac{3}{4}$; the marriages per annum 1 to 111 perſons; and families compoſed of $4\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{80}$[‖]; 80 families contain 381 inhabitants. In various towns in Normandy the births to the inhabitants as 1 to $27\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{20}$; marriages per annum 1 to 114 perſons; families are compoſed of $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{20}$; 20 repreſent 76 inhabitants. In the city of Lyons families are compoſed of $5\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{60}$; 60 repreſent 316 inhabitants; and there are a few above 24 perſons per houſe in that city. In the city of Rouen familes are compoſed of $6\frac{1}{30}$ perſons; and there are $6\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{12}$ perſons per houſe. At Lyons 1 in $35\frac{1}{2}$ dies annually; at Rouen 1 in $27\frac{1}{2}$. Mean life in ſome pariſhes in the generality of Lyons 25 years; ditto in the generality of Rouen 25 years 10 months. At Paris 1 in 30 dies annually; a family conſiſts of 8, and each houſe contains 24½ perſons. By comparing the number of births in every month at Paris, for forty years, he found that thoſe in which conception flouriſhed moſt were May, June, July, and Auguſt, and that the mortality for forty years was as follows:

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[*] *Requêt au Roi.* 8vo. 1787. p. 155. [†] *Arrêtés du Parlement de Grenoble* du 21, Aout 1787, *du Parlement de Toulouſe* du 27, & *du Parlement de Beſançon*, du 30.

[‡] *L'Ami des Hommes.* 1760. 5th edit. tom. iv. p. 184. [‖] The committee of *mendicité* aſſerts, that each family in France conſiſts of five, as each has three children. *Cinquieme Rapport*, p. 34.

Months.	Deaths.	Months.	Deaths.	Months.	Deaths.
March,	77,803	February,	66,789	October,	54,897
April,	76,815	December,	60,926	September,	54,339
May,	72,198	June,	58,272	November,	54,029
January,	69,166	July,	57,339	Auguſt,	52,479

It ſhould appear from this table, that the influence of the ſun is as important to human health as it is to vegetation. What pity that we have not ſimilar tables of cities in all the different latitudes and circumſtances of the globe.

At Clermont Terrand 1 in 38 dies annually.—At Carcaſſonne 1 in 22½.—At Valence 1 in 24½.—At Vitry le François 1 in 23½.—At Elbœuf 1 in 29½.—At Louviers 1 in 31½.—At Honfleur 1 in 24.—At Vernon 1 in 25.—At Giſors 1 in 29.—At Pont-au-de-Mer 1 in 33.—At Neufchatel 1 in 24½.—At Pont-l'Eveque 1 in 26.—At le Havre 1 in 35. Upon a compariſon in ſeven principal provinces of the kingdom, population in 60 years has augmented in the proportion of 211 to 196, or a thirteenth. General deduction;—that the number of people in France in 1764 was 23,909,400. Monſ. Moheau[*] gives to the beſt peopled provinces 1700 inhabitants per ſquare league; and to the worſt 500; the medium 872, at which rate he makes the total 23,500,000, and an increaſe of a ninth ſince 1688. The iſle of Oleron is peopled at the rate of 2886 per league, and that of Ré 4205. He alſo calculates that 1 in 36 dies, and 1 in 26 is born every year. Monſ. Necker, in his work *de l'Adminiſtration des Finances de la France*, has the following particulars, which it is alſo neceſſary to have in our attention:—Births in the whole kingdom per annum, on an average, of 1776, 77, 78, 79, and 80, were 963,207:—which, multiplied by 25¾, the proportion he fixes on, gives 24,802,580 inhabitants in France. He notices the groſs error of the *œconomiſtes*, in eſtimating the population of the kingdom at 15 or 16 millions.—A later authority, but given in whole numbers, and therefore not accurate, ſtates the population of the kingdom at 25,500,000, of which the clergy are ſuppoſed to be 80,000, the nobility 110,000, proteſtants 3,000,000, and Jews 30,000[†]: The committee of impoſts aſſert, that to multiply the births in the cities of France by 30, will give their population with ſufficient truth; but for the country not ſo high[‡]. The rule of 30 would make the population 28,896,210. But much later than all theſe authorities, the National Aſſembly has ordered ſuch inquiries to be made into the population of the kingdom, as have produced a much greater degree of accuracy than was ever approached before: this has been done by the returns of taxes, in which all perſons, not liable to be charged, are entered in what we ſhould call the duplicates; and as the directions for making theſe liſts are poſitive and explicit, and no advantage whatever reſults to the people by concealing their numbers, but, on the contrary, in many inſtances, they are favoured in taxation, by reaſon of the number of their children, we may ſurely conclude, that theſe returns are the ſafeſt guides to direct our calculations. Here follows the detail:

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[*] *Recher. ſur la Population de la France*. 8vo. 1778.

[†] *Bibliotheque de l'Homme publique*, par Meſſ. de Condorcet, Peyſonnel, & le Chapelier. tom. iii.

[‡] *Rapport de Comité d'Impoſ. ſur les Taxes*. p. 27.

Etat général de la Population du Teraume de France.

No.	*Noms des Départemens.*	*Population des villes & bourgs.*	*Pop. des villages & des Campagne.*	*Total de la population.*
1,	L'Ain, - -	42,300	251,566	293,866
2,	L'Aine, - -	86,800	305,253	392,053
3,	L'Allier, -	42,800	203,280	246,080
4,	Les Hautes Alpes,	29,500	151,833	181,333
5,	Des Baſſes Alpes,	38,060	180,606	218,666
6,	L'Ardeche, -	24,600	185,533	210,133
7,	Les Ardennes, -	62,100	113,260	175,360
8,	L'Arieges, -	31,400	139,266	170,666
9,	L'Aube, -	40,100	157,255	197,355
10,	L'Aude, -	48,400	203,120	251,520
11,	L'Aveyron, -	46,500	250,135	296,635
12,	Les bouches du Rhône	163,200	158,933	322,133
13,	Le Calvados, -	105,350	329,850	435,200
14,	Le Cantal, -	39,950	237,385	277,335
15,	La Charente, -	44,100	224,060	268,160
16,	La Charente Inférieure, -	89,120	279,306	368,426
17,	Le Cher, -	47,900	228,366	276,266
18,	La Correze, -	32,750	221,692	254,442
19,	La Corſe, -	—	—	132,266
20,	La Côté d'Or, -	59,350	367,983	427,333
21,	Les Côtes du Nord,	27,500	441,166	468,666
22,	La Creuſe, -	22,800	244,293	267,093
23,	La Dordogne, -	51,900	353,433	405,333
24,	Le Doubs, -	36,500	187,500	224,000
25,	La Drome, -	29,900	194,100	224,000
26,	L'Eure, -	76,600	323,400	400,000
27,	L'Eure et Loire, -	44,350	186,050	230,400
28,	Le Finiſtere, -	63,000	417,000	480,000
29,	Du Gard, -	100,700	124,900	225,600
30,	De la Haute Garonne,	71,600	182,053	253,653
31,	Du Gers, -	54,600	214,200	268,800
32,	La Gironde, -	200,000	408,000	608,000
33,	D'Hérault, -	108,700	155,833	264,533
34,	L'Ille et Villaine,	50,800	439,866	490,666
35,	L'Indre, -	50,650	219,750	270,400
36,	L'Indre et Loire,	82,500	267,366	349,866
37,	L'Iſere, -	33,700	269,873	303,573
38,	Du Jura, -	30,900	218,700	249,600
39,	Des Landes, -	36,500	209,700	246,200
40,	Loire et Cher, -	51,400	207,800	259,200
41,	La Haute Loire,	41,100	172,233	213,333
42,	La Loire Inférieure,	108,100	399,633	507,733
	Carry forward,	2,447,880	10,019,531	12,599,677
	Brought forward,	2,447,880	10,019,531	12,599,677
43,	Du l'Oriet, -	84,600	185,266	269,866
44,	Du Lot -	55,100	212,900	268,000
45,	Du Lot & Garonne,	39,200	262,666	308,666
46,	La Lozerre, -	19,400	176,226	195,626
47,	De Maine & Loire,	94,000	200,666	294,666
48,	La Manche, -	88,100	242,566	330,666
49,	La Marne, -	76,200	206,466	282,666
50,	La Haute Marne,	36,100	177,293	213,393
51,	La Mayenne, -	73,600	248,533	322,133
52,	La Meurte, -	65,900	314,366	380,266
53,	La Meuſe, -	58,100	194,166	252,266
54,	Le Morbihan, -	42,400	448,266	490,666
55,	La Mozelle, -	67,000	223,133	290,133
56,	La Nyevre, -	34,500	218,100	252,600
57,	Le Nord, -	168,800	399,733	568,533
58,	L'Oiſe, -	53,900	266,100	320,000
59,	L'Orne, -	57,800	328,333	386,133
60,	Du Paris, - -	556,800	168,533	725,333
61,	Le Pas de Calais,	79,600	507,066	586,666
62,	Le Puy de Dome,	82,550	322,783	405,333
63,	Les Hautes Pyrennées,	35,000	122,866	157,866
64,	Les Baſſes Pyrennées,	55,490	231,465	286,955
65,	Des Pyrenées Orientales, - -	31,100	131,033	162,133
66,	Le Haut Rhin, -	29,500	276,633	306,133
67,	Le Bas Rhin, -	90,500	272,366	362,666
68,	Le Rhone & Loire,	215,400	460,440	675,840
69,	La Haute Saone,	18,700	231,966	250,666
70,	Saone & Loire, -	60,100	342,033	402,133
71,	La Sarte, -	66,500	296,166	362,666
72,	Seine & Oiſe, -	105,900	214,100	320,000
73,	Le Seine Inférieure,	184,550	261,316	445,866
74,	La Seine & Marne,	52,300	293,300	345,600
75,	Des deux Sevres,	56,300	157,033	213,333
76,	La Somme, -	91,600	294,533	386,133
77,	Le Tarn, - -	51,900	171,500	230,400
78,	Le Var, - -	49,900	213,566	263,466
79,	La Vendée, -	34,900	191,233	226,133
80,	La Vienne, -	48,700	232,900	281,600
81,	La Haute Vienne,	41,300	140,033	181,333
82,	Les Voſges, -	28,200	291,800	320,000
83,	L'Yonne, -	72,900	366,566	439,466
	Total, -	5,709,270	10,521,538	26,363,074

Eſtimating the acres at 131,722,295, and the people as here detailed, we find that it makes, within a ſmall fraction, five acres a head. That proportion would be 131,815,270 acres. If England were equally well peopled, there ſhould be upon 46,915,933 acres rather more than 9,000,000 ſouls. And for our two iſlands, to equal France in this reſpect, there ſhould be in them 19,867,117 ſouls; inſtead of which there are not more than 15,000,000.

An obſervation, rather curious, may be made on this detail; it appears, that leſs than one-fourth of the people inhabit towns; a very remarkable circumſtance, becauſe it is commonly obſerved, and doubtleſs founded on certain facts, that in flouriſhing countries the half of a nation is found in towns. Many writers, I believe, have looked upon this as the proportion in England: in Holland, and in Lombardy, the richeſt countries in Europe, the ſame probably obtains. I am much inclined to connect this ſingular fact, relating to France, with that want of effect and ſucceſs in its agriculture, which I have remarked in almoſt every part of the kingdom; reſulting alſo from the extreme diviſion of the ſoil into little properties. It appears likewiſe, from this detail, that their towns are not conſiderable enough to give that animation and vigour to the induſtry of the country, which is beſt encouraged by the activity of the demand which cities afford for the products of agriculture. A more certain and unequivocal proof of the juſtice of my remarks, on the too great and miſchievous diviſion of landed property and farms in that kingdom could hardly have ariſen: and it yields the cleareſt conviction, that the progreſs of national improvement has been upon the whole but ſmall in France. The manufactures and commerce of the kingdom muſt have made a leſs advance than one would have conceived poſſible, not to have effected a proportion far different from this of a fifth. A really active induſtry, proportioned to the natural reſources of the kingdom, ſhould long ago have *purged the country* (to uſe an expreſſion of Sir James Stuart's), of thoſe ſuperfluous mouths,—I do not ſay hands; for they eat more than they work; and it is their want of employment that ought to drive them into towns.—Anther obſervation is ſuggeſted by this curious table of population: I have repeatedly, in the diary of my journey, remarked, that the near approach to Paris is a deſert compared with that to London; that the difference is infinitely greater than the difference of their population; and that the want of traffic, on the high roads, is found every where in the kingdom as well as at Paris. Now it deſerves notice, that the great reſort, which is every where obſervable on the high ways of England, flows from the number, ſize, and wealth of our towns, much more than from any other circumſtance. It is not the country, but towns that give the rapid circulation from one part of a kingdom to the other; and though, at firſt ſight, France may be thought to have the advantage in this reſpect, yet a nearer view of the ſubject will allow of no ſuch concluſion. In the following liſt, the Engliſh column has ſurely the advantage:

Engliſh.	French.	Engliſh.	French.
London,	Paris,	Mancheſter,	Rouen,
Dublin,	Lyons,	Birmingham,	Lille,
Edinburgh,	Bourdeaux,	Norwich,	Niſmes,
Liverpool,	Marſeilles,	Corke,	St. Malo,
Briſtol,	Nantes,	Glaſgow,	Bayonne,
Newcaſtle,	Havre,	Bath.	Verſailles.
Hull,	Rochelle,		

The vaſt ſuperiority of London and Dublin, to Paris and Lyons, renders the whole compariſon ridiculous. I believe London, without exaggeration, to be alone equal to Paris, Lyons, Bourdeaux, and Marſeilles, as appears by the liſts of population, and by the wealth and trade of all. But if we reflect, that the towns of England, &c. are portions of a population of 15 millions only, and thoſe of France parts of 26 millions, the compariſon ſhews at once the vaſtly greater activity there muſt be in one country than in the other *.

Of all the ſubjects of political œconomy, I know not one that has given riſe to ſuch a cloud of errors as this of population. It ſeems, for ſome centuries, to have been conſidered as the only ſure teſt of national proſperity. The politicians of thoſe times, and the majority of them in the preſent, have been of opinion, that, to enumerate the people, was the only ſtep neceſſary to be taken, in order to aſcertain the degree in which a country was flouriſhing. Two-and-twenty years ago, in my *Tour through the North of England*, 1769, I entered my caveat againſt ſuch a doctrine, and preſumed to aſſert, *that no nation is rich or powerful by means of mere numbers of people*; *it is the induſtrious alone that conſtitute a kingdom's ſtrength*; that aſſertion I repeated in my *Political Arithmetic* 1774; and in the ſecond part, 1779, under other combinations. About the ſame time a genius of a ſuperior caſt (Sir James Stuart), very much exceeded my weak efforts, and, with a maſterly hand, explained the principles of population. Long ſince that period, other writers have ariſen who have viewed the ſubject in its right light; and of theſe none have equalled Monſ. Herenſchwandt, who, in his *Economie Politique Moderne*, 1786; and his *Diſcours ſur la Diviſion des Terres* *, 1788, has almoſt exhauſted the ſubject. I ſhall not, however, omit to name the report of the committee of *mendicité* in the National Aſſembly. The following paſſage does the higheſt honour to their political diſcernment:—" C'eſt ainſi que malgré les aſſertions, ſans ceſſe répetées depuis vingtans, de tous les écrivains

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* What can be thought of thoſe marvellous politicians, the nobility of Dourdon, who call for entrées at the gates of the cities, not as a good mode of taxation, but to reſtrain the too great populouſneſs of cities, " which never takes place but by the depopulation of the country." *Cahier*, p. 20. The count de Mirabeau, in his *Monarchie Pruſſienne*, recurs often to the ſame idea.---He was groſsly erroneous, when he ſtated the ſubjects of the King of France as thrice more numerous than thoſe of England, if he meant by England, as we are to ſuppoſe, Scotland and Ireland alſo. tom. i. p. 402.

* See particularly p. 48, 51, &c.

politiques qui placent la proſperité d'un empire dans ſa plus grande population, une population exceſſive ſans un grand travail & ſans des productions abondantes, ſeroit au contraire une dévorante ſurcharche pour un etat ; car, il faudroit alors que cette exceſſive population partageat les benefices de celle qui, ſans elle, eût trouvé une ſubſiſtence ſuffiſante ; il faudroit que la même ſomme de travail fut abandonnée à une plus grande quantité de bras ; il faudroit enfin neceſſairement que le prix de ce travail baiſſat par la plus grande concurrence des travailleurs, d'on reſulteroit une indigence complette pour ceux qui ne trouveroient pas de travail, & une ſubſiſtance incomplette pour ceux-mêmes aux quels il ne ſeroit pas refuſé [*]."—France itſelf affords an irrefragable proof of the truth of theſe ſentiments ; for I am clearly of opinion, from the obſervations I made in every province of the kingdom, that her population is ſo much beyond the proportion of her induſtry and labour, that ſhe would be much more powerful, and infinitely more flouriſhing, if ſhe had five or ſix millions leſs of inhabitants. From her too great population, ſhe preſents, in every quarter, ſuch ſpectacles of wretchedneſs, as are abſolutely inconſiſtent with that degree of national felicity, which ſhe was capable of attaining even under her old government. A traveller, much leſs attentive than I was to objects of this kind, muſt ſee at every turn moſt unequivocal ſigns of diſtreſs. That theſe ſhould exiſt, no one can wonder who conſiders the price of labour, and of proviſions, and the miſery into which a ſmall riſe in the price of wheat throws the lower claſſes ; a miſery, that is ſure to increaſe itſelf by the alarm it excites, leſt ſubſiſtence ſhould be wanted. The cauſes of this great population were certainly not to be found in the benignity of the old government yielding a due protection to the lower claſſes, for, on the contrary, it abandoned them to the mercy of the privileged orders. It is fair, however, to obſerve, that there was nothing in the principles of the old government, ſo directly inimical to population, as to prevent its increaſe. Many croaking writers in France have repeatedly announced the depopulation of that kingdom, with pretty much the ſame truth and ingenuity that have been exerciſed on the ſame ſubject in England. Monſ. Necker, in a very ſenſible paſſage, gives a deciſive anſwer to them, which is at the ſame time thoroughly applicable to the ſtate of England, as well as to that of France [†]. Nor can the great population of France be attributed to the climate, for the tables of births and burials offer nothing more favourable in that kingdom, than in our own. And a much worſe climate in Holland and Flanders, and in ſome parts of Germany and Italy, is attended with a ſtill greater populouſneſs [‡]. Nor is it to be imputed to an extraordinary proſperity of manufactures, for our own are much more conſiderable, in proportion to the number of people in the two countries.

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[*] *Plan de Travail du Comité pour l'extinction de la Mendicité preſenté par M. de Liancourt.* 8vo. 1790. p. 6.

[†] De l'Adminiſt. des Finances. *Oeuvres.* 4to. Londres. p. 320.

[‡] A very ingenious Italian writer ſtates the people of France at 1290 ſouls per league ; and in Italy at 1335. *Fabbroni Reflexions ſur l'Agric.* p. 243.

This great populouſneſs of France I attribute very much to the diviſion of the lands into ſmall properties, which takes place in that country to a degree of which we have in England but little conception. Whatever promiſes the appearance even of ſubſiſtence, induces men to marry. The inheritance of ten or twelve acres to be divided amongſt the children of the proprietor, will be looked to with the views of a permanent ſettlement, and either occaſions a marriage, the infants of which die young for want of ſufficient nouriſhment *; or keeps children at home, diſtreſſing their relations, long after the time that they ſhould have emigrated to towns. In diſtricts that contain immenſe quantities of waſte land of a certain degree of fertility, as in the roots of the Pyrenees, belonging to communities ready to ſell them, œconomy and induſtry, animated with the views of ſettling and marrying, flouriſh greatly: in ſuch neighbourhoods ſomething like an American increaſe takes place; and, if the land be cheap, little diſtreſs is found. But as procreation goes on rapidly, under ſuch circumſtances, the leaſt check to ſubſiſtence is attended with great miſery; as waſtes becoming dearer, or the beſt portions being ſold, or difficulties ariſing in the acquiſition; all which caſes I met with in thoſe mountains. The moment any impediment happens, the diſtreſs of ſuch people will be proportioned to the activity and vigour which had animated population. It is obvious, that in the caſes here referred to, no diſtreſs occurs, if the manufactures and commerce of the diſtrict are ſo flouriſhing as to demand all this ſuperfluity of rural population as faſt as it ariſes; for that is preciſely the balance of employments which prevails in a well regulated ſociety; the country breeding people to ſupply the demand and conſumption of towns and manufactures. Population will, in every ſtate, increaſe perhaps too faſt for this demand. England is in this reſpect, from the unrivalled proſperity of her manufactures, in a better ſituation than any other country in Europe; but even in England population is ſometimes too active, as we ſee clearly by the dangerous increaſe of poor's rates in country villages; and her manufactures being employed very much for ſupplying foreign conſumption, they are often expoſed to *bad times*; to a ſlack demand, which turns thouſands out of employment, and ſends them to their pariſhes for ſupport. Since the concluſion of the American war, however, nothing of this kind has happened; and the ſeven years which have elapſed ſince that period, may be named as the moſt deciſively proſperous which England ever knew. It has been ſaid to me in France, Would you leave uncultivated lands waſte, rather than let them be cultivated in ſmall portions, through a fear of population?—I certainly would not: I would, on the contrary, encourage their culture; but I would prohibit the diviſion of ſmall farms, which is as miſchievous to cultivation, as it is ſure to be diſtreſſing to the people. The indiſcriminate praiſe of a great ſub-diviſion, which has found its way unhappily into the National Aſſembly, muſt have ariſen from a want of examination into facts: go to diſtricts where the properties are minutely divided, and you will find (at leaſt I have done it univerſally), great diſtreſs, and even miſery, and probably very bad agriculture. Go to others, where ſuch ſub-diviſion has not taken place, and you will find a better cultivation, and infinitely leſs miſery; and if you would ſee a diſtrict, with as little diſtreſs in it as is conſiſtent with the political ſyſtem of the old government of France, you muſt aſſuredly go where there are no little properties at all. You muſt viſit the great farms in Beauce, Picardy, part of Normandy, and Artois, and there you will find no more population than what is regularly employed and regularly paid; and if in ſuch diſtricts you ſhould, contrary to this rule, meet with much diſtreſs, it is twenty to one but that it is in a pariſh which has ſome commons that tempt the poor to have cattle—to have property—and, in conſequence, miſery. When you are engaged in this political tour, finiſh it by ſeeing England, and I will ſhew you a ſet of peaſants well cloathed, well nouriſhed, tolerably drunken from ſuperfluity, well lodged, and at their eaſe; and yet amongſt them, not one in a thouſand has either land or cattle. When you have viewed all this, go back to your tribune, and preach, if you pleaſe, in favour of a minute diviſion of landed property. There are two other groſs errors, in relation to this ſubject, that ſhould be mentioned; theſe are, the encouragements that are ſometimes given to marriage, and the idea of the importance of attracting foreigners. Neither of theſe is at all admiſſible on juſt principles, in ſuch a country as France. The predominant evil of the kingdom, is the having ſo great a population, that ſhe can neither employ, nor feed it: why then encourage marriage? would you breed more people, becauſe you have more already than you know what to do with? You have ſo great a competition for food, that your people are ſtarving or in miſery; and you would encourage the production of more to increaſe that competition. It may almoſt be queſtioned, whether the contrary policy ought not to be embraced? whether difficulties ſhould not be laid on the marriage of thoſe who cannot make it appear that they have a proſpect of maintaining the children that ſhall be the fruit of it? But why encourage marriages which are ſure to take place in all ſituations in which they ought to take place?—There is no inſtance to be found of plenty of regular employment being firſt eſtabliſhed, where marriages have not followed in a proportionate degree. The policy, therefore, at beſt, is uſeleſs, and may be pernicious. Nor is the attraction of foreigners deſirable in ſuch a kingdom as France. It does not ſeem reaſonable to have a peaſantry half-ſtarved for want of employment, ariſing from a too great populouſneſs; and yet, at the ſame time, to import foreigners, to increaſe the competition for employment and bread, which are inſufficient for the preſent population of the kingdom. This muſt be the effect, if the new comers be induſtrious; if they belong to the higher claſſes, their emigration from home muſt be very inſignificant, and by no means an object of true policy; they muſt leave their own country, not in conſequence of encouragement given in another, but from ſome ſtrokes of ill policy at home. Such inſtances are indeed out of the common courſe of events, like the perſecutions of a duke d'Alva, or the revocation of the edict of Nantes. It is the duty of every country, to open its arms, through mere humanity, to receive ſuch fugitives; and the advantages derived from receiving them may be very conſiderable, as was the caſe with England. But this is not the kind of emigrations to which I would allude, but rather to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch colonies as the King of Spain's, in the Sierra Morena. German beggars were imported, at an immenſe expence, and ſupplied with every thing neceſſary to eſtabliſh little farms in thoſe deſerts; whilſt at the ſame time, every town in Spain ſwarmed with multitudes of idle and poor vagrants, who owed their ſupport to biſhops and convents. Suppreſs gradually this blind and indiſcriminate charity, the parent of infinite abuſe and miſery, and at the ſame time give ſimilar employments to your own poor; by means of this policy, you will want no foreigners; and you may ſettle ten Spaniſh families for the expence of one German. It is very common to hear of the want of population in Spain, and ſome other countries; but ſuch ideas are uſually the reſult of ignorance, ſince all ill governed countries are commonly too populous. Spain, from the happineſs of its climate, is greatly ſo, notwithſtanding the apparent ſcarcity of inhabitants; for, as it has been ſhewn above, that country which has more people than it can maintain by induſtry, who muſt either ſtarve, or remain a dead weight on the charity of others, is manifeſtly too populous[*]; and Spain is perhaps the beſt peopled country in Europe, in proportion to its induſtry. When the great evil is having more people than there is wiſdom, in the political inſtitutes of a country to govern, the remedy is not by attracting foreigners—*it lies much nearer home*.

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* Monſ. Necker, in the ſame ſection as that quoted above, remarks this to be the caſe in France; and juſtly obſerves, that the population of ſuch a country being compoſed of too great a proportion of infants, a million of people implies neither the force nor labour of a million in countries otherwiſe conſtituted.

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[*] An Italian author, with whom I bad the pleaſure of converſing at Turin, juſtly obſerves, "Quanto la popolazione proporzionata ai prodotti della natura e dell' arte è vantaggioſa ad una nazione, altrettanto è nociva una popolazione ſoverchia." *L'Abbate Vaſco, Riſpoſta al queſito propoſto dalla Reale Accad. delle Scienze,* &c. 8vo. 1788. p. 85.

CONSUMPTION

CONSUMPTION.

Twenty Years Conſumption at Paris, of Oxen, Calves, Sheep, and Hogs, as entered in the Books of the Entrées.

Years.	Oxen.	Calves.	Sheep.	Hogs.	Years.	Oxen.	Calves.	Sheep.	Hogs.
1767,	68,763	106,579	358,577	37,899	1777,	71,755	104,600	343,300	35,823
68,	69,985	112,949	344,320	32,299	78,	73,606	107,292	328,868	36,204
69,	66,586	111,608	333,916	36,186	79,	73,468	99,952	324,028	38,211
70,	66,818	110,578	335,013	36,712	80,	71,488	104,825	308,043	41,419
71,	65,360	107,598	314,124	30,753	81,	70,484	99,533	317,681	41,205
72,	63,390	101,791	293,946	28,610	82,	72,107	100,706	316,563	44,772
73,	65,324	99,749	309,137	29,391	83,	71,042	98,478	321,627	39,177
74,	68,025	103,247	309,573	30,032	84,	72,984	100,112	327,034	39,621
75,	68,306	109,235	309,662	32,722	85,	73,846	94,727	332,628	28,697
76,	71,208	102,291	328,505	37,740	86,	73,088	89,575	328,699	39,572

Average.—Oxen, 69,883. Calves, 103,271. Sheep, 323,762. Hogs, 36,332.

Theſe are the quantities for which duties are paid; but it is calculated by the officers of the cuſtoms, that what enters contraband, and for which nothing is paid, amounts to one-ſixth of the whole*.

The conſumption of flour is 1500 ſacks per diem, each weighing 320 lb. requiring nine ſeptiers of corn to yield four of thoſe ſacks, or 3375 ſeptiers per diem. This is, per annum, 1,231,875 ſeptiers; the French political arithmeticians agree in calculating the conſumption of their people per head, at three ſeptiers for the whole kingdom on an average; but this will not lead us to the population of the capital, as the immenſe conſumption of meat in it muſt evidently reduce conſiderably that proportion. It may probably be eſtimated at two ſeptiers, which will make the population 615,937 ſouls. Monſ. Necker's account of the population was 660,000. The enumeration in 1790 made the numbers no more than 550,800; and there are abundant reaſons for believing the aſſertion, that this capital was diminiſhed by the revolution in that proportion at leaſt. This point is, however, aſcertained by the conſumption, which is now 1350 ſacks a day, or reduced one-tenth, which, at two ſeptiers of corn, implies a population of 554,344; and as this comes within 2000 of the actual enumeration, it proves that two ſeptiers a head is an accurate eſtimate; and though it does not perfectly agree with Monſ. Necker's account of the former population of Paris, yet it is much nearer to it than the calculations made to correct that account, by Dr. Price, and by the very able and ingenious political arithmetician, Mr. Howlet. As the late enumeration ſhews the population of Paris to have been (proportionably to the conſumption of corn) 615,937 ſouls, when its births amounted to 20,550, this fact confirms the general calculation in France, that the births in a great city are to be multiplied by 30; for the above-mentioned number, ſo multiplied, gives 616,500, which comes ſo near the truth, that the difference is not worth correcting. M. Necker's multiplier is confirmed clearly; and the event, which gives to France a population of 26,000,000, has proved, that Dr. Price, who calculated them at above 30,000,000, was as groſſly miſtaken in his exaggeration of French populouſneſs, as Mr. Howlet has ſhewn him to be in his diminution of that of England. It ſeems indeed to have been the fate of that calculator to have been equally refuted upon almoſt every political ſubject he handled; the miſchief of incloſures—the depopulation of England—the populouſneſs of France—and the denunciation of ruin he pronounced ſo authoritatively againſt a variety of annuitant ſocieties, that have flouriſhed almoſt in proportion to the diſtreſſes he aſſigned them. The conſumption of wine at Paris, on an average of the laſt twenty years, has been from 230,000 to 260,000 muids per annum; average, 245,000. In 1789 it ſunk rather more than 50,000 muids, by ſmuggling, during the confuſions of that period. In 245,000 muids there are 70,560,000 Paris pints, or Engliſh quarts, which makes the daily conſumption 193,315 quarts; and if to this, according to the computation of the *commis* of the barriers, one-ſixth is to be added for ſmuggling, it makes 225,534, which is one-third of a quart, and one-tenth of that third per head per diem. The conſumption of meat is very difficult to be calculated, becauſe the weight of the beaſts is not noted; I can gueſs at it only, and therefore the reader will pay no other attention to what follows than to a mere conjecture. I viewed many hundreds of the oxen, at different times, and eſtimate the average of thoſe I ſaw at ſixty ſtone; but as there are doubtleſs many others ſmaller, let us calculate at 50 or 700 lb. and let us drop ſmuggling in theſe caſes, ſince though it may, on the whole, be one-ſixth yet it cannot be any thing like that in theſe commodities; the calves at 120lb. the ſheep at 60lb. and the hogs at 100lb.

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* To ſome it may appear ſtrange, how ſuch a commodity, as live oxen, can be ſmuggled in great quantities; but the means of doing it are numerous; one was diſcovered, and many more of the ſame ſort are ſuppoſed to exiſt undiſcovered: a ſubterraneous paſſage was pierced under the wall, going from a court-yard without the wall, to a butcher's yard within; and whole droves of oxen, &c. entered by it in the night for a long time, before it was known. The officers of the barriers are convinced, that, on an average of commodities, one-ſixth is ſmuggled.

Oxen,	- -	69,883,	at 700 lb.	48,918,100 lb.
Calves,	- -	103,271,	at 120	12,392,520
Sheep,	- -	323,762,	at 60	19,425,720
Hogs,	- -	36,332,	at 100	3,633,200
Total[*],	- - - -			84,369,540

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[*] Long ſince this was written, I received Monſ. Lavoiſier's *Reſultats d'un ouvrage*, 1791, in which he gives a table of the Paris conſumption; but I do not know on what authority, for the weight per head he makes the total of all meats 82,300,000 lb.

This quantity divided amongſt a population of 615,937, gives to each perſon 136 lb. of meat for his annual conſumption, or above one-third of a pound per diem. During the ſame twenty years, the conſumption of London was, on an average, per annum, 92,539 oxen, and 649,369 ſheep [*]. Theſe oxen probably weighed 840 lb. each, and the ſheep 100 lb.; which two articles only, without calves or hogs, make 142,669,660; yet theſe quantities do not nearly contain the whole number brought to London, which, for want of ſuch taxes as at Paris, can be diſcovered with no certainty. The conſumption of Breſt is regiſtered for the year 1778, when 22,000 people, in 1900 houſes, conſumed 82,000 boiſeau, each 150 lb. of corn of all ſorts; 16,000 bariques of wine and brandy, and 1000 of cyder and beer [†]. This conſumption amounted to per head—corn 2⅓ ſeptiers, of 240 lb. per annum;—wine, brandy, beer, and cyder, one-third of a quart per head per diem. Nancy, in 1733, when it contained 19,645 ſouls, conſumed,

Oxen, 2402.—Calves, 9073.—Sheep, 11,863.——Total, 23,338.

It conſumed, therefore, more than one of theſe pieces per head of its population. In 1738, when it contained 19,831 ſouls, it conſumed,

Oxen, 2309.—Calves, 5038.—Sheep, 9549.——Total, 16,896 [‡].

Above three-fourths each. The conſumption of Paris is three-fourths of one of theſe beaſts per head of population. As the fineſt cattle in the kingdom are ſent to the capital, the proportions in number ought to be leſs; but the wealth of that capital would have juſtified the ſuppoſition of a ſtill greater comparative conſumption.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Police of Corn in France.

OF all ſubjects, there is none comparable to the police of corn, for diſplaying the folly to which men can arrive, who do not betray a want of common ſenſe in reaſoning on other topics. One tells us (I confine myſelf chiefly to French authorities, engaged as I am at preſent in reſearches in that kingdom), that the price is in exact proportion to the quantity of corn, and to the quantity of money at the ſame time in the kingdom [‖]; and that when wheat ſells at 36 liv. the ſeptier, it is a proof there is not half enough to laſt till harveſt [§].—

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[*] *Report of the Com. of the Court of Common Council.* 1786. Folio. p. 75.

[†] *Encyclop. Methodique Marine*, t. i. part 1. p. 198.

[‡] *Deſcrip. de la Lorraine*, par M. Durival. 3 tom. 4to. 1778. t. ii. p. 5.

[‖] *Conſid. ſur la Cherté des Grains, par M. Vaudrey.* 1789. 8vo. p. 5.

[§] Ib. p. 7, 8, 19.

He propoſes to have magazines in every market, and to prohibit, under ſevere penalties, a higher price than 24 liv. This would be the infallible method to have it very ſoon at 50, and perhaps 100 liv. That the price of corn does not depend on the quantity of money, is proved by the ſudden riſe proceeding from alarms, of which this author might have known an inſtance in the year he printed; for Monſ. Necker's memoir to the National Aſſembly was no ſooner diſperſed, than the price roſe in one week 30 per cent.; yet the quantity in the kingdom, both of money and corn, remained juſt as before that memoir was publiſhed. But it has already been ſufficiently proved, that a very ſmall deficiency of the crop will make an enormous difference in the price. I may add, that the mere apprehenſion of a deficiency, whether ill or well founded, will have the ſame effect. From this circumſtance, I draw a concluſion of no trifling import to all governments; and that is, never to expreſs publicly any apprehenſion of a want of corn; and the only method by which governments can expreſs their fears, is by proclamations againſt export; prohibitions; ordonances of regulation of ſale; arrets, or laws againſt monopolizers; or vain and frivolous boaſts, like thoſe of Monſ. Necker, of making great imports from abroad—all theſe meaſures have the ſame tendency; they confirm amongſt the people the apprehenſion of want; for when it is found, amongſt the loweſt orders, that government is alarmed as well as they themſelves, their own fears augment; they riſe in a rage againſt monopolizers, or ſpeculators, as they ought rather to be called, and then every ſtep they take has the never-failing effect of increaſing the evil; the price riſes ſtill higher, as it muſt do inevitably, when ſuch furious obſtructions are thrown on the interior trade in corn, as to make it a matter of great and ſerious danger to have any thing to do with it. In ſuch a ſituation of madneſs and folly in the people, the plenty of one diſtrict cannot ſupply the want of another, without ſuch a monſtrous premium, as ſhall not only pay the expence of tranſport, but inſure the corn, when lodged in granaries, againſt the blind and violent ſuſpicions of the people. To raiſe this ſpirit, nothing more is neceſſary than for government to iſſue any decree whatever that diſcovers an alarm; the people immediately are apprehenſive of famine; and this can never take place without creating it in a great meaſure. It is therefore the duty of a wiſe and enlightened government, if at any time they ſhould fear a ſhort proviſion of corn, to take the moſt private and cautious meaſures poſſible, either to prevent export, or to encourage import, and to avoid making any public decree or declaration. The hiſtory of corn, in France, during the year 1789, was a moſt extraordinary proof of the juſtneſs of theſe principles. Wherever I paſſed, and it was through many provinces, I made inquiries into the cauſes of the ſcarcity; and was every where aſſured, that the dearneſs was the moſt extraordinary circumſtance in the world; for, though the crop had not been great, yet it was about an average one; and conſequently, that the deficiency muſt certainly have been occaſioned by exportation. I demanded, if they were ſure that an exportation had taken place?—They replied, no; but that it might have been done privately; this anſwer ſufficiently ſhewed, that theſe exports were purely ideal. The dearneſs, however, prevailed to ſuch a degree, in May and June particularly (not without being fomented by men who ſought to blow the diſcontents of the people into abſolute outrage), that Monſ. Necker thought it right not only to order immenſe cargoes of wheat, and every other ſort of corn, to be bought up all over Europe, but likewiſe, in June, to announce to the public, with great parade, the ſteps that he had taken, in a paper called *Mémoire inſtructif*, in which he ſtated, that he had bought, and ordered to be bought, 1,404,463 quintaux of different ſorts of grain, of which more than 800,000 were arrived. I was a perſonal witneſs, in many markets, of the effect of this publication; inſtead of ſinking the price, it raiſed it directly, and enormouſly. Upon one market-day, at Nangis, from 38 liv. to 43 liv. the ſeptier of 240 lb.; and upon the following one to 49 liv. which was July 1ſt; and on the next day, at Columiers, it was taxed by the police at 4 liv. 5 *ſ.* and 4 liv. 6 *ſ.* the 25 lb.; but as the farmers would not bring it to market at that price, they ſold it at their farms at 5½ liv. and even 6 liv. or 57 liv. the ſeptier. At Nangis it advanced, in 14 days, 11 liv. a ſeptier; and at Columiers a great deal more. Now, it is to be obſerved, that theſe markets are in the vicinity of the capital, for which Monſ. Necker's great foreign proviſion was chiefly deſigned; and conſequently, if his meaſures would have had any where a good effect, it might have been expected here; but ſince the contrary happened, and the price, in two markets, was raiſed 25 per cent. we may reaſonably conclude, that it did good no where; yet, as appeared to the *Comptes Rendus*, this fine meaſure coſt 40 millions of livres. But to what was this apparent ſcarcity imputable? Abſolutely to Monſ. Necker's having ſaid, in his memoir, "*à mon arivée dans la miniſtere je me hâtai de prendre des informations ſur le produit de la récolte & ſur les beſoins des pays étrangers* *. It was from theſe unſeaſonable inquiries, in

September

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* He has introduced a tiſſue of the ſame ſtuff in his *Memoir ſur L'Adminiſtration de M. Necker, par lui même*, p. 367, where he ſays, with the true ignorance of the prohibitory ſyſtem, "Mon ſyſtême ſur l'exportation des grains eſt infiniment ſimple, ainſi que j'ai en ſouvent l'occaſion de le developper; il ſe borne à n'en avoir aucun d'immuable, mais à défendre ou permettre cette exportation ſelon le temps & ſelon les circonſtances." When a man ſtarts upon a rotten foundation, he is ſure to flounder in this manner; the ſimplicity of a ſyſtem to be new-moulded every moment, "ſelon le temps & ſelon les circonſtances!" And who is to judge of theſe ſeaſons and circumſtances? A miniſter? A government? Theſe, it ſeems, are to promulgate laws, in conſequence of their having *made inquiries into the ſtate of crops and ſtocks on hand.* What preſumption; what an exceſs of vanity muſt it be, which impels a man to ſuppoſe, that the truth is within the verge of ſuch inquiries; or,

that

September 1788, that all the miſchief was derived. They pervaded the whole kingdom, and ſpread an univerſal alarm; the price in conſequence aroſe; and when once it riſes in France, miſchief immediately follows, becauſe the populace, by their violence, render the internal trade inſecure and dangerous. The buſineſs of the miniſter was done in a moment; his conſummate vanity, which, from having been confined to his character as an author, now became the ſcourge of the kingdom, prohibited the export for no other reaſon, than becauſe the archbiſhop of Sens had the year before allowed it, in contradiction to that maſs of errors and prejudices which M. Necker's book upon the corn trade had diſſeminated. It is curious to ſee him, in his *Memoire inſtructif*, aſſerting, that France, in 1787, *etoit livrée au commerce des grains dans tout le royaume, avec plus d'activité, que jamais & l'on avoit envoye dans l'etranger une quantité conſiderable de grains*. Now, to ſee the invidious manner in which this is put, let us turn to the regiſter of the *Bureau General de la balance du Commerce*, where we ſhall find the following ſtatement of the corn-trade for 1787:

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that he is one line, one point nearer to it, after he has made them than before he began. Go to the Intendant in France, or to the Lord Lieutenant in England, and ſuppoſe him to receive a letter from government directing ſuch inquiries;---purſue the intelligence,---follow him to his table for converſation on crops,---or in his rides among the farmers (an idea that may obtain in England, but never was ſuch a ride taken by an Intendant in France) in order to make inquiries; mark the deſultory, broken, and falſe ſpecimens of the intelligence he receives,---and then recur to the *ſimplicity* of the ſyſtem that is to be founded on ſuch inquiries. Monſ. Necker writes as if we were ignorant of the ſources of his information. He ought to have known, that miniſters can never procure it; and that they cannot be ſo good an authority for a whole kingdom, as a country gentleman, ſkilled in agriculture, is for his own pariſh; yet what gentleman would preſume to pronounce upon a crop to the 360th part of its amount, or even to the 20th? But it muſt be obſerved, that all Monſ. Necker's *ſimple* operations, which cauſed an unlimited import, at an unlimited expence, affected not one 200th part of a year's conſumption by the people, whoſe welfare he took upon him to ſuperintend. If this plain fact---the undoubted ignorance of every man what the crop is, or has been, in ſuch fractions as $\frac{1}{20}$, $\frac{1}{30}$, $\frac{1}{40}$, and much more $\frac{1}{200}$, be well conſidered, it will ſurely follow, that an abſolute and unbounded liberty in the corn trade is infinitely more likely to have effect, than ſuch paltry, deceitful, and falſe inquiries as this miniſter, with his ſyſtem of complex *ſimplicity*, was forced, according to his own account, to rely upon. Let the reader purſue the paſſage, p. 369, the *prévoyance* of government---*application*---*hâter le mouvement du commerce*---*attrait prochain*---*calculs*. A pretty ſupport for a great nation! Their ſubſiſtence is to depend on the combination of a viſionary declaimer, rather than on the induſtry and energy of THEIR OWN exertions. Monſ. Necker's performance deſerves an attentive peruſal, eſpecially when he paints ſo pathetically the anxieties he ſuffered on account of the want of corn. I wiſh that thoſe who read it would only carry in their minds this undoubted fact, that the ſcarcity which occaſioned thoſe inquietudes was abſolutely and ſolely of his own creating; and that if he had not been miniſter in France, and that government had taken no ſtep whatever in this affair, there would not have been ſuch a word as ſcarcity heard in the kingdom. He converted, by his management, an ordinarily ſhort crop into a ſcarcity; and he made that ſcarcity a famine; to remedy which, he aſſumes ſo much merit, as to nauſeate a common reader.

Imports.

Imports.		*Exports.*	
Wheat,	8,116,000 liv.	Corn,	3,165,600 liv.
Rice,	2,040,000	Wheat,	6,559,900
Barley,	375,000	Legumes,	949,200
Legumes,	945,000		
	11,476,000		10,674,700

This account ſhews pretty clearly how well founded the miniſter was, when he attempted to throw on the wiſe meaſures of his predeceſſor the miſchiefs which aroſe from his own pernicious prejudices alone; and how the liberty of commerce, which had taken place moſt advantageouſly in conſequence of the free trade in 1787, had been more an import trade than an export one; and, of courſe, it ſhews, that when he adviſed his ſovereign to prohibit that trade, he acted directly contrary even to his own principles; and he did this at the hazard of raiſing a general alarm in the kingdom, which is always of worſe conſequence than any poſſible export. His whole conduct, therefore, was one continued ſeries of ſuch errors, as can, in a ſenſible man, be attributed only to the predominant vanity that inſtigated him to hazard the welfare of a great nation to defend a treatiſe of his own compoſition. But as this miniſter thought proper to change the ſyſtem of a natural export and import; and to ſpread, by his meaſures, an alarm amongſt the people, that ſeemed to confirm their own apprehenſions, let us next examine what he did to cure the evils he had thus created. He imported, at the enormous expence of 45,543,697 liv. (about 2,000,000 ſterling) the quantity of 1,404,463 quintaux of corn of all ſorts, which, at 240 lb. make 585,192 ſeptiers, ſufficient to feed no more than 195,064 people a year. At three ſeptiers per head, for the population of 26 millions of mouths, this ſupply, thus egregiouſly boaſted of, would not, by 55,908 ſeptiers, feed France even for three days; for her daily conſumption is 213,700 ſeptiers: nor have I the leaſt doubt of more perſons dying of famine, in conſequence of his meaſures, than all the corn he procured would feed for a year*. So abſolutely contemptible is all importation as a remedy for famine! and ſo utterly ridiculous is the idea of preventing your own people from being ſtarved, by allowing an import, which, in its greateſt and moſt forced quantities, bears ſo trifling a proportion to the conſumption of a whole people, even when bribed, rather than bought from every country in Europe! But a concluſion of much greater importance is to be deduced from theſe curious facts, in the moſt explicit confirmation of the preceding principles, that all *great* variations in the price of corn are engendered by apprehenſion, and do not depend on the quantity in the markets. The report of Monſ. Necker's meaſures, we have found, did not ſink, but raiſed the price: providing France with leſs than three days bread, when blazed forth with all the apparatus of government, actually RAISED the price in the markets, where I was a witneſs, 25 per cent. Of what poſſible conſequence was three days proviſion added to the national ſtock, when compared with the miſery and famine implied—and which actually took place in conſequence of puſhing the price up ſo enormouſly, by Monſ. Necker's meaſures? Would it not have been infinitely wiſer never to have ſtopped the trade, which I have proved to have been a trade of import?—Never to have expreſſed any ſolicitude?—Never to have taken any public ſteps, but to have let the demand and ſupply quietly meet, without noiſe and without parade? The conſequence would have been, ſaving 45 millions of the public money, and the lives of ſome hundred thouſands, ſtarved by the high price that was created, even without a ſcarcity; for I am firmly perſuaded, that if no public ſtep whatever had been taken, and the archbiſhop of Sens' edict never repealed, the price of wheat in no part of France would have ſeen, in 1789, ſo high a rate as 30 liv. inſtead of riſing to 50 and 57 liv. If there is any truth in theſe principles, what are we to think of the firſt miniſter hunting after a little popularity, and boaſting, in his *Memoire*, that the King allowed only bread of wheat and rye mixed to be ſerved at his own table? What were the concluſions to be looked for in the people, but that if ſuch were the extremities to which France was reduced, all were in danger of death for want of bread. The conſequence is palpable:—a blind rage againſt monopolizers, hanging bakers, ſeizing barges, and ſetting fire to magazines; and the inevitable effect of a ſudden and enormous riſe in the price, wherever ſuch meaſures are precipitated by the populace, who never are truly active but in their own deſtruction. It was the ſame ſpirit that dictated the following paſſage, in that *Memoire inſtructif*, "Les accaparemens ſont la premiere cauſe à la quelle la multitude attribue la cherté des grains, & en effet on a ſouvent eu lieu de ſe plaindre de la cupidité des ſpeculateurs *." I cannot read theſe lines, which are as untrue in fact as erroneous in argument, without indignation. The multitude NEVER have to complain of ſpeculators; they are ALWAYS greatly indebted to them. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS MONOPOLIZING CORN BUT TO THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE †. And all the evils of the year 1789 would have been prevented, if monopolizers, by raiſing the price in the preceding autumn, and by leſſening the conſumption, had divided the ſupply more equally through the year. In a country like France, ſub-divided miſchievouſly into little farms, the quantity of corn in the markets in autumn is always beyond the proportion reſerved for ſupplying the reſt of the year: of this evil, the beſt remedy is, enlarging the ſize of farms; but when this does

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* At a moment when there was a great ſtagnation in every ſort of employment, a high price of bread, inſtead of a moderate one, muſt have deſtroyed many; there was no doubt of great numbers dying for want in every part of the kingdom.

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* This is pretty much like his ſending a memoir to the National Aſſembly, which was read October 24, in which the miniſters ſay, "Il eſt donc urgent de défendre de plus en plus l'exportation en France; mais il eſt difficile de veiller à cette prohibition. Ou a fait placer des cordons de troupes ſur les frontieres à cette effet." *Journal des Etats Généraux*, tom. v. p. 194. Every expreſſion of this nature becoming public, tended to inflame the people, and conſequently to raiſe the price.

† I am much inclined to believe, that no ſort of monopoly ever was, or ever can be injurious, without the aſſiſtance of government; and that government never tends in the leaſt to favour a monopoly

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nopoly without doing infinite miſchief. We have heard in England of attempts to monopolize hemp, allum, cotton, and many other articles; ill-conceived ſpeculations, that always ended in the ruin of the ſchemers, and eventually did good, as I could ſhew, if this were the proper place. But to monopolize any article of common and daily ſupply and conſumption to a miſchievous degree, is abſolutely impoſſible: to buy large quantities, at the cheapeſt ſeaſon of the year, in order to hoard and bring them out at the very deareſt moment, is the idea of a monopolizer or *accapareur*: this is, of all other tranſactions, the moſt beneficial towards an equal ſupply. The wheat which ſuch a man buys is cheap, or he would not buy it with a view to profit: What does he then? He takes *from* the market a portion, when the ſupply is large; and he brings that portion *to* the market when the ſupply is ſmall; and for doing this you hang him as an enemy. Why? Becauſe he has made a private profit, perhaps a very great one, by coming in between the farmer and the conſumer. What ſhould induce him to carry on his buſineſs, except the deſire of profit? But the benefit of the people is exactly in proportion to the greatneſs of that profit, ſince it ariſes directly from the low price of corn at one ſeaſon, and the dearneſs of it at another. Moſt clearly any trade which tends to level this inequality is advantageous in proportion as it effects it. By buying great quantities when cheap, the price is raiſed, and the *conſumption forced to be more ſparing:* this circumſtance can alone ſave the people from famine; if, when the crop is ſcanty, the people conſume plentifully in autumn, they muſt inevitably ſtarve in ſummer; and they certainly will conſume plentifully if corn is cheap. Government cannot ſtep in and ſay, you ſhall now eat half a pound of bread only, that you may not by-and-by be put to half an ounce. Government cannot do this without erecting granaries, which we know, by the experience of all Europe, is a moſt pernicious ſyſtem, and done at an expence which, if laid out in premiums, encouraging cultivation, would convert deſerts into fruitful corn-fields. But private monopolizers can and do effect it; for by their purchaſes in cheap months they raiſe the price, and exactly in that proportion leſſen the conſumption; this is the great object, for nothing elſe can make a ſhort crop hold out through the year; when once this is effected, the people are ſafe; they may pay very dear afterwards, but the corn will be forth coming, and they will have it though at a high price. But reverſe the medal, and ſuppoſe no monopolizers; in ſuch a caſe, the cheapneſs in autumn continuing, the free conſumption would continue with it; and an undue portion being eaten in winter, the ſummer would come without its ſupply: this was manifeſtly the hiſtory of 1789; the people enraged at the idea of monopolizers, not at their real exiſtence (for the nation was ſtarving for want of them), hung the miſerable dealers, on the idea of their having done what they were utterly unable to do. Thus, with ſuch a ſyſtem of ſmall farms as empty the whole crop into the markets in autumn, and make no reſerve for ſummer, there is no poſſible remedy, but many and great monopolizers, who are beneficial to the public exactly in proportion to their profits. But in a country like England, divided into large farms, ſuch corn dealers are not equally wanted; the farmers are rich enough to wait for their returns, and keep a due reſerve in ſtacks to be threſhed in ſummer; the beſt of all methods of keeping corn, and the only one in which it receives *no* damage.

not take place, the dealings of monopolizers are the only reſource. They buy when corn is cheap, in order *to hoard it* till it is dear; this is their ſpeculation, and it is preciſely the conduct that keeps the people from ſtarving; all imaginable encouragement ſhould be given to ſuch merchants, whoſe buſineſs anſwers every purpoſe of public granaries, without any of the evils that are ſure to flow from them [*]. It may eaſily be conceived, that in a country where the people live almoſt entirely on bread, and the blind proceedings of mobs are encouraged by arrets of parliaments, ſeconded by ſuch blunders of government as I have deſcribed, and unaided by the beneficial exiſtence of real monopolizers; it may eaſily be conceived, I ſay, that the ſupply muſt be irregular, and in many inſtances inſufficient: it muſt be inſufficient, exactly in proportion to the violence of the populace; and a very high price will be the unavoidable conſequence, whatever may be the quantity in the kingdom. In June and July 1789, the markets were not opened, before troops arrived to protect the farmers from having their corn ſeized; and the magiſtrates, to avoid inſurrections among the people, ſet the aſſize too low upon corn, bread, and butcher's meat; that is, they fixed the prices at which they were to be ſold, which is a moſt pernicious regulation. The farmers, in conſequence, refrained from going to market, in order to ſell their wheat at home at the beſt price they could get, which was of courſe much higher than the aſſize of the markets. How well theſe principles, which ſuch ample experience proves to be juſt, are underſtood in France, may be collected from the *cahiers*, many of which demand meaſures which, if really purſued, would ſpread abſolute famine through every province in the kingdom. It is demanded at one place, "that as France is expoſed to the rigours of famine, every farmer ſhould be obliged to regiſter his crop of every kind, gerbs, bottes, muids, &c.; and alſo every month the quantity ſold [†]." Another requires, "that export be ſeverely prohibited, as well as the circulation from province to province; and that importation be always allowed [‡]." A third [‖], "that the ſevereſt laws be paſſed againſt monopolizers; a circumſtance, which at preſent deſolates the kingdom." A ſyſtem of prohibition of export is demanded by no leſs than twelve *cahiers* [§]. And fifteen demand the erection of public magazines.

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[*] Well has it been obſerved by a modern writer, "Lorſque les récoltes manquent en quelque lieu d'un grand empire, les travaux du reſte de ſes provinces étant payés d'une heurufe fécondité ſuffiſent à la conſommation de la totalité. Sans ſollicitude de la part du gouvernement, ſans magazins publics, par le ſeul effet d'une communication libre & facile on n'y connoit ni diſette in grande cherté. *Theorie du Luxe*, tom. i. p. 5.

[†] *Tier Etat de Meudon*, p. 36.

[‡] *Tier Etat de Paris*, p. 43.

[‖] *Tier Etat de Reims*, art. 110.

[§] *Nob. de Queſnoy*, p. 24. *Nob. de St. Quentin*, p. 9. *Nob. de Lille*, p. 20. *T. Etat de Reims*, p. 20. *T. Etat de Rouen*, p. 43. *T. Etat de Dunkerque*, p. 15. *T. Etat de Metz*, p. 46. *Clergé de Rouen*, p. 24. *T. Etat de Rennes*, p. 65. *T. Etat de Valenciennes*, p. 12. *T. Etat de Troyes*, art. 96. *T. Etat de Deurdon*, art. 3.

zines[*]. Of all ſoleciſms, none ever equalled Paris demanding that the tranſport of corn from province to province ſhould be prohibited. Such a requeſt is really edifying, by offering to the attention of the philoſophical obſerver, mankind under a new feature, worthy of the knowledge and intelligence that ought to reign in the capital of a great empire; and Monſ. Necker was exactly ſuited to be miniſter in the corn department of ſuch a city!—The concluſions to be drawn from the whole buſineſs, are evident enough. There is but one policy which can ſecure a ſupply with entire ſafety to a kingdom ſo populous and ſo ill[†] cultivated as France, with ſo large a portion of its territory under wood and vines; the policy I mean is an entire and abſolute liberty of export and import at all times, and at all prices, to be perſiſted in with the ſame unremitted firmneſs, that has not only reſcued Tuſcany from the jaws of periodical famines, but has given her eighteen years of plenty, without the intervention of a moment's want. A great and important experiment! and if it has anſwered in ſuch a mountainous, and, on compariſon with France, a barren territory, though full of people, aſſuredly it would fulfil every hope, in ſo noble and fertile a kingdom as France. But to ſecure a regular and certain ſupply, it is neceſſary that the farmer be equally ſecure of a ſteady and good price. The average price in France vibrates between 18 and 22 liv. a ſeptier of 240 lb.[‡] I made inquiries

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[*] I have lately ſeen (January, 1792), in public print, the mention of a propoſal of one of the miniſters to erect public magazines; there wants nothing elſe to complete the ſyſtem of abſurdity in relation to corn which has infeſted that fine kingdom. Magazines can do nothing more than private *accapareurs*; they can only buy when corn is cheap, and ſell when it is dear; but they do this at ſuch a vaſt expence, and with ſo little œconomy, that if they do not take an equal advantage and profit with private ſpeculators, they muſt demand an enormous tax to enable them to carry on their buſineſs; and if they *do* take ſuch profit, the people are never the better for them. Mr. Symonds, in his paper on the public magazines of Italy, has proved them to be every where nuiſances. See *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. xiii. p. 299, &c.

[†] The aſſertion of the marquis de Caſſaux, "that the free corn trade eſtabliſhed by Monſ. Turgot, increaſed the productions of the agriculture of France as 150 to 100" (*Seconde Suite de Conſid. ſur les Mech. des Soc.* p. 119.), muſt be received with great caution. That of Monſ. Millot, "that the lands of the ſame kingdom produced five times as much in Henry IV.'s reign as they do at preſent," is a very groſs error, irreconcileable with the leaſt degree of probability. *Elem. de l'Hiſt. Gen.* p. ii. p. 488.

[‡] *Price of Wheat at Paris, or at Roſoy, for 146 Years.*

Price of 73 Years, the Reign of Louis XIV.

		Liv.	Sol.	Den.
From 1643 to 1652	-	35	14	1
1653 to 1662	-	32	12	2
1663 to 1672	-	23	6	11
1673 to 1682	-	25	13	8
1683 to 1692	-	22	0	4
1693 to 1702	-	31	16	1
1703 to 1712	-	23	17	1
1713 to 1715	-	33	1	6
General Average,		28	1	5

De la Balance du Commerce, tom. 3.

Price of 73 Years, the Reigns of Louis XV. and XVI.

		Liv.	Sol.	Den.
From 1716 to 1725	-	17	10	9
1726 to 1735	-	16	9	4
1736 to 1745	-	18	15	7
1746 to 1755	-	18	10	11
1756 to 1765	-	17	9	1
1766 to 1775	-	28	7	9
1776 to 1785	-	22	4	7
1786	-	20	12	6
1787	-	22	2	6
1788	-	24	0	0
General average,	-	20	1	4

through many provinces in 1789, into the common price, as well as that of the moment, and found (reducing their meaſures to the ſeptier of 240lb.), that the mean price in Champagne is 18 liv.; in Loraine 17½; in Alſace 22 liv.; in Franche Compté 20 liv.; in Bourgogne 18 liv.; at Avignon, &c. 24 liv.; at Paris, I believe, it may be calculated at 19 liv.—Perhaps the price, through the whole kingdom, would be found to be about 20 liv. Now, without entering into any analyſis of the ſubject, or forming any compariſon with other countries, France ought to know, at leaſt ſhe has dearly learned from experience, that this is not a price ſufficient to give ſuch encouragement to the farmers as to ſecure her a certainty of ſupply: no nation can have enough without a ſurplus; and no ſurplus will ever be raiſed, where there is not a free corn trade.—The object, therefore, of an abſolutely free export, is to ſecure the home ſupply. The mere profit of ſelling corn is no object: it is leſs than none; for the right uſe thereof is to feed your own people. But they cannot be fed, if the farmers have not encouaagement to improve their agriculture; and this encouragement muſt be the certainty of a good price. Experience has proved ſufficiently, that 20 liv. will not do. An abſolute freedom of interior circulation is ſo obviouſly neceſſary, that to name it is ſufficient *.

A great and decided encouragement to monopolizers † is as neceſſary to the regular ſurplus, as that ſeed ſhould be ſown to procure a crop; but reaping, in order to load the markets in winter, and to ſtarve the people in ſummer, can be remedied by no other perſon but an *accapareur*. While ſuch men are therefore objects of public hatred; while even laws are in force againſt them (the moſt prepoſterous that can diſgrace a people, ſince they are made by the mouth, againſt the hand for lifting food to it), no regular ſupply can be looked for.—We may expect to ſee famine periodical, in a kingdom governed by the principles which muſt take place, where the populace rule not by enlightened repreſentatives, but by the violence of their ignorant and unmanageable wills. Paris governs the National Aſſembly; and the maſs of the people, in great cities, are all alike, abſolutely ignorant how they are fed; and whether the bread they eat be gathered like acorns from a tree, or rained from the clouds, they are well convinced, that God Almighty ſends the bread, and that they have the beſt poſſible right to eat it. The courts of London Aldermen and common councilmen have, in every period, reaſoned juſt like the populace of Paris [*]. The preſent ſyſtem of France, relative to agriculture, is curious,

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* The internal ſhackles on the corn trade of France, are ſuch as will greatly impede the eſtabliſhment of that perfect freedom which alone forms the proper regulation for ſuch a country. M. Turgot, in his *Lettres ſur les Grains*, p. 126, notices a moſt abſurd duty at Bourdeaux, of 20 *ſ.* per ſeptier on all wheat conſumed there, or even depoſited for foreign commerce; a duty which ought to have prevented the remark of the author of *Credit National*, p. 222, who mentions, as an extraordinary fact, "that at Toulouze there is a duty of 12 *ſ.* per ſeptier on grinding, yet bread is cheaper there than at Bourdeaux." Surely it ſhould be ſo; it ought to be 8 *ſ.* the ſeptier cheaper.

† The word *ſpeculator*, in various paſſages of this chapter, would be as proper as *monopolizer*, they mean the ſame thing as *accapareur*; a man who buys corn with a view to ſelling it at a higher price; whatever term is uſed, the thing meant is every where underſtood.

To encourage inveſtments in land,
I. Tax it Three Hundred Millions.
To enable the land to pay it,
II. Prohibit the Export of Corn.
That cultivation may be rich and ſpirited,
III. Encourage small Farms.
That cattle may be plentiful,
IV. Forbid the Inclosure of Commons.
And that the ſupply of the markets may be equal in ſummer as in winter,
V. Hang all Monopolizers.

Such may be called the agricultural code of the new government of France [†]. But there is reaſonable ground to imagine, as well as to hope, that ſuch a ſyſtem will not be perſevered in.

CHAP.

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[*] Aldermen, common councilmen, and mobs, are conſiſtent when they talk nonſenſe; but philoſophers are not ſo eaſily to be pardoned; when M. l'Abbè Rozier declares, "que la France recolte année ordinaire près du double plus de bled qu'elle n'en conſomme," (*Recueil de Mémoires ſur la Culture & le Rouiſſage du chauvre*, 8vo. 1787. p. 5.) he wrote what has a direct tendency to inflame the people; for the concluſion they muſt draw is, that an immenſe and incredible export is always going on. If France produces in a common year double her conſumption, what becomes of the ſurplus? Where are the other 26 millions of people that are fed with French corn? Where do the 78,000,000 of ſeptiers go that France has to ſpare; a quantity that would load all the ſhips poſſeſſed by that kingdom above thirty times to carry it. Inſtead of the common crop equalling two years conſumption, it certainly does not equal thirteen months *common* conſumption; that is, ſuch a conſumption as takes place at an average price. And all the difference of crops is, that conſumption is moderate with a bad product, and plentiful with a good one. The failure of a crop in one province in a very ſmall degree, which, under a good government, and entire liberty of trade, would not even be felt, will, under a ſyſtem of reſtrictions and prohibitions, raiſe the price through the whole kingdom enormouſly; and if meaſures are taken to correct it by government, they will convert the high price into a famine. The author of *Traité d'economie Politique.* 8vo. 1783, p. 592, does not talk quite ſo greatly, when he ſays a good crop will feed France a year and half; but pretty near it. The abſurdities that daily appear on this ſubject are aſtoniſhing. In a work now publiſhing, it is ſaid, that a moderate crop furniſhes England for three years, and a good one for five. *Encyclopædie Methodique Economie Pol.* pt. i. tom. 1. p. 75. This aſſertion is copied from an Italian, *viz. Zanoni dell' Agricoltura*, 1763. 8vo. tom. i. p. 109, who took it verbatim from *Eſſais ſur divers ſujets intéreſſans de politique et de morale*, 8vo. 1760. p. 216. It is thus that ſuch nonſenſe becomes propagated, when authors are content to copy one another, without knowledge or conſideration.

[†] The errors of ſuch a ſyſtem are unqueſtionable; but it deſerves notice, as I have in various paſſages in other chapters declared, that the profit of agriculture in France might be very great, and

much

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Commerce of France.

AGRICULTURE, manufactures, and commerce, uniting to form what may be properly termed the maſs of national induſtry, are ſo intimately connected in point of intereſt, under the diſpenſations of a wiſe political ſyſtem, that it is impoſſible to treat amply of one of them, without perpetually recurring to the others. I feel, in the progreſs of my undertaking, the impoſſibility of giving the reader a clear idea of all the intereſts of French agriculture, without inſerting, at the ſame time, ſome details of manufactures and commerce. The opportunities I poſſeſſed of gaining ſome valuable intelligence, enable me to inſert ſeveral accounts hitherto unpubliſhed which I believe my commercial readers (ſhould I have any ſuch), will not be diſpleaſed to examine.

Imports into France in 1784.

	liv.		liv.		liv.
Woods,	216,200	Kelp,	50,700	Hemp,	4,385,300
Timber,	1,866,800	Peat aſhes for manure,	665,100	Hemp and flax thread,	2,091,100
Hoops, &c.	92,100	Grain,	141,500	Thread of refuſe ſilk,	55,800
Staves,	628,500	Millet and Canary,	51,400	Various wools,	25,925,000
Planks,	2,412,000	Flax ſeed,	612,600	Spun ditto,	119,400
Pitch and tar,	825,200	Hops,	272,400	Vigonia ditto,	259,800
Aſhes,	1,372,600	Tallow loaves,	1,133,400	Flax,	1,109,500
Soda and pot aſh,	3,873,900	Refuſe of ſilk,	94,900	Silk raw,	29,582,700

Manufactured Goods.

Mercery, thread, & boneterie,	335,500	Table linen,	99,200	Dreſſes,	93,200
Woollen ſtuffs,	81,300	Linen called *platile,*	602,100	Oil of grain,	248,300
Ditto ſilk,	430,700	——— *treilis,*	892,700	Corks,	219,300
Bours d'oeſt,	252,200	——— *coutis* hemp,	432,000	—— in plank,	97,100
Silk gauzes,	54,700	Sail cloth,	157,700	Skins,	873,400
Silk handkerchiefs,	115,900	Candles,	50,300	—— goats and kids,	148,400
Silk ribbons	374,400	Yellow wax,	1,317,900	—— calves,	115,200
Ribbons of wool,	87,500	Cordage,	99,000	—— hares and rabbit,	78,600
Thread ribbons,	1,406,100	Horſe hair,	59,000	Quills,	143,900
Ribbons of thread and wool,	92,700	Raw hides,	2,805,400	Bed feathers,	81,700
Linen, flax, & hemp, mixed,	1,918,600	Diſtilled waters and oils,	87,500	Hog and wild boar hair,	148,400
Linen of flax,	4,849,700	Eſſences,	126,500	Coaches,	783,900

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much beyond any thing we commonly know in England, that theſe five capital errors do not invalidate that opinion. The tax of 300,000,000 amounts to 3s. in the pound; a very heavy and impolitic burthen, but light on compariſon of our taxes. The prohibition of export, and operations againſt monopolizers, are hurtful only to the public as conſumers, and to little farmers who are forced to ſell in autumn; but beneficial to all who can keep their corn to ſell in ſpring and ſummer. Encouraging ſmall farms is abſurd, but it does not prohibit large ones. Forbidding the incloſure of commons makes it eſſentially neceſſary for ſuch as ſettle in France to fix where there are none; the kingdom ſuffers greatly, but not the individual who chuſes his ſpot well. The policy, as a ſyſtem, is too abſurd to be maintained, and will have effects very contrary to thoſe expected.

Edibles.

Edibles.

	liv.		liv.		liv.
Almonds,	140,600	Oil of Olives,	25,615,700	Hogs,	276,100
Butter,	880,100	Legumes,	550,900	Cows and bulls,	1,264,800
Salt beef,	1,716,400	Vermicelli,	287,200	Calves,	89,300
Salt pork,	181,600	Salt,	113,800	Horſes,	2,052,900
Cheeſe,	3,352,700	Various edibles,	90,800	Mules,	148,400
Fruits,	238,100	Beer,	383,500	Liquorice juice,	67,300
Lemons and oranges, &c.		Brandy of wine,	1,151,900	Gaul nuts,	313,000
(in No. 17,543,000),	731,000	——— corn,	1,086,900	Madder,	476,600
Sweetmeats,	52,600	Liqueurs and lemon juice,	62,900	Roots of Alliſary,	226,300
Dried fruits and figs	254,600	Various wines,	684,900	Saffranam,	578,700
Dried grapes,	248,300	Deſert wines,	362,200	Shumac,	73,200
Wheat,	5,347,900	Cattle of all ſorts,	31,800	Turnſole,	87,600
Rye,	139,800	Oxen,	1,355,200	Tobacco leaf,	5,993,100
Barley,	163,800	Sheep,	1,087,000		

Exports the ſame Year.

Various woods,	89,600	Linen of flax and hemp		Butter,	118,400
Plank,	66,300	mixed,	12,473,200	Salt meat,	121,400
Pitch and tar,	255,700	——— flax,	1,727,800	Flour,	2,271,500
Common aſhes,	152,000	——— fine,	346,300	Cheeſe,	144,100
Charcoal,	70,600	Cambric and linen,	6,173,200	Various fruits,	279,000
Coals,	419,000	Linen of thread and cotton,	291,400	Raw ditto,	131,500
Grains,	148,900	——— ſiamoiſes,	1,047,600	Dried ditto,	69,600
Coleſeed,	144,900	——— hemp,	344,300	Prunes dried,	791,700
Garden-ſeeds,	75,700	Candles,	78,700	Grapes,	324,200
Flax ſeed,	248,900	Wax,	449,800	Wheat,	2,608,300
Bours of ſilk,	94,700	Wax candles,	90,400	Rye,	239,400
Hemp,	47,200	Woollen blankets,	129,800	Meſlin and maiz,	52,700
Thread of flax and hemp,	143,400	Raw leathers,	96,300	Indian corn,	633,100
Wool,	1,576,300	Prepared leathers,	304,500	Barley,	321,100
Silk,	2,657,600	Leather curried,	137,700	Legumes,	558,600
Boneterie of thread, &c.	175,100	——— tanned,	698,100	Oil of olives,	1,346,100
——— filoſel,	83,400	Diſtilled water and oils,	167,500	Honey,	361,800
Woollen ſtockings,	365,500	Gloves of ſkins,	63,900	Eggs,	75,200
Woollen caps,	413,100	——— Grenoble,	491,700	Salt,	2,189,800
Boneterie of ſilk,	3,375,100	Dreſſes,	131,100	Wine brandy,	11,035,200
Hats,	86,200	Oil of grains,	368,100	Corn ditto,	1,045,500
Boneterie of hair and wool,	910,300	Corks,	65,500	Liqueurs,	205,300
Silk laces,	2,589,200	—— in plank,	110,600	Wines,	6,807,900
Laces of thread and ſilk,	445,300	Cabinet ware,	65,700	Wines of Bourdeaux,	16,150,900
Woollen cloth,	15,530,900	Willow ware,	54,800	Vinegar,	124,400
Various ſtuffs,	122,300	Cole ſeed cakes,	547,600	Cattle,	108,600
Woollen ſtuffs,	7,491,300	Parchment,	76,100	Oxen (No. 7659),	1,088,200
Stuffs of thread and wool,	109,300	Perfumery,	196,100	Sheep (No. 104,990),	1,017,200
——— hair,	3,655,700	Various ſkins,	123,500	Hogs,	965,800
——— hair and wool,	633,600	Skins of goats and kids,	156,800	Cows and bulls,	227,000
——— rich in gold,	1,538,500	—— calves prepared,	448,600	Horſes,	455,700
Silk ſtuffs,	14,834,100	—— ſheep ditto,	312,500	Mules,	1,509,000
Stuffs mixed with ſilk,	649,600	—— calves curried,	1,571,100	Saffron,	239,200
Silk gauzes,	5,452,000	—— ſheep and calves tan-		Oil of terebinth,	46,000
Thread and ſilk gauzes,	209,000	ned,	256,000	Terebinth,	128,400
Thread and cotton handker-		Feathers prepared,	54,600	Verdigriſe,	266,300
chiefs,	405,800	Soap,	1,376,700	Tobacco leaf,	418,400
Silk handkerchiefs,	118,000	Various edibles,	49,100	——— rappé,	653,100
Silk ribbons,	1,231,900	Almonds,	450,800		

N. B. The provinces of Loraine, Alſace, and the three biſhoprics, are not included in this account, nor any export or import to or from the Weſt Indies.

Total export,	307,151,700 liv.	
------ import,	271,365,000	
Balance,	35,786,700	£. 1,565,668 ſterling.

Imports.

Imports into France in 1787.

	liv.
Steel from Holland, Switzerland, and Germany,	862,000
Copper, - -	7,217,000
Tin from England, -	885,000
Iron from Sweden and Germany, -	8,469,000
Braſs from ditto, -	1,175,000
Lead from England and the Hanſiatic towns, -	2,242,000
Steel manufactures from Germany and England,	4,927,000
Coals from England, Flanders, and Tuſcany,	5,674,000
Woods from the Baltic,	5,408,000
Woods *fenillard & mercin*, -	1,593,000
Cork from Spain, -	262,000
Pitch and tar, -	1,557,000
Aſhes, ſoda, and pot aſh,	5,762,000
Yellow wax, -	2,260,000

	liv.
Garden ſeeds, flax, and millet, -	1,135,000
Madder and roots of Aliſary, -	962,000
Wheat, -	8,116,000
Rice, -	2,040,000
Barley, -	375,000
Legumes, -	945,000
Fruits, -	3,060,000
Butter, -	2,507,000
Salt beef and pork,	2,960,000
Cheeſe, -	4,522,000
Oil of olives, -	16,645,000
Brandy of corn,	1,874,000
——— of wine,	3,715,000
Wines, -	1,489,000
Beer, -	469,000
Oxen, ſheep, and hogs,	6,646,000
Horſes and mules,	2,911,000
Raw hides, -	2,707,000

	liv.
Skins not prepared,	1,180,000
Goat's hair from Levant,	1,137,000
Briſtles of hogs and wild boars, -	275,000
Tallow, -	3,111,000
Raw wool, -	20,884,000
Woollen ſtuffs, -	4,325,000
Raw ſilk, -	28,266,000
Silk manufactures,	4,154,000
Flax, -	6,056,000
Linens of flax, -	11,955,000
Hemp, -	5,040,000
Linen of hemp,	6,544,000
Cotton from the Brazils, the Levant, and Naples,	16,494,000
Cotton manufactures,	13,448,000
Tobacco, -	14,142,000
Drugs, ſpices, glaſs, pottery, books, feathers, &c. &c. -	61,820,000

Exports in the ſame Year,

Timber and wood of all ſorts, - -	166,300
Pitch and tar, -	317,100
Aſhes for manure, -	59,400
Charcoal, - -	31,300
Vetch hay, -	12,000
Garden ſeeds, flax ſeed, &c.	988,500
Greaſe, -	17,300
Hops, -	105,600
Tallow loaves, -	145,600
Cocoon ſilk refuſe, -	41,500
Threads of all ſorts,	241,800
Hemp, -	117,100
Wool, raw and ſpun,	4,378,905
Flax, -	22,800
Rabbits wool, -	10,400
Silk, - -	628,000
Starch, - -	32,200
Candles, - -	131,900
Horſes, -	42,100
Wax, -	307,800
Cordage, -	268,000
Tanned leather, -	1,280,300
Raw leather, -	116,000
Diſtilled waters and oils,	162,500
Pigeon's dung, -	37,000

Spirit of wine, -	144,700
Eſſences, - -	10,000
Staves, - -	22,800
Gloves, -	428,900
Linſeed oil, -	174,800
Corks, - -	139,000
Coleſeed oil cakes, -	449,500
Sheep, roebuck, and calveſkins tanned, -	2,705,200
Feathers for beds, -	51,100
Soap, - -	1,752,800
Almonds, - -	850,500
Butter, -	88,600
Salted meat, -	487,700
Preſerved fruits,	1,518,600
Corn of all ſorts, except hereafter named,	3,165,600
Wheat, -	6,559,900
Legumes, -	949,200
Olive oil, -	1,732,400
Honey, -	644,600
Eggs, - -	99,800
Salt, - -	2,322,500
Poultry, -	35,700
Cyder, - -	17,500

Brandy of wine (114,044 muids), -	14,455,600
Liqueurs, -	234,000
Wines in general (159,222 muids), -	8,558,200
—— Bourdeaux (201,246 muids), -	17,718,100
—— Vin de liqueurs, -	10,000
Vinegar, -	130,900
Oxen hogs, ſheep, &c.	5,074,200
Mules, horſes, aſſes,	1,453,700
Juice of lemons, -	60,000
——— liquorice, -	35,300
Liquorice, -	24,600
Saffron, - -	214,900
Roots of Alliſary, -	1,500
Salt of Tartar, -	14,900
Shumac, -	10,200
Terebinth, -	33,100
Turnſole, -	12,200
Verdigriſe, -	512,400
Cloth, -	14,242,400
Woollen ſtuffs, -	5,615,800
Cotton, linen, Cambric, &c. -	19,692,000

Of this cambric, 5,230,000 liv.

Total exports, including the articles not here minuted, 349,725,400 liv.
----- imports, - - - - - 310,184,000

Balance, - - - - - 39,541,400 £. 1,729,936 ſterling.

Explanation.---The contraband trade of export and import has been calculated, and the true balance found to be about 25,000,000 liv. (1,093,750l.), the provinces of Loraine, Alſace, the three biſhoprics, and the Weſt Indies, not included.

Obſervations.

The preceding accounts of the trade of France, for theſe two years, are correct in all probability in the articles noted; but that they are imperfect there is great reaſon to believe. In 1787 there is an import of raw metals to the amount of above 20 millions: but in the account of 1784 there is no ſuch article in the liſt, which is plainly an omiſſion. And though coals are among the exports in 1784, there are none in the imports, which is another omiſſion. In the manufactured articles alſo are various omiſſions, not eaſily to be accounted for, though the treaty of commerce explains ſome articles, as that of cotton manufactures, &c.: the idea to be formed of the exports and imports of France ſhould be gathered from an union of the two, rather than from either of them ſeparate. No idea, thus to be gained or acquired by any other combinations, will allow for one moment the poſſibility of a balance of commerce of 70,000,000 liv. (3,062,500l.) in favour of France, which Monſ. Necker has calculated it to be, in his book, *De l'Adminiſtration des Finances*, and which calculation the marquis de Caſſaux, in his *Mechaniſm des Societés*, has refuted in an unanſwerable manner. It will be curious to examine what is the amount of the imports of the produce of land, minerals excluded.

In 1784 the imports of the net produce of land amounted to,

	liv.
Wool, - -	25,925,000
Silk, - -	29,582,700
Hemp and flax, -	5,494,800
Oil, - -	25,615,700
Live ſtock and its produce,	18,398,400
Corn, - -	5,651,500
Sundries, - -	24,890,700
	135,558,800

In 1787 the ſame articles are,

	liv.
Wool, - -	20,884,000
Silk, - - -	28,266,000
Hemp and flax, -	11,096,000
Oil, - -	16,645,000
Live ſtock, -	29,079,000
Corn, - - -	11,476,000
Tobacco, - -	14,142,000
Sundries, - -	24,206,000
	155,794,000

She may be ſaid, therefore, to import in a common year about 145,000,000 liv. (6,343,750 l.) of agricultural products: and theſe imports are a ſtriking proof, that I was not wide of the truth when I condemned ſo ſeverely the rural œconomy of France in almoſt every particular, the culture of vines alone excepted. For the country, of all Europe the beſt adapted by nature to the production of wool, to import ſo immenſely, ſhews how wretchedly they are underſtocked with ſheep; and how much their agriculture ſuffers for want of the fold of theſe five or ſix millions, in which they are deficient even for their own demand. The import of ſuch great quantities of other ſorts of live ſtock alſo ſpeaks the ſame language. Their huſbandry is weak and languiſhing in every part of the kingdom, for want of larger ſtocks of cattle, and the national demands cannot be ſupplied. In this trade of live ſtock there is, however, one circumſtance which does the higheſt honour to the good ſenſe and policy of the old French government; for though wool was ſo much wanted for their fabrics, and many meaſures were taken for increaſing ſheep and improving the breed, yet was there no prohibition on the export either of live ſheep or wool, nor any duty farther than for aſcertaining the amount. It appears that they exported above 100,000 ſheep annually; and this policy they embraced, not for want of experience of any other (for the export was prohibited for many years), but finding it a diſcouragement to the breed, they laid the trade open, and the ſame plan has been continued ever ſince; by this ſyſtem they are ſure that the price is as high in France as amongſt her neighbours, and conſequently that there is all the encouragement to breed which ſuch equality of price can give. The export of woollen manufactures in 1784, amounts to 24,795,800 liv. or not equal to the import of raw wool. On the general account, therefore, France does not ſupply herſelf; and the treaty of commerce having introduced many Engliſh woollen ſtuffs, ſhe is at preſent farther removed from that ſupply. Conſidering the climate, ſoil, and population of the kingdom, this ſtate of her woollen trade certainly indicates a moſt groſs neglect. For want of having improved the breed of her ſheep, her wools are very bad, and ſhe is obliged to import, at a heavy expence, other wools, ſome of which are by no means good; and thus her manufacturers are under a heavy diſadvantage, on account of the low ſtate of agriculture. The ſteps ſhe has taken to improve her wools, by giving penſions to academicians, and ordering experiments of inquiry upon obvious points, are not the means of improvement. An Engliſh cultivator, at the head of a ſheep farm of three or four thouſand acres, as I obſerved above, would, in a few years, do more for their wools than all the academicians and philoſophers will effect in ten centuries.

Weſt Indian Trade.

In 1786, the imports from theſe colonies into France were,

St. Domingo, - -	131,481,000 liv.
Martinique, - -	23,958,000
Guadaloupe, - -	14,360,000
Cayenne, - -	919,000
Tobago, - -	4,113,000
St. Lucie, nothing directly.	
	*174,831,000

Of theſe,—Sugar, 174,222,000 lb.—Coffee, 66,231,000 lb.—Cotton, 7,595,000 lb.

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* Total in 1784 was 139,000,000 liv. What can Monſ. Begoueu, of Havre, mean by raiſing this to 230,000,000?---800 ſhips?---1200 ſhips?---25,000 ſeamen? and I know not what other extravagances?

The navigation in 569 ſhips, of 162,311 tons, of which Bourdeaux * employs 246 ſhips, of 75,285 tons.

Exports from France to theſe Iſles in 1786.

	liv.
To St. Domingo, - -	44,722,000 liv.
Martinique, - -	12,109,000
Guadaloupe, - -	6,274,000
Cayenne, - -	578,000
Tobago, - -	658,000
St. Lucie, nothing directly.	
	64,341,000

	liv.
Imports from the iſles,	174,831,000
Exports to them,	64,341,000
Balance againſt France,	110,490,000

August 30, 1784, in the miniſtry of the Maréchal de Caſtries, foreigners were permitted, under certain regulations, to trade to the French ſugar iſlands, after a ſpirited controverſy in print for and againſt the meaſure. The trade of 1786, in conſequence of this arret, was as follows:

Imports in the Iſles.

	liv.
From the United States,	13,065,000
English, -	4,550,000
Spaniards, -	2,201,000
Dutch, -	801,000
Portugueſe, -	152,000
Danes, -	68,000
Swedes, -	41,000
	20,880,000

Exports from Ditto.

	liv.
To the Americans, -	7,263,000
Engliſh, -	1,259,000
Spaniards, -	3,189,000
Dutch, -	2,030,000
Swedes and Danes,	391,000
	14,133,000

Navigation of this Trade.

Imports.

	Ships.	Tons.
American veſſels,	1,392	105,095
French, -	313	9,122
Engliſh,	189	10,192
Spaniſh, -	245	6,471
Dutch, Portugueſe, Swedes & Danes,	34	2,229
	2,102	133,109

Exports.

	Ships.	Tons.
American, -	1,127	85,403
French, -	534	13,941
Engliſh, -	153	10,778
Spaniſh, -	249	5,856
Dutch, &c. -	32	1,821
	2,095	117,799

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travagances? *Precis ſur l'Importance des Colonies.* 8vo. 1790. p. 3. 5. &c. Another writer ſtates, 800 large ſhips, 500 ſmall ones, and value 240 millions! *Opinion de Monſ. Blin*, p. 7. How theſe calculations are made, I do not conceive.

* Bourdeaux I take to be a place of greater and richer trade than any provincial town in the Britiſh dominions. Our greateſt are,

	Tons.	Seamen.
Newcaſtle, which in 1787 poſſeſſed of ſhipping,	105,000 -	5,390
Liverpool,	72,000 -	10,000
Whitehaven,	53,000 -	4,000
Sunderland,	53,000 -	3,300
Whitby,	46,000 -	4,200
Hull,	46,000 -	
Briſtol,	33,000 -	4,070
Yarmouth,	32,000	
Lynn,	16,000	
Dublin,	14,000	

As the cultivation and exports from the iſles in 1786, were greater than in 1784, the demand for French manufactures ought to have been greater alſo; but this was not the caſe;

Export of French linens to the iſles in 1784, 17,796,000 liv.
1786, 13,363,000

It would have been found ſo, if the arret of Auguſt 30th had not opened the colonies to foreigners, who introduced manufactures as well as lumber and proviſions. It is a great queſtion, whether this was right policy: the argument evidently turns on one great hinge; the peculiar benefit to the mother country, from poſſeſſing colonies, is their *ſupply*; to ſell them whatever they demand, and to ſecure the navigation dependent. It is not, to be ſure, of ſugar and coffee that nations plant colonies; they are ſure of thoſe, and of any other commodities, if they be rich enough to pay for them; a Ruſſian, or Pole, is as certain of commanding ſugar as a Frenchman, or an Engliſhman; and the governments of thoſe countries may raiſe as great a revenue on the import, as the governments that poſſeſs the iſlands. The *peculiar* benefit, therefore, of colonies, is the *monopoly of their ſupply*. It is in vain to ſay, that permitting the coloniſts to buy what they want at the cheapeſt and the beſt hand, will enable them to raiſe ſo much more ſugar, and tend ultimately to the benefit of the mother country; ſince, let them grow as rich as poſſible, and increaſe their culture to any degree whatever, ſtill the advantage of the mother country ariſes from the ſupply; and if ſhe loſes that to gain more ſugar, ſhe loſes all for which the poſſeſſion is deſireable. It would be right for every country to open her colonies to all the world on principles of liberality and freedom; and ſtill it would be better to go one ſtep farther, and have no colonies at all. The ſugar iſlands of all nations, in the Weſt-Indies, including the great iſland of Cuba, are conſiderable enough to form an independent free nation; and it wants not many arguments to ſhew, that the exiſtence of ſuch an one would be far more beneficial to the Engliſh, French, and Spaniards, than the poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands as colonies. To return, however, to the arret of Auguſt 30, we may ſafely affirm, that the policy which induced the Maréchal de Caſtries to open the colonies to foreigners was erroneous, and attended with miſchief, in proportion to the extent of the trade that took place in conſequence.

The reſult of the French ſugar trade, reſembles nearly that which England carries on with her ſugar colonies, namely, an immenſe balance againſt her.—We have writers who tell us, that this trade ought be be judged by a method the reverſe of every other, the merit of it depending not on the exports, but on the imports: I have met with the ſame idea in France; and as it is an object of very great conſequence in the national œconomy, it may be worth remarking, 1, that the advantages reſulting from commerce, are the encouragement of the national induſtry, whether in agriculture or manufactures; and it is unqueſtionably the exports which give this encouragement, and not the imports of a trade, unleſs they are the raw materials of future labour. 2, The real wealth of all trade conſiſts in the conſumption of the commodities that are the object of ſuch trade; and if a nation be rich enough to conſume great quantities of ſugar and coffee, ſhe has undoubtedly the power of giving activity to a certain quantum of her own induſtry, in conſequence of the commerce which ſuch conſumption occaſions, whether the ſugar be the product of her own colonies, or thoſe of any other power. 3, The taxes levied on Weſt-Indian commodities are no motive whatever for eſteeming the poſſeſſion of ſuch colonies beneficial, ſince it is the *conſumption* that pays the tax, and not the *poſſeſſion* of the land that produces the commodity. 4, The monopoly of navigation is valuable no farther than as it implies the manufacture of ſhip-building and fitting out; the poſſeſſion of many ſailors, as inſtruments of future wars, ought to be eſteemed in the ſame light as great Ruſſian or Pruſſian armies; that is to ſay, as the peſts of human ſocieties; as the tools of ambition; and as the inſtruments of wide-extended miſery *. 5, The poſſeſſion of ſugar-iſlands is the inveſtment of immenſe capitals in the agriculture of America, inſtead of the agriculture of France: the people of that kingdom ſtarve periodically for want of bread, becauſe the capitals which ſhould raiſe wheat in France are employed on ſugar in St. Domingo. Whatever advantage the advocates for colonies may be ſuppoſed to ſee in ſuch poſſeſſions, they are bound to ſhew, that the inveſtment of equal capitals in the agriculture of France would not be productive of equal and even of infinitely ſuperior benefits. 6, It is ſhewn, in another place, that the agriculture of France is, in the capital employed, 450,000,000l. inferior to that of England; can any madneſs, therefore, be greater than the inveſtment of capitals in American agriculture for the ſake of a trade, the balance of which is above 100,000,000 liv. againſt the mother country, while nothing but poverty is found in the fields that *ought* to feed Frenchmen? 7, If it be ſaid, that the re-exportation of Weſt-Indian commodities is immenſe, and greater even than the balance, I reply, in the firſt place, that Monſ. Necker gives us reaſon to believe, that this re-exportation is greatly exaggerated; but granting it to riſe to any amount, France bought thoſe commodities before ſhe ſold them, and bought them with hard caſh to the ſum of the balance againſt her; firſt loſing by her tranſactions with America the ſums ſhe afterwards gains by exporting to the north. The benefit of ſuch a trade is nothing more than the *profit* on the exchange and tranſport. But in the employment of capital, the loſs is great. In all common trades, ſuch as thoſe ſhe carries on with the Levant, or with Spain, ſhe has the common profit of the commerce, without inveſting any capitals in producing the commodities ſhe buys; but in the Weſt Indian commerce ſhe inveſts double capitals, to produce the goods ſhe ſells, and equally to produce the goods ſhe buys. 8, If it ſhould be ſaid that St. Domingo is not to be conſidered as a foreign country, with which France trades, nor a colony, but as a part of itſelf; and that the balance between them is like the balance between Paris and the provinces, then I reply, that it is ſo ill ſituated a province, that to encourage a deviation of capitals from all other provinces to be inveſted in this, is little ſhort of madneſs; *firſt*, from diſtance and cultivation by ſlaves, it is inſecure. If it eſcapes the attacks of European foes, the natural progreſs of events will throw it into the hands of the United States. *Secondly*, it demands a great navy to defend it; and conſequently taxes on all the other provinces, to the amount of two millions ſterling per annum. Of what expence to Languedoc, is the poſſeſſion of Bretagne? Its proportion of the common defence. Is this ſo with St. Domingo? France pays a marine of two millions, but St. Domingo does not pay one ſhilling to defend France, or even to defend itſelf. In common ſenſe, the poſſeſſion of ſuch a province ought to be deemed a principle of poverty and weakneſs, rather than of riches and of ſtrength. 9. I have converſed upon this ſubject at Havre, Nantes, Bourdeaux, and Marſeilles; and I have not yet met with a man able to give me one other ſolid reaſon for ſuch a ſyſtem than the fact that agriculture in the Weſt-Indies is profitable, and not ſo in France. The ſame argument is uſed, and with equal truth, in England. I admit the fact; and it recurs at once to the pernicious doctrine of laying ſuch taxes, reſtrictions, prohibitions, and monopolies on land at home, that men inclined to purſue agriculture as a trade muſt go with their capitals into another hemiſphere, in order to reap an adequate profit. But change this wretched and abominable policy; remove every tax, even to the ſhadow of one on land; throw all on conſumption; proclaim a FREE CORN TRADE; give every man a power of incloſure.—In other words, give in the Bourbonnois what you have given in Domingo, and then ſee if French corn and wool will not return greater profits than American ſugar and coffee. The poſſeſſion of ſugar iſlands, ſo rich and proſperous as thoſe of France and England, dazzles the underſtandings of mankind, who are apt to look only on one ſide, where they ſee navigation, re-export, commercial profit, and a great circulation: they do not reverſe the medal, and ſee, in the miſchievous deviation of capitals from home, agriculture languiſhing, canals ſtanding ſtill, and roads impaſſable. They do not balance the culture of Martinique by the *landes* of Bourdeaux; the tillage of St. Domingo by the deſerts of Bretagne; or the wealth of Guadaloupe by the miſery of Sologne. If you purchaſe the riches that flow from America by the poverty and wretchedneſs of whole provinces, are you blind enough to think the account a beneficial one? I have uſed no arguments againſt the French ſugar iſlands that are not applicable likewiſe to the Engliſh: I hold them to be equal obſtacles to the proſperity of both kingdoms; and, as far as the experiment of the loſs of North America goes, I am juſtified by that vaſt and important fact—that a country may loſe the monopoly of a diſtant empire, and riſe from the imaginary loſs more rich, more powerful, and more proſperous!

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* Prejudices of the deepeſt root are to be eradicated in England before men will be brought to admit this obvious truth. Thoſe prejudices took their riſe from a daſtardly fear of being conquered by France, which government has taken every art to propagate ever ſince the revolution, the better to promote its own plans of expence, profuſion, and public debts. Portugal, Sardinia, the little Italian and German States, Sweden, and Denmark, &c. have been able, deficient as they are in government and in people, to defend themſelves; but the Britiſh iſles, with fifteen millions of people, are to be conquered!!

If theſe principles be juſt, and that they are ſo is confirmed by an immenſe range of facts, what are we to think of a politician who declares, that the loſs of Bengal, or the Dutch withdrawing their money from our funds, would ruin England *?

Export of the Products of French Agriculture to the Weſt Indies, in 1787.

	liv.	liv.
Wine, brandy, &c.		6,332,000
Edibles,		769,000
Salted meats,		971,000
Flour,		6,944,000
Legumes,		300,000
Candles,		500,000
Woods, cordage, &c.		2,869,000
Raw materials of manufactures,		4,000,000
Furniture, cloaths, &c. the raw materials of,		2,000,000
Raw materials of the exports to Africa,		2,000,000
Exports of the ſoil,		26,685,000
Manufactured goods of national workmanſhip,	20,549,000	
Materials, as above,	4,000,000	
		16,549,000
Furniture, cloaths, &c.	10,136,000	
Materials, as above,	2,000,000	
		8,136,000
Exports to Africa,	17,000,000	
Materials, as above,	2,000,000	
		15,000,000
Sundry articles,		7,341,000
		73,711,000

Of which 49,947,000 liv. were French products and manufactures.

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* *Conſid. ſur les Richeſſes et le Luxe.* 8vo. 1787. p. 492. In the ſame ſpirit is the opinion, that England, before the laſt war, had attained the maximum of her proſperity, p. 483.

Fiſheries.

Fiſheries.

No trade is ſo beneficial as that of fiſhing; none in which a given capital makes ſuch large returns; nor any ſo favourable to thoſe ideal advantages, which are ſuppoſed to flow from a great navigation. The French were always very aſſiduous in puſhing the progreſs of their fiſheries. Suppoſing them right in the principles of thoſe efforts they have made to become powerful at ſea, which, however, is exceedingly queſtionable, they have certainly acted wiſely in endeavouring to extend theſe nurſeries of maritime power.

		Ships.	Tons.
Newfoundland and Iſland fiſheries,	1784,	328	36,342
	1785,	450	48,631
	1786,	453	51,143

Moſt of the national fiſheries are flouriſhing; they employed in 1786,

	Ships.	Tons.		Ships.	Tons.
Herrings, &c.	928	—	Iriſh from Dunkerque,	62	3,742
Newfoundland,	391	47,399	Whale,	4	970

Dieppe does moſt in the fiſhing trade, poſſeſſing 556 ſhips, of 21,531 tons.

Trade with the United States.

The commerce which France carries on with the North Americans, is all the reward ſhe reaps from having expended probably 50 millions ſterling to ſecure their freedom. Viſions of the depreſſion of the Britiſh power, played indeed in the imaginations of the cabinet of Verſailles; but peace was ſcarcely returned, before thoſe airy hopes entirely vaniſhed; every hour proved, that England, by the emancipation of her colonies, was ſo far from loſing any thing, that ſhe had gained immenſely: the detail of this trade will prove, that France was as much deceived in one expectation as in the other.

		liv.
On an average of three years preceding the French revolution, the imports from America were		9,600,000
Ditto into the French ſugar iſlands,		11,100,000
		20,700,000
Exports of France to North America,	1,800,000	
Ditto from the Iſles,	6,400,000	
		8,200,000
Balance,		12,500,000

"Ces républicains," ſays Monſ. Arnould*, "ſe procurent maintenant ſur nous, une balance en argent de 7 à 8 millions, avec laquelle ils ſoudoyent l'induſtrie Angloiſe. Voila donc pour la France le *nec plus ultra* d'un commerce, dont l'eſpoir au pû contribuer à faire ſacrifier quelques centaines de millions et pluſieurs générations d'hommes!"

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* *De la Balance du Commerce.* 1791. tom. i. p. 234.

Trade to Ruſſia.

It is commonly ſuppoſed in England that the trade which France carries on with Ruſſia is very beneficial, in the amount of the balance; and there are French writers alſo who give the ſame repreſentation; the part in French navigation will appear in the following ſtatement:

	liv.
Imports from Ruſſia to France in 1788, -	6,871,900
From France to Ruſſia, - -	6,108,500
Balance againſt France, - - -	763,400

This, it is to be noted, concerns French bottoms only; the greateſt part of the commerce being carried on in Engliſh and Dutch bottoms.

Navigation.

There is not much reaſon for modern readers to be ſolicitous concerning the commerce or navigation of any country; we may reſt aſſured, that the trading ſpirit which has ſeized all nations, will make the governments anxious to promote, as much as poſſible, whatever intereſts their commerce, though their agriculture is, at the ſame moment, in the loweſt ſtate of poverty and neglect. All the Engliſh authorities I have met with, reſpecting the navigation of France, are of a very old date; perſons who are curious in theſe ſpeculations, will probably be pleaſed with the following account:

Ships in France cleared outwards in 1788.

	Ships.		Tons.
For the Levant and coaſt of Barbary, - -	366	—	45,285
Whale fiſhery, - - - -	14	—	3,232
Herring fiſhery, - - - -	330	—	9,804
Mackarel fiſhery, - - -	437	—	4,754
Sardinia, - - -	1,441	—	4,289
Freſh both in the ocean and Mediterranean, -	2,668	—	11,596
Cod, - - - -	432	—	45,446
All parts of Europe and the American States, -	2,038	—	128,736
Weſt Indies, - - -	677	—	190,753
Senegal and Guinea, - - -	105	—	35,227
Eaſt Indies, China, Iſles of France and Bourbon, both by company and otherways, - - -	86	—	37,157
	8,588	—	516,279

N. B. The total navigation in Europe and America, either by French or foreign ſhips, amounts to 9,445 ſhips and 556,152 tons.

Cabotage (coaſting Trade) the ſame Year.

	Ships.	Tons.
French ſhips,	22,360	997,666
Foreign ditto,	60	2,742
	22,420	1,000,408

N. B. There is no diſtinction between ſhip and voyage; if a ſhip clears out five times a-year, ſhe is regiſtered every voyage. The article *Sardinia*, which appears ſo large in ſhips, and ſo ſmall in tonnage, muſt, I ſhould ſuppoſe, be for a fiſhery on the coaſts of that iſland.

From the tonnage of the ſhips, as they are called, in the fiſheries, it appears, that they are little more than boats: thoſe in the herring fiſhery, are about 30 tons each—and in the mackarel, little more than 10 tons.

The navigation of England for a year, ending the 30th September, 1787, was,

	Ships.	Tonnage.	Men.
Engliſh,	8,711	954,729	84,532
Scotch,	1,700	133,034	13,443
Eaſt Indiamen,	54	43,629	5,400
Ireland,	—	60,000	—
	10,465	1,191,392	103,375

Without including the Weſt-Indian trade, or that of the North American colonies, or the African or Aſian, the Indiamen excepted.

*Progreſs of the French Commerce**.

	Imports liv.	Exports. liv.
1716 to 1720, peace, average per annum,	65,079,000	106,216,000
1721 to 1732, peace,	80,198,000	116,765,000
1733 to 1735, war,	76,600,000	124,465,000
1736 to 1739, peace,	102,035,000	143,441,000
1740 to 1748, war,	112,805,000	192,334,000
1749 to 1755, peace,	155,555,000	257,205,000
1756 to 1763, war,	133,778,000	210,899,000
1764 to 1776, peace,	165,164,000	309,245,000
1777 to 1783, war,	207,536,000	259,782,000
1784 to 1788, peace,	301,727,000	354,423,000

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* Monſ. Arnould, of the *Bureau de la Balance du Commerce* at Paris, aſſerts, I know not on what authority, that the Engliſh navigation in 1789 amounted to 2,000,000 tons.

It will not be uſeleſs to contraſt this with the trade of England:

	Imports. L.		Exports. L.		Imports. L.		Exports. L.
1717,	6,346,768	—	9,147,700	1771,	12,821,995	—	17,161,146
1725,	7,094,708	—	11,352,480	1783,	13,122,235	—	15,450,778
1735,	8,160,184	—	13,544,144	1785,	16,279,419	—	16,770,228
1738,	7,438,960	—	12,289,495	1787,	17,804,000	—	16,869,000
1743,	7,802,353	—	14,623,653	1788,	18,027,000	—	17,471,000
1753,	8,625,029	—	14,264,614	1789,	17,821,000	—	19,340,000
1763,	11,665,036	—	16,160,181	1790,	19,130,000	—	20,120,000

As the *balance*, or ideas of a balance, are a good deal viſionary, we ſhall find, by adding the two columns together, that the trade of England has ſuffered no decline, but, on the contrary, is greater than ever; it deſerves attention, however, that the progreſs of it has not been nearly ſo rapid as that of France, whoſe commerce, in the laſt period, is 3½ times as great as it was in the firſt; whereas ours has in the ſame period not much more than doubled. The French trade has almoſt doubled ſince the peace of 1763, but ours has increaſed not near ſo much. Now it is obſervable, that the improvements, which in their aggregate mark national proſperity, have, in this period of twenty-nine years, been abundantly more active in England than in France, which affords a pretty ſtrong proof that thoſe improvements, and that proſperity, depend on ſomething elſe than foreign commerce; and as the force of this argument is drawn directly from facts, and not at all from theory or opinion, it ought to check that blind rage for commerce, which has done more miſchief to Europe, perhaps, than all other evils taken together. We find, that trade has made an immenſe progreſs in France; and it is elſewhere ſhewn, that agriculture has made little or none; on the contrary, agriculture has experienced a great increaſe in England, though very ſeldom favoured by government, but commerce an inferior one; unite this with the vaſt ſuperiority of the latter in national proſperity, and ſurely the leſſon afforded by ſuch facts needs no comment.

Of the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France.

I ſhall lay before the reader, the reſult of the treaty, both according to the Engliſh cuſtom-houſe, and alſo by the regiſters of the *Bureau de la Balance du Commerce* at Paris; which, I ſhould however remark, is beyond all compariſon more accurate in its eſtimations; and whenever it is a queſtion between the authority of the two in oppoſition to each other, I ſhould not heſitate a moment in preferring the French authority; indeed it is certain, that in many articles the valuation attached to ſome denominations is as old as the reign of Charles II. though the real value is known to have quintupled.

Engliſh Account.

Export of Britiſh Manufactures to France.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1769,	83,213	18	4	1784,	93,763	7	1
1770,	93,231	7	5	1785,	244,807	19	5
1771,	85,951	2	6	1786,	343,707	11	10
1772,	79,534	13	7	1787,	713,446	14	11
1773,	95,370	13	8	1788,	884,100	7	1
1774,	85,685	13	2	1789,	830,377	17	0

The riſe in the years 1785 and 1786, may be attributed to the rage for every thing Engliſh, which, I believe, was then pretty much at its height; the moment the honour of the nation was ſecured by wiping off the diſgraces of the war of 1756, by the ſucceſs of the American one, the predilection for every thing Engliſh ſpread rapidly. In order to ſhew the proportion which our export of manufactures to France bears to our exports to all the world, I ſhall inſert the total account by the ſame authority.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1786,	11,830,194	19	7	1789,	13,779,740	18	9
1787,	12,053,900	3	5	1790,	14,921,000	0	0
1788,	12,724,719	16	9				

We know that all theſe ſums are incorrect; but we may ſuppoſe the incorrectneſs as great one year as another, and that therefore the compariſon of one year with another may be tolerable exact. The following French accounts have been taken with ſingular attention; and as duties have been levied on every article, the amount may be more, but cannot be leſs.

French Account.

Imports from England into France, in 1788.

	liv.
Woods, coal, and raw materials, of which coal near 6,000,000 liv.	16,553,400
Other raw materials, not the direct product of the earth,	2,246,500
Manufactured goods,	19,101,900
Manufactured goods from foreign induſtry,	7,700,900
Liquors (*boiſſons*),	271,000
Eatables (*comeſtibles*), ſuch as ſalt meat, butter, cheeſe, corn, &c.	9,992,300
Drugs,	1,995,900
Groceries,	1,026,900
Cattle and horſes,	702,800
Tobacco,	843,100
Various articles,	187,200
Weſt India cotton, and Weſt India goods, none.	
	60,621,900

Exports from France to England, in 1788.

	liv.
Woods, coal, and raw materials,	534,100
Other raw materials, not the direct product of the earth,	635,200
Manufactured French goods,	4,786,200
Manufactured goods from foreign induſtry,	2,015,100
Liquors,	13,492,200
Eatables,	2,215,400
Drugs,	759,100
Groceries, none.	
Cattle and horſes,	181,700
Tobacco,	733,900
Various articles,	167,400
Weſt India cotton,	4,297,300
Weſt India goods,	641,100
	31,154,500

Explanation.—All manufactured goods, both Engliſh and foreign, imported by the Engliſh merchants, have been under-rated about one-twelfth, which will add 3,238,800 liv. The French exports muſt alſo be increaſed for ſmuggling, &c. &c.; ſo that there is great reaſon to think the real account between the two nations may be thus ſtated:

	liv.
Exports from England to France,	63,327,600
———— France to England,	33,847,470
Balance againſt France,	29,480,130

	liv.
Total exports of England to France in 1789,	58,000,000

Ditto of Engliſh manufactures in	1787,	33,000,000
	1788,	27,000,000
	1789,	23,000,000

Hence it appears, that the two cuſtom-houſes do not differ eſſentially in their accounts.

I am better ſatisfied with this account than if it were, as the Chamber of Commerce of Normandie imagined, much more in favour of England; for as the benefit is more likely to laſt, ſo the treaty is more likely to be renewed; and conſequently peace between the two kingdoms to be more durable. The balance of the manufacturing account does not exceed 14 millions, which is very far ſhort of the French ideas, and muſt, in the nature of things, leſſen. The 18 millons of raw materials and coals, inſtead of being an import hurtful to the intereſts of French induſtry, is beneficial to it; and they themſelves wiſely conſider it as ſuch, and lamented the old duties on the import of Engliſh coal, aſſerting, that there ought to be none at all. Here are 10 millions of imports, and a balance of eight indirect objects of agriculture, as corn and meat. If a people will manage their agriculture in ſuch a prepoſterous manner, as not to be able to feed themſelves, they ſhould eſteem themſelves highly obliged to any neighbour that will do it for them. Raw materials, including drugs, with cattle, corn, and horſes, very nearly accounts for the whole balance, great as it is, that is paid on the total to England; and as ſuch objects are as much for the advantage of France to import, as for the benefit of England to export, the whole trade muſt, both in extent and balance, be deemed equally reciprocal, and of courſe equally tending to advance the proſperity of each kingdom. There is, however, a circumſtance in which matters are very far from being reciprocal, and that is, in payments. The French are paid for their goods, whatever theſe may be, according to agreement; but that is very far from being the caſe with the Engliſh. The manufacturers of Mancheſter have been known to make heavy complaints againſt the mode of dealing in France, not only in reſpect of payment, but alſo of want of confidence, ſince their goods, fairly executed, according to patterns agreed on, are ſeldom received without diſpute or deduction: and while they cheerfully do juſtice to the punctuality of the Americans, Germans, &c. they put very little value on the French trade, ſpeaking in general. It is the ſame with Birmingham, whoſe merchants and manufacturers aſſert ſtrenuouſly, that the commercial treaty has been of *no* ſervice to their town; the French having taken as largely their goods, by contraband, before the treaty, as at preſent, through a different channel; with this change, that the Dutch, Germans, and Flemings, with whom they dealt before, paid better than the French. Theſe circumſtances are great deductions from the apparent merit of the treaty, which cannot be fairly eſtimated, unleſs we could know the amount of our exports ſent out clandeſtinely before it was concluded. The manufacturers are certainly the beſt judges; and they unite, with one voice, throughout the kingdom, either to condemn it, or at leaſt to aſſert its having been a mere *transfer* from one channel to another, and not an *increaſe*. The benefit of it, however, as a political meaſure, which tends to eſtabliſh a friendſhip and connection between the two countries, cannot be called in queſtion, with any propriety; for the mere chance of its being productive of peace, is of more conſequence than ten ſuch balances, as appears on the foot of the above-mentioned account.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Manufactures of France.

THE notes I took, in all the conſiderable manufacturing towns of France, are too numerous to inſert. I ſhall touch, therefore, only upon one or two points, the moſt important.

Earnings.

Average earnings in all the fabrics, of the men, 26*ſ.*—Of the women, 15*ſ.*—Of ſpinners, 9*ſ.*—Theſe earnings are, without any doubt, much under thoſe of ſimilar manufactures in England; where I ſhould apprehend the men earn, upon an average 20d. a-day or 40*ſ.*; the women 9d. or 18*ſ.* and ſpinners I have ſhewn (Annals of Agriculture, vol. ix.), to earn 6¼d. or 12½*ſ.*—The vaſt ſuperiority of Engliſh manufactures, taken in the groſs to thoſe of France, united with this higher price of labour, is a ſubject of great political curioſity and importance; for it ſhews clearly, that it is not the nominal cheapneſs of labour that favours manufactures, which flouriſh moſt where labour is nominally the deareſt—perhaps they flouriſh on this account, ſince labour is generally *in reality* the cheapeſt, where it is *nominally* the deareſt; the quality of the work, the ſkill and dexterity of performance come largely into the account; and theſe muſt, on an average, depend very much on the ſtate of eaſe in which the workman lives. If he be well nouriſhed and cloathed, and his conſtitution kept in a ſtate of vigour and activity, he will perform his work incomparably better than a man whoſe poverty allows but a ſcanty nouriſhment. There is doubtleſs great luxury amongſt the manufacturing poor in England; there is little amongſt thoſe of France; this apparent evil has grown ſo regularly with the proſperity of Engliſh fabrics, that I am not too ready to conſider it ſo great an evil, as to demand any laws or regulations to repreſs it, which have been injudiciouſly called for by ſome writers; inconveniencies, indeed, may flow from it, but they are ſo intimately connected with the ſources of proſperity, that to touch them might be dangerous: the hidden benefit is concealed ſometimes beneath the apparent evil; and by remedying the inconvenience, the advantage might be loſt. It is thus ſometimes in the natural body, and I believe often in the political.

It is a remarkable circumſtance in the agriculture, or rather in the domeſtic œconomy of France, that the culture of hemp or flax, for home uſes, pervades every part of the kingdom. It is a curious queſtion how far this is beneficial or not to the general intereſts of the national proſperity. On the one hand, in favour of this ſyſtem it may be urged, that national proſperity being nothing more than the united proſperity of ſingle families, if any ſuch article of œconomy be advantageous to individuals, it muſt be ſo to the nation at large: that it cannot

not fail of being beneficial to a poor man's family, to have the women and children induſtriouſly employed on cloathing the whole, rather than forced to buy ſuch articles at an expence of money, which they may not be able to procure.— By means of induſtry, thus exerted, a poor family is rendered as independent as its ſituation admits. All of them are likewiſe warmer, and more comfortably cloathed, as far as linen is concerned, than if it were bought; for whatever demands, money will be conſumed with much more caution than if the reſult merely of labour. Theſe arguments are unanſwerable; yet there are others, on the contrary, that alſo deſerve attention. If it be true, that national proſperity depends on individuals, and that whatever carries comfort into the cottage of the poor man, adds proportionably to the maſs of national enjoyment, it muſt alſo be equally admitted, that whatever renders a people nationally flouriſhing and rich, reflects back on the loweſt claſſes a large ſhare of, and intimate connection in ſuch wealth and proſperity; conſequently, if domeſtic manufactures of this ſort be injurious to the great maſs of national intereſts in a ſtate of combination, they muſt, in ſome meaſure, be individually ſo in a ſtate of ſeparation. A modern ſociety flouriſhes, by the mutual exchange of the products of land for the manufactures of towns; a natural connection of one with the other; and it may be remarked, that in proportion as this exchange is rapid from a great conſumption, in ſuch proportion will a people generally flouriſh. If every family in the country have a patch of flax or hemp for its own ſupply of all the manufactures founded on thoſe materials, this beneficial intercourſe of the country with the town is ſo far cut off, and no circulation takes place. If the practice be good in flax, it is good in wool; and every family ſhould have a ſufficient number of ſheep to cloath themſelves in woollens; and if every little village have its little tanner, the ſame ſuppoſition may be extended to leather. A patch of vines furniſhes the beverage of the family; and thus, by ſimple domeſtic induſtry, all wants are ſupplied; and a poor family, as it would be improperly called, would have no occaſion to reſort to market for any thing *to buy*. But if it go thither for nothing to buy, it ought to go thither with nothing *to ſell*; this part of the theory is abſolutely neceſſary, for the town has the power of buying only in conſequence of having that of ſelling; if the country buy nothing of the town, aſſuredly the town can buy nothing of the country. Thus it is, that in every combination on theſe ſubjects, a minute diviſion of the ſoil into ſmall properties always attacks the exiſtence of towns, that is to ſay, of what Sir James Stewart calls the *free hands* of a ſociety. A countryman living on his own little property, with his family, induſtriouſly employed in manufacturing for all their own wants, without exchange, connection, or dependence on any one, offers, indeed, a ſpectacle of rural comfort; but of a ſpecies abſolutely inconſiſtent with the proſperity of a modern ſociety: and were France to conſiſt of nothing elſe, the whole kingdom would become the prey of the firſt invader. Upon ſuch a ſyſtem, all taxes muſt ceaſe, and conſequently all public force be annihilated. The whole routine of life would be as well carried on without, as with money; and he who has of neceſſity land and commodities only, could pay no taxes but in kind; in other words, could pay none at all. However plauſible, therefore, the arguments may be in favour of theſe domeſtic manufactures, there are not wanted reaſons that militate powerfully againſt them.

In a caſe of this kind, a reference to fact is more valuable than reaſoning. The poor in France abound very much with theſe fabrics, and are very miſerable. The poor in England hardly know ſuch a thing, and are very much at their eaſe; but in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and ſome of our counties moſt backward in point of agriculture, the ſyſtem is found; and preciſely in the pooreſt diſtricts of the three kingdoms. It is with regret that I feel myſelf obliged to differ in opinion ſo often on political ſubjects, from a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities as the count de Mirabeau; but upon this ſubject he gives an opinion deciſively in favour of theſe ſcattered domeſtic manufactures, advancing the following ſtrange aſſertion; "Les manufactures réunies, les enterprizes de quelques particuliers qui ſoldent des ouvriers au jour la journée pour travailler à leur compte ne feront jamais un objet digne de l'attention des gouvernemens.*" If there be truth in this idea, the fabrics eſtabliſhed in towns, in which a maſter manufacturer employs the poor, are good for nothing. Thoſe of Lyons, Rouen, Louviers, Elbœuf, Carcaſſone; Mancheſter, Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. are of no account, and do not confer national proſperity. It would be waſting the reader's time to refute formally ſuch opinions. The facts are too notorious, and the arguments too obvious to dwell upon.

Of the Influence of Manufactures on Agriculture.

NORMANDY—*Rouen to Barentin.*—A noble ſoil and full of manufactures, but the moſt execrable huſbandry I have yet ſeen; every field a bed of weeds and couch.

Yvetot.—A noble track of land; richer or deeper loams hardly to be ſeen, but all miſerably cultivated; an exception to the common caſe in France, where fine ſoils are uſually well cultivated: the crops in this country are a perfect contraſt to the ſoil.

Havre.—This whole country, from Rouen, the Pays de Caux, is a region more of manufactures than agriculture. The fabric is what the great population of this diſtrict depends on, their farms being but a ſecondary object. The number of ſmall properties, and conſequently population is very great, which is the reaſon for the price and rental of land through this country being vaſtly out of proportion to the products. Landlords alſo divide their farms according to the demand, as the riſe of rent tempts it; but he often finds himſelf depending for the rent of his land on the proſperity of a fabric. The whole country forms a curious ſpectacle; a vaſt fabric, and an immenſe employment, and population having been abſolutely miſchievous to agriculture. This has been the reſult throughout the Pays de Caux, the ſoil of which may be ranked among the fineſt in France. Had it been a miſerably poor, rocky, or barren territory, the reſult would have been beneficial, for the fabric would have covered ſuch a diſtrict with cultivation. But the farmers of the Pays de Caux are not only manufacturers, but have an inclination alſo for trade; the large ones engage in commercial ſpeculations at Havre, particularly in the cotton trade, and ſome even in that of the Weſt Indies. This is a moſt pernicious and miſchievous circumſtance; the improvement of their cultivation being never the object or reſult of their growing rich, but merely the engaging more largely in trade or manufacture. If they get a ſhare in an American adventure, no matter whether thiſtles and docks cover their fields.

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* *De la Monarchie Pruſſienne,* tom. iii. p. 109.

BRETAGNE—*St. Brieux.*—Meeting here with a linen merchant, and ſome other well-inſtructed perſons, I demanded information concerning the ſtate of huſbandry in the central parts of the province, and particularly the diſtricts in which the great linen manufacture (one of the moſt conſiderable in Europe) is carried on. All I had ſeen of the province was ſuch a wretched and almoſt deſerted waſte, that I ſuppoſed the other parts much better. I was informed, that the whole province was alike, except the biſhoprick of St. Pol. de Leon; that where the linen fabrick was chiefly eſtabliſhed, there huſbandry was moſt neglected, from the people depending on their linen alone; that this ſtate of things could not be helped, as it was impoſſible to attend both to their fabric and their land; and the former being found of the moſt importance, the latter was left quite neglected; and that the *landes* in the linen parts of the province were enormous.

L'Orient.—Here, in converſation concerning the waſtes of Bretagne, I was again aſſured, that the *landes* were of very great extent in the linen country of Pontivy, Loudeac, Moncontour, and St. Quintin; and that what is cultivated is as rough as any I have ſeen; for the weavers are amongſt the very worſt farmers in the province.

Auvergnac.—A perſon, intimately acquainted with every part of the province, informed me, that the linen fabric in Bretagne is almoſt always found amidſt bad agriculture, which he attributed to their always ſowing hemp or flax on their beſt lands, and neglecting corn; but where corn is found, as about this place, they depend on it, and are not equally ſolicitous for hemp and flax.

Elbœuf to Rouen.—A deſert.

M. l'Abbé Raynal remitted 1200 liv. to the Royal Society of Agriculture, at Paris, to be given as a prize on the ſubject of the following queſtion, *Une agriculture floriſante influe-telle plus ſur la proſpérité des manufactures, que l'accroiſſement des manufactures ſur la proſpérité, de l'agriculture?* How the writers, who contend for the prize, will decide the queſtion, I ſhall not inquire; but the facts, which I have here noted, ſeem to weigh materially towards enabling us to examine it. I take France to have poſſeſſed, from 1650 to 1750, the moſt flouriſhing manufactures in Europe: they were ſo conſiderable, and ſome of them remain yet ſo important, as to enable us to appeal merely to facts for an anſwer to ſuch a queſtion, ſo far as the example of that kingdom is concerned. That century of proſperous fabrics, what did it effect for agriculture? I may very ſecurely reply, nothing. Whatever accounts I received of the compariſon between the former and the preſent ſtate of their cultivation, were in favour of the latter; yet, ſuppoſing it as good in 1750 as at preſent, I heſitate not to aſſert, that if ſuch immenſe fabrics, encouraged almoſt excluſively for a century, could create no better huſbandry than I met with in France, we may very ſafely conclude, that manufactures may flouriſh greatly, without ſhedding much influence in favour of agriculture. Such is the concluſion which forces itſelf upon one from the general view of the kingdom; but let us examine it more in detail.—The greateſt fabrics of France are the cottons and woollens of Normandy, the woollens of Picardy and Champagne, the linens of Bretagne, and the ſilks and hardware of the Lyonois. Now, if manufactures be the true encouragement of agriculture, the vicinity of thoſe great fabrics ought to be the beſt cultivated diſtricts in the kingdom. I have viſited all thoſe manufactures, and remarked the attendant culture, which is unexceptionably ſo execrable, that one would be much more inclined to think there was ſomething peſtiferous to agriculture in the neighbourhood of a manufacture, than to look up to it as a mean of encouragement. Conſidering the fertility of the ſoil, which is great, Picardy and Normandy are among the worſt cultivated countries I have ſeen. The immenſe fabrics of Abbeville and Amiens have not cauſed the incloſure of a ſingle field, or the baniſhment of fallows from a ſingle acre. Go from Elbœuf to Rouen, if you would view a deſert: and the Pays de Caux, poſſeſſing one of the richeſt ſoils in the world, with manufactures in every hut and cottage, preſents one continued ſcene of weeds, filth, and beggary; a ſoil ſo villainouſly managed, that if it were not naturally of an inexhauſtible fertility, it would long ago have been utterly ruined. The agriculture of Champagne is miſerable, even to a proverb; I ſaw there great and flouriſhing manufactures, and cultivation in ruins around them. Let us paſs into Bretagne, which affords but one ſpectacle, that of a dreary, deſolate waſte; dark as ling—*ſombre* as broom can make it.—You find yourſelf in the midſt of one of the greateſt linen manufactures in

Europe, and, throwing your eye around the country, can ſcarcely believe the inhabitants are fed by agriculture; if they ſubſiſted by the chaſe of wild animals, their country might be as well cultivated. From hence croſs the kingdom to Lyons; all the world knows the immenſe fabrics found there; and thoſe of St. Etienne among the moſt flouriſhing in the kingdom: *De toutes les provinces de France*, ſays M. Roland de la Platiêre, *le Lyonois eſt le plus miſerable* [*].—What I ſaw of it gave me little reaſon to queſtion the aſſertion. The remark of another French writer makes the experiment double: *L'Artois eſt un de Provinces les plus riches du royaume. C'eſt un verité inconteſtable——elle ne poſſéde point de manufactures* [†]. I will not preſume to aſſert, that the agriculture of theſe diſtricts is bad, *becauſe* they abound with manufactures, though I believe it to be very much the caſe in the Pays de Caux; I merely ſtate the facts, which I clearly know, becauſe they came within my own eye; the fabrics are the greateſt in the kingdom, and certainly the agriculture is amongſt the worſt. In my tour through Ireland, the journal of which is before the public, I examined, with attention, the vaſt linen manufacture which ſpreads all over the north of that kingdom. I there found the ſame ſpectacle that Bretagne offers; huſbandry ſo miſerably, ſo contemptibly bad, that I have ſhewn, by calculation, the whole province converted into a ſheep-walk, and feeding but two ſheep per acre, would yield, in wool only, a greater value than the whole amount of the linen fabric [‡]; a circumſtance I attribute entirely to the manufacture ſpreading into the country, inſtead of being confined to towns. *Wherever the linen manufacture ſpreads, there tillage is very bad*, ſaid that attentive obſerver the Lord Chief Baron Forſter [§].—The Earl of Tyrone has an eſtate, in the county of Derry, amidſt manufactures, and another in that of Waterford, where there are none; and he aſſured me, that if the Derry land were in Waterford, or abſolutely freed from fabrics, he ſhould clear full one-third more money from it [‖].—If we paſs into England, we ſhall find ſomething ſimilar, though not in an equal degree; the manufacturing parts of the kingdom being among the worſt cultivated. You muſt not go for agriculture to Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Warwickſhire, or Glouceſterſhire, which are full of fabrics, but to Kent, where there is not the trace of a fabric; to Berkſhire, Hertfordſhire, and Suffolk, where there are ſcarcely any: Norwich is an exception, being the only great manufacture in the kingdom in a thoroughly well cultivated diſtrict, which muſt very much be attributed to the fabric being kept remarkably within the city and ſpreading (ſpinning excepted), not much into the country; a circumſtance that deſerves attention, as it confirms ſtrongly the preceding obſervations. But the two counties of Kent and Lancaſter are expreſſly to the purpoſe, becauſe they form a double experiment; Lancaſter is the moſt manufacturing province in England, and amongſt the worſt cultivated: Kent has not the ſhadow of a manufacture, and is perhaps the beſt cultivated. Italy will furniſh inſtances, yet more to the purpoſe, than any yet cited. The richeſt, and moſt flouriſhing countries in Europe, in proportion to their extent, are probably Piedmont, and the Milaneſe. All the ſigns of proſperity are there met with; populouſneſs well employed and well ſupported; a great export without; a thriving conſumption within; magnificent roads; numerous and wealthy towns; circulation active; intereſt of money low; and the price of labour high. In a word, you can name no circumſtance that ſhall prove Mancheſter, Birmingham, Rouen, and Lyons to be in a proſperous ſtate, that is not found diffuſed throughout the whole of theſe countries; to what is all this proſperity to be aſcribed? certainly not to manufactures, becauſe they poſſeſs hardly the trace of a fabric: there are a few, of no conſideration, at Milan; and there are in Piedmont the ſilk mills, to give the firſt hand to that product; but on the whole to an amount ſo very trifling, that both countries muſt be conſidered as *without* fabrics. They are equally without commerce, being excluded from the ſea; and though there is a navigable river that paſſes through both theſe territories, yet no uſe is made of it, for there are five ſovereigns between Piedmont and its mouth, all of whom lay duties on the tranſit of every ſort of merchandize. As theſe two countries do not owe their riches to manufactures or commerce, ſo undoubtedly they are not indebted for them to any peculiar felicity in their governments; both are deſpotiſms; and the deſpot * of Milan makes that country a beaſt of burthen to Germany; the revenues are remitted to Vienna; and the cloaths, even for the troops paid by Milan, come from Germany. The origin and the ſupport of all the wealth of theſe countries, are to be found in AGRICULTURE ALONE, which is carried to ſuch perfection as to prove, that it is equal to the ſole ſupport of a modern and moſt flouriſhing ſociety; to keep that ſociety in a ſtate of great wealth; and to enable the governments to be, in proportion to their extent, doubly more powerful than either France or England. Piedmont ſupports a regal court, and pays 30,000 men. The ſame extent of country, or number of people, does not effect the half of this in any other dominion of Europe. But are theſe territories really without manufactures? no: nor is any country in the world; it is not poſſible to find a people totally exempt from them. The preſent inquiry demands no ſuch exemption: it is only neceſſary to ſhew, that the manufactures found in the Milaneſe and in Piedmont, are ſuch as ariſe abſolutely in conſequence of agriculture; that it is agriculture which ſupports and nouriſhes them; and that, on the contrary, theſe manufactures are ſo far from doing any thing politically for agriculture, that they occaſion the expoſing of it to reſtrictions and monopolies; for the government in theſe countries have been bitten by the ſame madneſs of commerce that has infeſted other kingdoms; and have attempted, by ſuch means, to raiſe theſe trifling fabrics into foreign export. Happily they have never been able to do it; for there is reaſon to imagine, that ſucceſs would have ſuggeſted other reſtrictions unfavourable to the great foundation of all their proſperity. Thus the inſtances produced are expreſs to the purpoſe, as they exhibit two opulent ſtates, ſupported by agriculture alone, and poſſeſſing no other manufactures or commerce, than what every country muſt poſſeſs that enjoys a flouriſhing cultivation; for it is not to be expected, that ſuch great reſults are to be found attending common exertions only. On the contrary, thoſe that have converted part of theſe noble territories into a garden, have been great and exemplary. The canals, for mere irrigation, are greater works than many in England, for the purpoſes of navigation; and the infinite attention that is given to the perpetual deviation of the waters, is a ſpectacle of equal merit and curioſity. Hence the following facts cannot be controverted:

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[*] *Journal Phyſique.* tom. xxxvi. p. 342.

[†] *Memoire ſur cette queſtion, Eſt-il utile en Artois du diviſer les fermes, par M. Delegorgue.* 1786. p. 23.

[‡] *A Tour in Ireland.* 2d edit. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 304. [§] Ib. vol. i. p. 123. [‖] Ib. vol. i. p. 515.

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* The expreſſion has nothing too harſh, when applied to the late emperor, in whoſe reign I viewed the Milaneſe: it is not applicable to the wiſe and benignant Leopold, who has given ample grounds to induce a belief, that he will prove a bleſſing to every country that is happy enough to be governed by him.

I. That the agriculture of France, after a century of excluſive and ſucceſsful attention to manufactures, was in a wretched ſtate.

II. That the manufacturing diſtricts in France and England are the worſt cultivated.

III. That the beſt cultivation in England, and ſome of the beſt in France, muſt be looked for where no manufactures are to be found.

IV. That when the fabrics ſpread into all the cottages of a country, as in France and Ireland, ſuch a circumſtance is abſolutely deſtructive of agriculture: ſpinning only excepted, which is almoſt univerſal in every country.

V. That agriculture alone, when thoroughly improved, is equal to the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of great national wealth, power, and felicity.

And from theſe facts, the following corollaries are clearly deducible:

I. That the beſt method of improving agriculture, is not by eſtabliſhing manufactures and commerce, becauſe they may be eſtabliſhed in great extent and perfection, and yet agriculture may remain in a miſerable ſtate.

II. That the eſtabliſhment of a flouriſhing agriculture, inevitably occaſions the poſſeſſion of ſuch manufactures and commerce, as are equal to the ſupport of numerous and flouriſhing towns; and to whatever is neceſſary to form a great and potent ſociety. The leſſon to governments is deducible in few words: firſt, ſecure proſperity to agriculture, by equal taxation *, and by abſolute liberty † of cultivation and ſale ‡. Secondly; do no more to encourage manufactures and commerce, than by letting them alone, a policy excluſive of every idea of monopoly. We may ſafely affirm, and our aſſertions are founded on unqueſtionable facts, that any country will attain the utmoſt proſperity of which its government is capable, that ſteadily purſue this conduct.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Taxation of France.

THE difficulty of underſtanding the details of the finances of France, induced me to attempt diſentangling their confuſion, by reducing them to ſuch heads as are common in our own revenue. The particulars indeed are too long to inſert, but the ſubject of taxation is of too much importance to be paſſed over abſolutely in ſilence.

Taxes on Land under the old Government.

	French Money.	English Money.
Vingtiemes,	55,565,264 liv.	£. 2,430,980
Taille,	81,000,000	3,543,750
Local impoſitions,	1,800,000	78,750
Capitation	22,000,000	962,500
Décimes,	10,600,000	463,750
Sundries,	600,000	26,250
	171,565,264	7,505,980

The calculation of the committee of impoſition ‖, in the National Aſſembly, is this,

Vingtiemes,	55,565,264 liv.
Décimes,	10,000,000
Other impoſitions,	23,844,016
Taille,	73,816,179
Capitation,	6,133,274
Tythes,	110,000,000
Half the *gabelle*,	30,000,000
Half the exciſe on leather,	4,500,000
	314,059,724 Or, £. 13,740,112 ſterling.

* There is no equality but in thoſe on conſumption, and tythes abſolutely incompatible.

† Liberty of cultivation, implies an unlimited power of incloſure: the privilege of cultivating any plant the farmer pleaſes, without ſhackle or reſtraint.

‡ An unbounded freedom of export.

* *Rapport du Comité de l'Impoſition. Piecès Juſt.* No. 1.

It is ſufficiently evident, that this is an inflamed account in ſeveral articles, as the committee had ſome deſign in view. Upon the principles of the œconomiſtes, they propoſed a land-tax of three hundred millions for the ſervice of the year 1791; and that propoſition was made under the aſſertion that the nation paid a greater land-tax under the old government. The reaſoning, however, is erroneous; and to direct 110,000,000, the amount of tythes (which the Aſſembly had expreſſly aboliſhed without condition), to be made good by a land-tax, is an oppreſſion for no better reaſon than its having exiſted before: to bring ſalt and leather into the account is another exaggeration; why not include the duties on wine, by parity of reaſoning? A farmer who has no vineyard of his own muſt buy it, and he cannot buy without paying *aides*; but are thoſe taxes therefore to be reckoned? Certainly not; nor any others on conſumption, which are clearly in a different claſs, and not to be included in ſuch a detail.

Taxes on Conſumption.

	French Money.	Engliſh Money.
Salt,	58,560,000 liv.	£. 2,562,000
Wine and brandy, &c.	56,250,181	2,460,444
Tobacco,	27,000,000	1,181,205
Leather,	5,850,008	255,937
Paper and cards,	1,081,509	47,315
Starch and powder,	758,049	33,164
Iron,	980,000	42,875
Oil,	763,000	33,381
Glaſs,	150,000	6,562
Soap,	838,971	36,704
Linen and ſtuffs,	150,000	6,562
Octrois, Entrées, &c,	57,561,552	2,518,317
Cattle,	630,000	27,562
Cuſtoms,	23,440,000	1,025,500
Tolls,	5,000,000	218,750
Stamps,	20,244,473	885,695
Local duties,	1,133,162	49,575
	260,390,905	11,391,548

It merits the reader's attention, that of this long liſt nothing is retained under the new government but the cuſtoms and ſtamps.

General Revenue.

	French Money.	Engliſh Money.
Taxes on land,	171,565,264 liv.	£. 2,430,980
Domaines,	9,900,000	433,125
Conſumption,	260,390,905	11,391,548
Perſonal,	44,240,000	1,935,500
Monopolies,	28,513,774	1,247,496
Sundries, including the Pays d'Etat,	12,580,000	550,375
Carry forward,	527,099,943	17,989,024

	French Money.	Engliſh Money.
Brought forward, -	527,099,943 liv.	£.17,989,024
Taxes not received on account of government, - -	95,900,000	4,195,625
	622,999,943	22,184,649
Collection, - - - -	57,665,000	2,522,843
Total, - - - -	680,664,943	24,707,492

Such was the revenue, at the entire command of Louis XVI. And ſuch were the conſequences of the funding ſyſtem, that it had power to ſtrike a palſy into the receipt of ſo enormous an income, even in the hands of the maſter of 250,000 bayonets, and twenty-five millions of ſubjects. Sovereigns ought to contemplate theſe effects of that PUBLIC CREDIT, upon which the banking, money-changing, and ſtock-broking writers, with Necker at their head, have delivered ſuch panegyrics! A ſyſtem that never entered a country, but to deſtroy or to annihilate proſperity: it has ſpread ruin or debility in Spain, Holland, Genoa, Venice, and France: it threatens ſpeedily the extinction of the power, and the overthrow of the conſtitution of England: it has weakened, and almoſt deſtroyed Europe, except one country, ſaved by the ſplendid talents of a ſingle ſovereign. It is impoſſible to contemplate ſuch a revenue and population, united with variety of natural advantages poſſeſſed by France, without bleſſing the goodneſs of providence, that a prince like Frederic II. did not fill the throne of Louis XV. Such a penetrating mind would have ſeen, in perſpective, the miſchiefs of public credit in France, as clearly as he did in Pruſſia; he would have ſtrangled the monſter for ever, and would have thereby eſtabliſhed a power irreſiſtible by all his neighbours; and the nations of Europe would have lain in ruins around him.

Changes in the Revenue, occaſioned by the Revolution.

The general ſtatement, by the firſt miniſter of the finances, from the firſt May 1789 to April 30, 1790, compared with the receipt for 1788, will give the defalcation that has taken place, and the additions that are carried to account.

	1789.	1790.
1, Fermes génèrales, - -	150,107,000 liv.	126,895,086 liv.
2, Régie génèrale des aides, -	50,220,000	31,501,988
3, Regie des domaines, -	50,000,000	49,644,573
4, Ferme des poſtes, - -	12,000,000	10,958,754
5, Ferme des meſſageries, -	1,100,000	661,162
6, Ferme de Sceau & Poiſſy, -	630,000	780,000
7, Ferme des affinages, - -	120,000	——
Carry forward, -	264,177,000	220,441,563

		1789.	1790.
	Brought forward, -	264,177,000 liv.	220,441,563 liv.
8,	Abonnement de la Flandre, -	823,000	822,219
9,	Loterie, - - -	14,000,000	12,710,855
10,	Revenus caſuels, - -	3,000,000	1,157,447
11,	Marc d'or, - -	1,500,000	760,889
12,	Salt petre, - - -	800,000	303,184
13,	Recette général, - -	157,035,890	27,238,524
14,	Pays d'Etats, - -	24,556,000	23,848,261
15,	Capitations & vingtiemes abonnées,	575,000	1,213,505
16,	Impoſitions aux fortifications, -	575,000	676,399
17,	Benefice des monnoies, - -	500,000	824,301
18,	Droits attribués a la caiſſe du commerce,	636,355	305,418
19,	Forges royales, - -	80,000	401,702
20,	Interets, l'Amerique, - -	1,600,000	——
21,	Debets des comptables, -	——	2,291,860
22,	Parties non reclamées a l'hotel de Ville,	——	240,262
23,	Petits recouvremens, -	——	——
24,	Quinze vingt, - -	180,000	257,000
		470,038,245	293,493,389
25,	Plate carried to the mint, - -		14,256,040
26,	Dons patriotiques, - - -		361,587
27,	Contribution patriotique *, - -		9,721,085
			317,832,101

The vaſt defalcation is, therefore, 176,544,856 liv. (7,723,837l.), the ſum which 1790 falls ſhort of 1789.

1791.—The Committee of Impoſts have calculated the ſums wanted for the year 1791, and they propoſed to raiſe them in the following manner †:

Land-tax (*contribution fonciere*), -	287,000,000 liv.
Tax on perſonal property (*contribution mobiliare*),	60,000,000
Stamps (*droit d'enregiſtrement*), -	50,246,478
Other ſtamps, - - -	20,764,800
Patents (ſtamps), - - -	20,182,000
Lotteries, - - -	10,000,000
Cuſtoms, - - - - -	20,700,000
Powder, ſalt petre, marc d'or, and affinages,	1,000,000
Mortgages, - - -	5,375,000
Poſts and ſtage coaches, - -	12,000,000
Contribution patriotique, - -	34,562,000
Carry forward, - -	521,830,278

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* It deſerves attention, that this *contribution patriotique* is mentioned as a reſource of 35,000,000 liv. for the year 1791, by the committee of impoſition. *Rapport 6 Decembre*, 1790, *ſur les moyens de pourvoir aux dépenſes pour* 1791, p. 5.

† *Rapport fait le* 6 *Decembre*, 1790. 8vo. p. 6. *Rapport fait le* 19 *February*, 1791. 8vo. p. 7.

Brought forward,	521,830,278 liv.	
Domaines,	15,000,000	
Salt works,	3,000,000	
Intereſt from Americans, &c.	4,000,000	
Sale of ſalt and tobacco in the warehouſes of the farmers general,	29,169,462	
	573,000,000	Or, £. 25,068,750

It appears, by the *Memoires préſentés a l'Aſſemblée Nationale au nom du Com. des Finances, par M. de Monteſquiou*, September 9, 1791. 4to. that the revenue in 1790 produced only 253,091,000 liv. which was made up by anticipations and aſſignats.

Intereſt of Debts.

Amount of the debt, according to the lateſt ſtatements. The following is the account of the committee of finances:

		Capitals.	Intereſt.
Rents viagères (life annuities),		1,018,233,460 liv.	101,823,846 liv.
Rentes perpetuelles.—	*Rentes conſtituées,*	94,912,340	4,745,617
	Rentes payèes a l'botel de ville,	2,422,987,301	52,735,856
	Dettes liquidées,	12,351,643	544,114
	Gages & traitemens,	2,603,210	93,645
	Communautés,	3,066,240	153,312
	Indemnités,	27,306,840	1,365,342
	Emprunts, Pays d'Etats,	126,964,734	6,276,087
		[*] 3,708,430,768	167,737,819
	Dette exigible [†],	1,878,816,534	92,133,239
		[‡] 5,587,247,302	259,871,058
Or ſterling,		£. 244,442,099	£. 11,369,357

Aſſignats to the amount of 400,000,000 had then been iſſued; but the committee does not include them in the preceding account.

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[*] The committee ſtate, that this debt, by leaving the annuities to extinguiſh themſelves, and by buying in the perpetual funds, at twenty years purchaſe, the whole would be extingniſhed with the ſum of 1,321,191,817 liv. *Etat de la dette Publique.* 4to. 1790. p. 8.

[†] Monſ. de Monteſquiou, in the memoire preſented September 9, 1791, makes the *dette exigible* amount to 2,300,000,000 liv. p. 58. He makes the whole debt 3,400,000,000 liv. to which add 1,800,000,000 of aſſignats, and this is 5,200,000,000 liv.; but 215,000,000 liv. of aſſignats have been burnt. p. 46.

[‡] I have read Monſ. Arnould (*De la balance du Commerce*, 1791), who makes the debt 4,152,000,000 liv.; but not giving his authorities ſatisfactorily, I muſt adhere to the above-mentioned ſtatement.

The *Apperçu des Recettes & Dépenſes de l'Année*, 1791, by the finance miniſter, M. Dufreſne, gives the account of the expences neceſſary to be incurred in 1791, according to the decrees of the aſſembly, and they are as follows:

To the eccleſiaſtics, for the expence of public worſhip, - - - -		70,000,000 liv.
Penſions to the religious of the convents and monaſteries ſuppreſſed, - -		70,000,000
Juſtice, - - - -		12,000,000
Directories of departments and diſtricts, -		9,360,000
Civil liſt, penſions, ſalaries, bureaus, academies, &c.		67,041,363
All other payments, of which intereſt of debts, - -	192,265,000	
Paris, - - -	9,323,800	
War department and marine, -	134,432	
		360,770,500
		589,172,000 Or, £. 25,776,274

By the *Memoires ſur les Finances préſentés*, 9th September, 1791, 4to, ſome points receive more light than in any preceding account. It appears, that the national eſtates ſold have produced 964,733,114 liv.; this is a curious fact; but the *idea*, that the remainder will produce enough to make this ſum up 3,500,090,000 liv. is by no means certain; indeed, it is of a complexion too dubious to be admitted; and of thoſe actually ſold, the receipt only to the amount of 735,054,754 liv. is poſitively aſcertained: and this vaſt ſum, in the whole probably not leſs than 40 millions ſterling, muſt, without doubt, contribute very greatly, even beyond all calculation, to give ſecurity to the new government, as it intereſts the moſt cloſely an immenſe number of perſons, with all their connections and dependencies, to ſupport that ſyſtem, by which alone this great property can be rendered ſafe. If to this be added the whole *tiers etat* of the kingdom, that is 90 in 100 of the total, it muſt be apparent, that the hopes of a counter-revolution muſt reſt on external force, inadequate to the conqueſt of ſuch a kingdom as France, unleſs all poſſible advantages towards favouring the attempt be united and aided by a well connected inſurrection of thoſe who are diſcontented.

Of the Funding Syſtem.

It appears, from the preceding accounts, that France, under the old government, purſued the ruinous ſyſtem of mortgaging its revenues, as regularly as any other country, whoſe greater freedom might be ſuppoſed to offer more temptations to the practice. This ſyſtem, however, almoſt unaided by any other cauſe, has overturned that government, by means of the moſt extraordinary revolution upon record. If Lewis XIV. amidſt the ſplendour of his reign and career of his conqueſts, could poſſibly have foreſeen, that the ſecond ſovereign in deſcent from him would be led captive by his ſubjects, on account of the debts he was then contracting, he would either have rejected with horror the ſyſtem he adopted, or have manifeſted the moſt entire want of thoſe feelings which ought to dwell in the breaſt of a great and ambitious monarch. But, after this memorable example to other countries, it remains a ſubject of infinite curioſity, to ſee how far the infatuated and blind ſpirit of funding will now be purſued. Every hour, after the great event in France, will make it more and more critical, and will inevitably involve in its train new revolutions, perhaps of a complexion more dangerous to eſtabliſhed families, than any thing we have ſeen in France.—If peace is preſerved in that kingdom, the debt will extinguiſh itſelf, being in a great proportion annuities for lives; but were not this the caſe, and ſhould new wars add to the national burthens, the people, almoſt emancipated as they have been from taxation, will be brought back to it with great difficulty; and other aſſemblies, feeling their power better eſtabliſhed, will not pay the ſame attention to the public creditors which the preſent has done; and the event might be ſimilar to what will inevitably happen in England. No government will ever think of committing a deliberate act of bankruptcy; but when taxes are puſhed to ſuch a height that the people will no longer pay them, they are ripe for ſedition; preſently feel their own power;—and the event which follows, may be eaſily conjectured. What is the concluſion that follows?—That the funding ſyſtem, or rather the wars which occaſion it, are ſo fatal and peſtilential, that, at all events, they ought to be avoided; but that, if unhappily they cannot, they ſhould be ſupported by annual taxes (never by loans), which implies a war of defence *at home*; a renunciation of all exterior dominion; and the abſolute annihilation of that commercial ſyſtem of policy on which conqueſts, colonies, and debts have been ſo fatally erected.

Of the Amount of Specie in France.

The writings of Monſ. Necker will aſſiſt us in the regiſter of the French mint, which proves ſatisfactorily the quantity of money coined in France; it muſt, however, be ſufficiently obvious, that from this quantity it is mere conjecture to attempt to aſcertain, at any period, the actual quantity of ſpecie remaining in the kingdom.

Coined in France from 1726 to 1780.—Gold, -	957,200,000 liv.
Silver, -	1,489,500,000
	2,446,700,000
In 1781, 82, and 83, - - - -	52,300,000
	2,500,000,000
And exiſting in 1784, - - -	2,200,000,000

And he makes the increaſe of ſpecie, in 15 years, from 1763 to 1777, in France, equal to the increaſe in all the reſt of Europe. From the inquiries of M. Clavière * and M. Arnould †, it appears, that the gold and ſilver currency of France, at the aſſembly of the States, was two milliards (87,500,000l.) Whatever authority Monſ. Necker placed in the ſuppoſed balance of the French trade, of above three millions ſterling per annum, was aſſumed on very inſufficient grounds. The marquis de Caſſaux has proved the facts, which Monſ. Necker deduced from that balance, to have never exiſted but in his own imagination ‡. The importance alſo, which, in the 10th chapter of the ſame book, that writer aſſigns to the poſſeſſion of great quantities of gold and ſilver; the political conduct he expreſſly recommends to procure thoſe metals, as ſelling much merchandize to other nations, and buying little; ſtudying to effect this by ſhackling trade with duties upon export and import; and by the acquiſition of colonies: the whole of this ſyſtem betrays no inconſiderable degree of littleneſs; it is worthy of the counting-houſe alone; and manifeſts none of the views of a great ſtateſman, nor even the abilities of an able politician: one is ſure to meet, in Monſ. Necker's productions, with an eloquent diſplay of narrow ideas, and never the great reach of real talents, nor the maſterly views of deciſive genius. His miniſtry, and his publications, ſhew the equable orderly arrangement of a mind well regulated for little purſuits; but loſt, amidſt the great events of a new ſyſtem, burſting into efficiency amidſt the whirlwind of a revolution.

The total currency, of both gold and ſilver, in Great Britain, may probably not be leſs than 40 millions ſterling. But no compariſon can be made between the two kingdoms, becauſe the great maſs of England's circulating currency is in paper; whereas, in France, all, or nearly all, was in coin, till aſſignats were iſſued. It is probably a juſt obſervation of Mr. Hume, that the circulation of paper tends ſtrongly to baniſh coin. Every kingdom muſt have, proportioned to its induſtry, a circulation of ſomething; and if it have no paper, that circulation, ſo proportioned to its induſtry, will be in coin; the creation of ſo much paper ſupplies the place of it; and conſequently keeps it from flowing into any country, where it is demanded by the offer of valuable equivalents. But, on the other hand, it has been urged, that paper, ſupplying the circulation as well and more conveniently than the metals, allows the latter to be ſent profitably

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* *Opinion d'un créancier de l'Etat.* † *De la Bal. du Com.* tom ii. p. 206.

‡ Monſ. de Calonne's recoinage, of 1785, has proved, that Monſ. Necker, even upon a ſubject more peculiarly his own, as a banker, is not ſo correct as one would imagine, when he ventures either to calculate or to conjecture. It is with difficulty he allows 300 millions for the export and melting of louis', which appear to have been 650,000,000 liv. He ſtates the gold coinage (including the ſilver of the years 1781, 82, and 83), at 1,009,500,000 liv. inſtead of which, it was, by Monſ. de Calonne's account, 1,300,000,000 liv.

out of the kingdom, not to be loſt, but beneficially as merchandize, and that an annual benefit is made by this, as well as by all other trades. If this argument be good, and in all probability there is ſome truth in it, France, by keeping ſo enormous a capital at home as 90 millions ſterling, to anſwer purpoſes which, in England, are fulfilled with leſs than half, by means of paper, loſes the profit which might be made on 45 millions, were that ſum employed as it is employed in England. There is yet another explanation of the great paper currency of England, which has alſo much truth in it, and eſpecially in the preſent moment. It may be ſaid, that paper has been ſo largely coined in England, becauſe the balance of its tranſactions with foreigners has not brought in the metals as faſt as its induſtry, has demanded a circulating repreſentative; its induſtry has increaſed faſter than its money; and I believe this to have been very much the caſe ſince the American war, in which period the progreſs of proſperity, in this kingdom, has been of an unexampled rapidity. In ſuch a circumſtance, the circulation of paper, inſtead of leſſening the quantity of ſpecie, will increaſe it, by facilitating the operations of commerce. Another evil, of a worſe tendency, perhaps, is the diſpoſition to hoard, when the currency is all in the precious metals. Monſ. Necker ſtates, as an undoubted fact, that vaſt ſums of gold are hoarded in France; and circumſtances came to light on Monſ. de Calonne's recoinage, which proved the ſame fact. The ordinary circulation of Paris, does not exceed from 80 to 100,000,000 liv. as we learn from the ſame miniſter*; a fact which alſo unites with the immenſity of the total ſpecie of France, to ſhew that perhaps the great maſs of it is hoarded. It muſt be ſufficiently obvious, that this practice depends much on a want of confidence in the government, and on the erroneous conduct of not encouraging inveſtments in the national induſtry: but it tends ſtrongly to give France a greater maſs of the precious metals than is demanded by her induſtry.

Two conſiderable proofs exiſt in Europe, that a country will always attract ſuch a ſhare of the precious metals as is proportioned to its induſtry, if not prevented by circulating paper. Theſe are Pruſſia and Modena. The King of Pruſſia's treaſure, calculated as it is at 15 millions ſterling, is thrice as much as the whole circulating ſpecie of his dominions. In all probability, had that treaſure not been withdrawn from circulation, the ſpecie would not at this moment have been one dollar greater than it is at preſent; and for this plain reaſon, that there appears no want of currency in thoſe dominions; the degree of induſtry there demanding ſpecie from all its neighbours, has acquired it as faſt as the King has accumulated his treaſure, but had no treaſure been formed, the ſame demand would not have taken place, and conſequently no ſuch influx of money. Modena, as I once before obſerved, in proportion to its extent and riches, affords a ſimilar inſtance; yet the duke's hoard is ſuppoſed, on pretty good grounds, to exceed very much all the circulating ſpecie of his dutchy; and I made particular inquiries at Modena, whether a want of it were perceptible? I was aſſured of the contrary, and that their currency was fully equal to the demands of their induſtry and money-exchanges. From theſe inſtances, we may, without heſitation, pronounce, that the ſpecie of England is kept vaſtly below its natural meaſure, by the immenſity of our paper circulation. There is little importance in poſſeſſing great quantities of ſpecie, if not in a national hoard: the caſe of England nearly permits us to queſtion it altogether. For neither in the domeſtic circulation, nor in foreign tranſactions, has France been able to effect any thing by means of her money, which we have not been able to command equally well, perhaps better, with our paper. A wiſe government ſhould therefore be ſolicitous for the induſtrious and productive employment of her people; if ſhe ſecure that eſſential point, ſhe may ſafely leave the metals to find their own level, without paying any regard whether her circulation be in paper or in gold. Nor is there danger of paper being too much multiplied, as long as the acceptance of it is voluntary; for it would not be multiplied, if it were not demanded; and if it be demanded, it ought to be multiplied. With paper, forced by government on the people, the caſe is far different: from the circumſtance of its being *forced*, there is the cleareſt proof that it is not *demanded*, and conſequently ought not to be iſſued: force, in ſuch a caſe, is fraud; and a public fraud ought never to be practiſed, but in the laſt extremity of diſtreſs. The aſſignats iſſued by the National Aſſembly, are of this complexion; the ſtep, however dangerous, might poſſibly be neceſſary to ſecure the new conſtitution; but I ſhall not heſitate a moment in declaring, that an avowed bankruptcy would, in other reſpects, have been a much wiſer meaſure, and attended probably with fewer and leſs evils.—Of thirty-four commercial cities, that preſented addreſſes upon the project of aſſignats, ſeven only were for them [*]. The ſcheme met with equal oppoſition from rank [†], literature [‡], and commerce [‖]. The prognoſtics, however, of an enormous diſcount, were not verified ſo much as might have been expected.—M. Decretot, in September 1790, mentions them with 400 millions only in circulation, being at 10 per cent. diſcount at Bourdeaux; and M. de Condorcet 6 per cent. at Paris; thence they both concluded, that the diſcount would be enormous, if a greater iſſue of them took place; yet, in May 1791, after many hundred millions more had been iſſued, they were only at from 7 to 10 per cent. diſcount [§]. And another circumſtance, equally miſtaken, was the expectation of an enormous riſe of all common prices—which did not happen, for corn rather fell in its value; a remarkable experiment, that deſerves to be remembered. The Marquis de Condorcet ſuppoſed, that wheat would riſe from 24 to 36 liv. the ſeptier, perhaps in one day *. The aſſignats amounted, on the diſſolution of the firſt aſſembly, to 1800,000,000 liv.

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* *De l'Etat de la France*, p. 80.

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[*] *De l'Etat de la France*, par M. de Calonne. 8vo. 1790. p. 82.

[†] *Opinion de M. de la Rochefoucauld, ſur l'Aſſignats monnoie.* 8vo.

[‡] *Sur la Propoſition d'acquitter les dettes en Aſſignats*, par M. Condorcet. 8vo. p. 14.

[‖] *Opinion de M. Decretot ſur l'Aſſignats.* 8vo. p. 8.

[§] It became greater ſince; but owing to foreign cauſes.

What conſtitutes the Merit of a Tax.

Many writings have appeared of late in France, on the ſubject of taxation, and many ſpeeches have been delivered in the National Aſſembly concerning the principles that ought to govern the ſtateſmen, who poſſeſs the power of deciding in queſtions of ſuch importance. It is much to be regretted, that the members, who have made the greateſt figure in that aſſembly, have, in theſe inquiries, rather adopted the opinions of a certain claſs of philoſophers, who made a conſiderable noiſe in France 20 or 30 years ago, than taken the pains ſeriouſly to inform themſelves well of the facts that ought to be examined upon the ſubject. It is not for a traveller to go to the bottom of ſuch intricate inquiries, which would demand long details, and a very minute examination; but the queſtion is, in the preſent moment, of ſuch importance to France, that a rapid *coup d'œil*, cannot but have its uſe. The following circumſtances, are thoſe which I conceive form all the merit of taxation:

1. Equality.
2. Facility of payment.
3. Encouragement of induſtry.
4. Eaſe of collection.
5. Difficulty of two great extenſion.

The firſt eſſential point is equality. It is abſolutely neceſſary, that every individual in the ſociety contribute to the wants of the ſtate, in proportion to his ability, provided ſuch contribution does not impede the progreſs of his induſtry †.

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* *Sur le Propoſition d'acquitter les dettes en Aſſignats*, par M. Condorcet, p. 21.

† Some little obſcurity, that hangs over this definition, ſhould be removed; by *ability*, muſt not be underſtood either capital or income but that ſuperlucration, as Davenant called it, which melts in conſumption: ſuppoſe a manufacturer makes a profit of 2000l. a-year, *living* upon 500l. and annually inveſting 2500l. in his buſineſs, it is ſufficiently obvious, upon juſt principles, that the ſtate cannot lay the 1500l. under contribution by taxes. The 500l. is the only income expoſed; but when the manufacturer dies, and his ſon turns gentleman, the whole income is made to contribute. It muſt be obvious, however, that exciſes on a manufacturer's fabric are not taxes *on him*, but on the idle conſumer, for he draws them completely back. In like manner, if a landlord farm his own eſtate, and expend the income in improvements, living on but a ſmall portion of the profit, it is ſufficiently clear, that

Every writer, and every opinion upon the ſubject agree in this; but the difficulty is, how to aſcertain the ability. Taxes on property, and taxes on conſumption, ſeem to have this merit; they will, however, be found to vary prodigiouſly; for long experience, in all countries, has proved the infinite difficulty of aſcertaining property, and the tyranny that is neceſſary to be practiſed, in order to be tolerably exact. For this reaſon, all land-taxes, under an appearance of equality, are cruelly unequal: if levied on the groſs produce *in kind*, they are ten times heavier on poor land than on rich; and the value taken by the ſtate, bears no proportion to the expence which effected the production. If levied on the rent, the eaſe of frauds makes them univerſal and perpetual; and if, to avoid theſe, the leaſes are regiſtered and taxed, this prevents leaſes, and deſtroys agriculture. If lands are valued by a *cadaſtre*, the expence is enormous *, and the merit is gone in a few years, by variations impoſſible to correct; till at laſt the only merit of the tax is its *inequality*, which is now the caſe in the Milaneſe, Piedmont, Savoy, and England; where an attempt to make the land-taxes equal would ruin the huſbandry, and produce infinite oppreſſion. Land taxes, ſo far from being equal, are ſo much the reverſe, that it is the *nominal*, and not the *real* property, that bears the tax; for mortgages eſcape though amounting to three-fourths of the property; and if, to avoid this cruelty, the proprietor be allowed, as in the caſe of the *vingtiemes* in France, to tax the mortgagee, either the regulation is evaded by private agreements, or money is no longer lent for the moſt uſeful of all purpoſes. Laſtly, land is viſible, and cannot be concealed; whereas fortunes in money are inviſible, and will ever ſlip away from taxation of every kind, except from thoſe on conſumption. Thus land taxes, viewed in what light ſoever, are totally unequal, oppreſſive, and ruinous. On the contrary, taxes

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that taxes ought not to affect one ſhilling of his expenditure on his land; they can reach, with propriety, the expences of his living only; if they touch any other part of his expenditure, they deprive him of thoſe tools that are working the buſineſs of the ſtate. A man paying, therefore, *according to his ability*, muſt be underſtood in a reſtrained ſenſe. The prepoſterous nature of land-taxes is ſeen in this diſtinction, that an idle worthleſs diſſipator is taxed exactly in the ſame degree as his induſtrious neighbour, who is converting a deſert into a garden.

* Yet the nobility of Lyons and Artois, and the tiers of Troyes, demand a general *cadaſtre* of all France, *Cahier*. p. 17.---*Artois*, p. 18.---*Troyes*, p. 7.---The committee of impoſition recommends one alſo, *Rapport*, p. 8.---To make the *cadaſtre* of Limoſin coſt 2,592,000 liv. (113,355l. 15s.) and the whole kingdom would coſt, at the ſame rate, 82,944,000 liv. (3,628,800l.) requiring the employment of 3072 engineers during 18 years, *Eſſai d'un Methode générale a etendre les connoiſſances des Voyageurs, par Monſ. Meunier*. 1779. 8vo. tom. i. p. 199.---The King of Sardinia's *cadaſtre* is ſaid to have coſt 8 *ſ.* the arpent, *Adminiſtration Prov. Le Trône.* tom. ii. p. 236. The *cahiers* demand a *cadaſtre* in the language of the *œconomiſtes*, as if it were to be done as ſoon as imagined, and to coſt only a trifle: and this operation, which would take eighteen years to execute, is adviſed by M. le Trône to be repeated every nine!

upon conſumption are, of all others, the moſt equal, and the moſt fair; for they are ſtudiouſly and correctly proportioned to the quantity of every man's conſumption *, which may with truth generally be ſuppoſed to be commenſurate to his income; at leaſt it may be aſſerted ſafely, that there is no other method, equally ſure of eſtimating income, as by that of conſumption. There are, it is true, miſers who poſſeſs much, and conſume little; but it is utterly impoſſible to reach ſuch men in taxation, without tyranny: nor is it of much conſequence; for a ſucceſſion of miſers is not to be expected,—and the more the father ſaved, the more the ſon conſumes; ſo that upon the revolution of a given period, the thing balances itſelf, and the ſtate loſes nothing. But there is alſo the greateſt juſtneſs in the equality of theſe taxes; for they meaſure themſelves by a man's voluntary expences; if he ſpend his income advantageouſly to the national induſtry and improvement, he pays very light, or no taxes; but if he conſume largely and luxuriouſly, his contribution to the ſtate riſes with his expences; advantages poſſeſſed by no other ſpecies of tax. Equality reigns ſo completely in theſe taxes, that from the poor man, who, conſuming nothing, pays nothing; to the next claſs, which, conſuming little, pays little; and to the moſt wealthy, which, conſuming much, pays much, all is regulated on the moſt perfect ſcale of contribution. It is needleſs to obſerve, that exciſes and cuſtoms equally poſſeſs this advantage; that ſtamps have the ſame, and even greater; and that *entrées* and *octrois* have a like merit, ſo far as cities are concerned, but are inferior in not being equally laid on all perſons, wherever they may reſide: a benefit in the eyes of thoſe who think towns an evil. It muſt be ſufficiently obvious, that all perſonal taxes are, to the higheſt degree unequal, from the impoſſibility of varying them properly with the conditions of life: monopolies are equal or not, in proportion to the whole ſociety being equally ſubjected to them; the poſt-office is one of the beſt of taxes, and the moſt equal.

2. *Eaſe of payment.*—In this great point, there is only one ſort of tax which has real merit, namely, that on conſumption. Here the tax is blended with the

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[*] The objection of the committee of impoſts, that the product of ſuch taxes is uncertain, is one of the ſureſt proofs of their merit. Would you have a certain tax from an uncertain income? To demand it is tyranny, *Rapport du Comité de l'Impoſition concernant les Loix Conſtitutionelles des Finances*, 20th December, 1790. 8vo. p. 19. I know of no objections to taxes on conſumption, that do not bear in a greater degree on thoſe upon property. It is ſaid, that exciſes raiſe the prices of manufactures, and impede foreign trade and domeſtic conſumption, which has certainly truth in it; but it is alſo true, that England is, in ſpite of them, the moſt manufacturing and commercial nation upon earth, even with many very bad exciſes, and which ought to be changed; they are ſaid to affect the conſumption of the poor particularly, which is merely objecting to the *abuſe*, and not to the nature of the tax; certainly the *height* to which taxation of every kind is carried in England, is cruel, ſhameful, and tyrannical. Moderate exciſes, properly laid, would have no other ill effects than ſuch as flow of neceſſity from the nature of all taxation; as to *immoderate* taxes, and *improperly* laid, they muſt be miſchievous, whether on property or on conſumption.

price of the commodity, and the conſumer pays without knowing it. He knows the price of a bottle of wine or brandy, a pack of cards, a coach-wheel, a pound of candles, tea, ſnuff, or ſalt—and he buys as he can afford; it is the ſame to him, whether the ſum he pays be the original expence of production, the dealer's profit, or the national tax; he has nothing to do with calculating them ſeparately, and pays them blended in the price. His eaſe of paying the tax is great alſo, by the time of demanding it, which is juſt at the moment when he may be thought diſpoſed to conſume, becauſe he can afford it, which is certainly the caſe *with the great* maſs of mankind. Taxes on property, and eſpecially on land, are much inferior in this reſpect. So far as they are advanced by the tenant, and drawn back when he reckons with the landlord, they are eaſy to the latter: but they are exactly, in the ſame proportion, burthenſome to the tenant, who has to advance, out of his own pocket, another man's tax, which is palpably unjuſt. We do not feel this much in England, becauſe the tenantry are commonly rich enough not to regard it; but in other countries, where they are poor, it is a great oppreſſion. At the time alſo of demanding the tax from the landlord, who farms his own eſtate, his eaſe is never conſulted; he has to pay the tax, not becauſe he has ſold his produce, for he muſt pay, though his land ſhould not produce a ſingle farthing; not becauſe he buys, and thereby ſhews that he can afford it, but merely becauſe he poſſeſſes, which by no means proves an ability to pay at all: nay, he pays without poſſeſſing more than the name, while another receives the profit; all which ſhews, that land-taxes are groſſly deficient in this eſſential requiſite. It is fair, however, to admit, that a land-tax, paid in kind, like tythes gathered, are eaſy of payment; enormous as other objections are to them, in this reſpect they have merit. But no ſtate, in modern ages, can take taxes in kind; and if let, and conſequently made an engine of private and perſonal pique or reſentment, they become one of the moſt horrible and deteſtable oppreſſions, fit to be endured by ſlaves only. Perſonal taxes are as bad; a man's having a head, or being born to a title, is no proof that he is able to pay a tax, which is demanded of him, at a time that marks neither receipt nor payment.

3. *Encouragement of induſtry.*—Taxes may be laid in ſuch a manner as to diſcourage and oppreſs induſtry, or, on the contrary, to be in this reſpect harmleſs; and under this head, is to be included the inveſtment of capital. If any branch of national induſtry be overloaded with duties, the profits ariſing from it will be ſo much leſſened, that men will not inveſt their capitals in employments thus injuriouſly treated. The firſt object to be conſidered is, what branch of human exertions and induſtry is nationally moſt beneficial? The writers and ſtateſmen * of all nations (how much ſoever they blunder practically), are theoretically agreed upon this point. There is no queſtion, that agriculture is, of all other employments, the moſt important; and a country will be proſperous,

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* Except Colbert, Monſ. Necker, and Mr. Pitt.

in proportion to the capitals inveſted in that purſuit. This decides the merit of land-taxes; in the degree they take place, the profit of poſſeſſing land is diminiſhed, and conſequently capitals are baniſhed. If a land-tax be equally aſſeſſed, a man's improvements are taxed, which he will calculate before he lays out his money, and never inveſt it in a manner that lays him directly open to the operation of ſuch duties. Thus the lands of ſuch a country will be in the hands of men who have no other capital; and experience uniformly tells us, how important it is to the welfare of agriculture, to have land in rich hands. Taxes upon conſumption, may be made utterly deſtructive of any branch of induſtry by injudicious methods of laying them; or by carrying them to too great a height; but in this caſe, the duty fails ſo much in its produce, that the goverment ſuffers as much as the employment. The tax upon leather, in France, was ruinous; the ſame tax in England is levied without difficulty. The inconvenience of exciſes chiefly flows from the neceſſity of larger capitals being in the hands of manufacturers, to enable them, not to *pay*, but to *advance* the tax, which they draw back in the price of the commodity; the real payment being thus thrown, as it always ought to be, on the conſumer. This circumſtance gives a vaſt ſuperiority to taxes on conſumption, over thoſe on land. The induſtrious man, who inveſts his capital in land, cannot draw back his taxes by raiſing the price of his cattle and corn, and thus make the conſumers pay them; it is ſufficiently evident, that this is impoſſible, whereas all taxes on conſumption are completely drawn back in the price of the goods; unleſs the merchant or manufacturer conſumes himſelf, in which caſe he pays, as he ought to do, the tax. Perſonal taxes, with reſpect to the not diſcouraging of induſtry, and the inveſtment of capital, are very imperfect; and monopolies (except the poſt-office), abſolutely ruinous, for they are prohibitions on every ſort of induſtry which the ſtate chuſes to reſerve to itſelf. The coinage is miſchievous or not, in proportion to its fidelity.

4. *Eaſe of collection.*—In this reſpect, land and houſe-taxes have a manifeſt and clear ſuperiority; for the property is impoſſible to be concealed,—and the collection is as cheap as it is eaſy; and this ſmall merit (of moſt trifling import compared with the magnitude of the evils that attend them), has been the motive for recurring to them ſo much in every country. Exciſes and cuſtoms are difficult and expenſive to levy. Stamps, however, have great merit; in the Britiſh revenue, 1,329,905l. is raiſed at the expence of 51,691l. Perſonal taxes are cheaply collected, which is their only merit: monopolies are every where expenſive—a freſh reaſon for rejecting them.

5. *Difficulty of too great extenſion.*—There is ſome merit in a tax rectifying its own exceſs, which is the caſe with thoſe on conſumption; for if they be carried to an extreme, they fall off in their produce, by encouraging ſmuggling and

fraud. But thoſe on property cannot be evaded, and therefore may be extended to a moſt oppreſſive and ruinous exceſs. The general corollary to be drawn on this ſubject is this—that the beſt taxes are thoſe on conſumption; and the worſt thoſe on property.

On the Propoſition of the Œconomiſtes for an Union of all Taxes on Land.

If the preceding ideas have any thing of truth in them, this ſyſtem muſt be groſſly falſe and miſchievous. I know not whether Mr. Locke were the original father of the doctrine, that all taxes, laid in any manner whatſoever, fall ultimately on land; but whoever ſtarted or ſupported it, contributed towards the eſtabliſhment of one of the moſt dangerous abſurdities that ever diſgraced common ſenſe. To enter largely into a refutation of the maxim would be uſeleſs, as Sir James Stuart, in his *Principles of Political Œconomy*, has, with great force of reaſoning, laid it in the duſt. It was upon this falſe and vicious theory that the œconomiſtes propoſed to abſorb all the impoſts of France in a ſingle land-tax. Grant the erroneous datum, that every tax whatever, on conſumption or otherwiſe, is really borne by the land, and their concluſion is juſt, that it would be better and cheaper to lay on the impoſition directly, in the firſt inſtance, than indirectly and circuitouſly: but the original idea being abſolutely miſtaken, the concluſion falls of courſe. "Mais que prétendez vous donc obtenir par cette régie ſi menaçante & ſi diſpendieuſe? *De l'argent*. Et ſurquoi prenez-vous cet argent? *Sur des productions*. Et d'où viennent ces productions? *De la terre*. Allez donc plutôt puiſer à la ſource, & demandez un partage régulier, fixe & proportionnel du produit net du territoire *." What a ſeries of groſs errors is found in this ſhort paſſage; almoſt as many as there are words. The contrary is the fact; for theſe taxes are *not* raiſed on productions; and theſe objects do *not* ariſe from the land; and by laying land taxes you do *not* dig at the ſource, unleſs you could impoſe land-taxes in foreign countries as well as your own. What trifling is it to repeat, again and again, the ſame jargon of ideas, without ſaying one word of the powerful refutation which the above-noted Britiſh writer has poured on the whole ſyſtem? Let the National Aſſembly lay twenty-ſeven *vingtiemes* in a varying land-tax, and then let the ruined kingdom come to theſe viſionaries for the balm of their *nouvelle ſcience*, their *phyſiocratie*, and their *tableau œconomique!* The nobleſſe of Guienne give it as their opinion, that an impoſt *en nature ſur les fruits*, that is to ſay, a tythe, is the beſt tax †. The clergy of Chalons aſk the ſame thing, and that it may abſorb all others ‡; but the nobility of the ſame place declare expreſſly againſt it [*]. The Abbé Raynal, with all his ingenuity, falls into the common error [†], and calls a cadaſtre *une belle inſtitution*. Monſ. de Mirabeau [‡] has entered at large into a defence of this ſyſtem, by ſhewing that there are great inconveniencies in taxes on conſumption; this every one muſt grant: I know of but two taxes that are free from inconveniencies, the poſt-office and turnpikes; all others abound with them; but to dwell on the inconveniencies of exciſes, without ſhewing that they exceed thoſe of land-taxes, is abſurd: you had in France taxes on conſumption to the amount of 260,000,000; we have them in England to a greater amount; the only queſtion really to the purpoſe is this, can you bear an additional land-tax to that amount, in conſequence of the benefit that would reſult from taking off the taxes on conſumption? Monſ. Necker has anſwered this queſtion, with relation to France, in a manner that ought to ſhut the mouths of the œconomiſtes for ever; and in England there can be but one opinion: we are able to bear the taxes as they are laid at preſent; but if they were all abſorbed on land, agriculture would receive at one ſtroke its mortal wound, and the nation would ſink into utter ruin. We know, from experience, that the landed intereſt cannot poſſibly draw back their taxes; this truth, founded on incontrovertible facts, is deciſive; and if they cannot draw them back, how is the rental of twenty millions to bear land-taxes to the amount of ſeventeen millions? And of what account is the myſtical jargon of a new dialect [‖], relying on theory alone, when oppoſed to the innumerable facts which the preſent ſtate of every country in Europe exhibits? This cirumſtance of drawing back a tax, which, with all well imagined duties on conſumption, is univerſally effected, but is abſolutely impracticable with land-taxes, is the great hinge on which this inquiry really turns. When Monſ. Necker ſhews, that if the œconomical ideas were realized, there muſt be TWENTY-EIGHT VINGTIEMES raiſed in France; and when it is conſidered, that in England the rental of the kingdom is but a fifth [§] more than the taxes of it, we poſſeſs in both caſes the cleareſt and moſt explicit proofs that there would be an utter impoſſibility to commute the preſent taxes in either country, unleſs it were at the ſame time proved, that landlords could, in the price of their products, draw back ſuch enormous taxes, the mere *advance* of which would be an intolerable burthen. But as it is manifeſt, from facts equally explicit, that no land-tax can be drawn back; that the product of land taxed at 4s. in the pound ſells preciſely at the ſame price as that of land taxed at no more than 4d.; and that prices never vary in the leaſt in England from the land-tax being at 1s. or at 4s. in the pound; nor in France when land pays one or three vingtiemes; when we are in poſſeſſion, I ſay, of facts ſo deciſive, there is the cleareſt ground to conclude, that the idea is viſionary; that ſuch an extenſion of land-taxes is utterly impracticable; and that every attempt towards the execution of theſe plans muſt be immediately pernicious to agriculture, and ultimately ruinous to every intereſt in the ſtate.

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* *Le Trône*, tom. i. p. 323.

† *Cahier de la Nobleſſe de Guienne*, p. 20.

‡ *Cahier du Clergé de Chalons ſur Marne.* p. 11.

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[*] *Cahier*, p. 11. [†] *Etab. des Europ.* 4to. tom. iv. p. 640. [‡] *De la Mon. Pruſſ.* tom. iv. p. 53.

[‖] The writings of the œconomiſtes *ſcritti in un certo dialetto miſtico. Impoſt ſecondo l'ordine della natura.* 12mo. 1771. p. 15. [§] Including poor rates and tythes, taxes exceed the rental.

Relative to the utter impoſſibility of extending land-taxes in England to ſuch a degree as to include all others, I have it in my power to refer to an inſtance of our taxation moſt correctly given. I have inſerted in the *Annals of Agriculture*, No. 86, an account of all the taxes I pay for my eſtate in Suffolk; and in that account it appears, that the track of land which pays me net 229l. 12s. 7d. pays to the burthens of the public 219l. 18s. 5d. Deducting from fifteen millions and a half (the net revenue of Great Britain) thoſe taxes which enter into that ſum of 219l. 18s. 5d. there remains ten millions and a half; and as the preſent land-tax, at two millions, burthens me 40l. a year, an additional one of ten millions and a half would conſequently lay the further burthen of five and a half times as much, or 220l.; that is to ſay, it would leave me the net receipt of 9l. for the whole clear income of my eſtate! Perhaps the œconomiſtes never received, directly from facts, ſo convincing a proof as this inſtance offers, of the utter impracticability of their prepoſterous ſchemes. Yet theſe are the principles, ſorry I am to remark, that ſeem at preſent to govern the National Aſſembly in matters of finance. To their honour, however,—greatly to their honour—they do not ſeem inclined to go all the lengths which ſome of their members wiſh for: "puiſque l'intérêt bien entendu deces trois grandes ſources de la proſperité des nations, appuyé des noms impoſans de Queſnay, de Turgot, de Gournay, de Mirabeau le pêre, de la Riviere, de Condorcet, de Schmidt, & de *Leopold*, & développé de nouveau dáns ces derniers momens avec une logique ſi vigoureuſe par M. Farcet n'a pas encore perſuadé cette arbitraire inconſequente & deſpotique reine du monde qu'on appelle l'opinion *." One cannot but ſmile at the figure the great Leopold makes; he is put in the rear, I ſuppoſe, becauſe he never realized, in any one inſtance, the land-tax of the œconomiſtes, much to his credit.

The miſchievous, and indeed infamous abuſes in the collection of the *gabelles*, *droits d'aides*, and *droits de traites*, &c. have certainly been in a great meaſure the origin of that prejudice, ſo general in France againſt taxes on conſumption: the cruelties practiſed in the collection, have been falſely ſuppoſed to flow, of neceſſity, from the nature of the taxes; but we know, from long experience, the contrary in England; and that exciſes, to a vaſt amount, may be raiſed without any ſuch cruelties, as have been commonly practiſed by the old government in France. I am very far from contending that theſe taxes in England are free from abuſes; and I am ſenſible, that there are caſes in which the dealers in exciſed commodities feel themſelves hardly dealt by; and that liberty is attacked in their operation: but every one muſt alſo be ſenſible, that land-taxes are not free from objections equally ſtrong. When the collector demands ſums that are out of the power of the individual to pay, and ſeizes, by diſtreſs, the goods and chattels, to ſell them, perhaps, for half their value;—when we ſee the people ſtopping up their windows, denying themſelves the enjoyment even of light itſelf, and ſubmitting to live in dampneſs and in darkneſs, rather than pay a cruel tax on the property of houſes; when ſuch hardſhips occur, it ſurely will not be thought, that it is duties on conſumption only, that open to ſuch abuſes; every ſort of tax, except the poſt-office and turnpikes, is a heavy evil, and the only inquiry is, of ſo many ills, which is leaſt?

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* *De quelques ameliorations dans la perception de l'impôt*, par M. Dupont, p. 7.

The ſmallneſs of the properties in land, is another inſuperable objection to land-taxes in France: if fairly laid to the real value, on the poſſeſſion of a few acres, they become the ſource of great miſery: the man whoſe land gives him barely the neceſſaries of life, has nothing to ſpare for direct taxes; he muſt depend for paying them on ſome other employment at beſt precarious, in a kingdom where population goes ſo much beyond employment, and where numbers ſtarve from inability of maintenance. If, to avoid theſe evils, exemptions from the tax are given them, theſe ſmall properties, the parent and origin, at beſt, of ſuch multiplied diſtreſs, receive a direct encouragement, than which a more cruel policy could not be embraced. The only meaſure that would remedy both evils, is to prohibit the diviſion of landed property into portions, below the ability of paying duties; or elſe, to reject land-taxes altogether. A groſs evil of theſe direct impoſts is, that of moneyed men, or *capitaliſts*, eſcaping all taxation: none but duties on conſumption affect them. In countries where land-taxes abound, theſe men will never become proprietors, for the ſimpleſt reaſon, becauſe theſe taxes reduce the profit of poſſeſſing land below the profit of other inveſtments. They live upon the intereſt of money in the public funds; and the cleareſt principles of juſtice, call for a ſyſtem of taxation that ſhall bring theſe men within its ſphere; this is only to be done by taxes on conſumption; by exciſes, cuſtoms, ſtamps, *entreés*, &c.; and is a powerful reaſon for multiplying ſuch taxes, inſtead of thoſe on land. Under the regimen of land-taxes, all foreigners reſiding in a kingdom abſolutely eſcape taxation; but with duties on conſumption they are made to contribute equally with the natives; in ſuch a kingdom as France, which always did, and ever will, attract many ſtrangers, this is an object of ſome conſequence. But, perhaps, the greateſt objection to taxes upon land is, their preventing all improvements in agriculture, if they are equal; and, if unequal, carrying with them the greateſt principle of injuſtice, by being defective in the firſt requiſite of all taxation. The greateſt friends to this ſpecies of impoſition, acknowledge the neceſſity of being equal. It is this that induces the Abbé Raynal to call a *cadaſtre une belle inſtitution*; and a late writer declares, "Il n'eſt point de Pays ou il ne ſoit neceſſaire d'inventorier tout le terretoire dans le plus grand detail d'enregiſtrer chaque portion, d'en connoître les mutations d'en evaluer le revenu & ou ſi l'on deſire de perpétuer l'impoſition égale & proportionelle il ne ſoit indiſpenſable de ſuivre la progreſſion du revenue [*]:"—and this method he explains afterwards, by aſſerting the abſolute neceſſity of having a new valuation every nine years; and he finds fault [†] with the King of Sardinia's *cadaſtre*, becauſe the valuation has never been renewed. Another of theſe politicians obſerves, that the excellency of a tythe, as a mode of taxation, is, that if improvements are extended, or lands cultivated with more care, the revenue of the ſtate increaſes with it [‡]. In the ſame ſpirit, many of the *cahiers* demanded the ſuppreſſion of all duties on conſumption [‖].—I could multiply ſuch ſentiments almoſt to fill a volume, if I were to go back to conſult the deluge of writings which inveſted France five-and-twenty years ago, but I quote only ſome living authors, who hold theſe pernicious doctrines at preſent. If the National Aſſembly adopts the tax recommended by their committee, of 300 millions, and ſhould, upon theſe principles, make it a variable one, though never riſing in its amount above that ſum, the mere mutation of eaſing a wretched, poor, ſlovenly farmer, and loading proportionally an improving one, will abſolutely prohibit all ameliorations of the national agriculture: and if they drew theſe variations to the profit of the ſtate, by increaſing the total ſum proportionably to ſuch improvements, they will ſtill prevent them, as no man will inveſt his capital in any induſtrious employment in which the ſtate taxes his profits.

As I have mentioned ſeveral writers in favour of land-taxes, in terms of that condemnation, abſolutely neceſſary by a friend of agriculture, it is no more than juſtice to obſerve, that France contains ſome others, whoſe writings are free from this great objection. Monſ. Necker, in his treatiſe on the adminiſtration of the finances, gives the preference to taxes on conſumption, and ſhews the utter impoſſibility of a land-tax abſorbing all others. The marquis de Caſſaux [§] alſo has attempted, with much force of reaſon, to prove, that the land-taxes of France and England *ought to be converted into duties on conſumption*. And ſome of the beſt writers of that vaſt collection, in which the phyſiocratical ſcience originated, are of the ſame opinion. Proportional impoſts, on the conſumption of commodities, are *the moſt juſt, the moſt productive, and the leaſt burthenſome to a*

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[*] *Le Trône Ad. Prov.* tom. i. pref. xiv.

[†] *Ibid.* p. 235.

[‡] *Plan d'Admin. des Finances*, par M. Malport. 1787. p. 34.

[‖] *Nobleſſe de Lyon*, p. 16. *Bugey*, p. 28. *Troyes Tiers Etat*, art. 13. *Etampes*, art. 33. *Nimes*, p. 44. There is not a tax exiſting in France, which is not demanded in ſome cahier to be ſuppreſſed.

[§] *Mechaniſme des Societies.* 8vo. 1785. p. 222.

*people, becauſe paid daily and imperceptibly**. And the nobility of Quercy have, in their *cahier*, a paſſage, which does honour to their good ſenſe: " Conſiderant que l'impot indirect a l'inapprèciable avantage d'une perception imperceptible & ſpontanée: que le contribuable ne le paye qu' au moment ou il en a les moyens: qu'il frappe ſur les capitaliſtes dont le genre de fortune èchappe à toute autre impot: que la meaſure des conſommations ètant en général celle des richeſſes il atteint par ſa nature à une juſteſſe de repartition d'ont l'impôt direct n'eſt pas ſuceptible †.—Theſe are ſterling and wiſe principles; in few words, are developped in their moſt ſtriking features.

Of Simplicity in Taxation.

So many of the *cahiers* of France unite with the *œconomiſtes*, in calling for the utmoſt ſimplicity in taxation, by means of one only and uniform proportional impoſt on land, that it merits a ſhort inquiry, how far this theory of ſimplicity is, in itſelf, deſerving of the ideas entertained of it. There can be no doubt of the advantage of a cheap collection attending this or any plan of ſimplicity; but there are reaſons for thinking that this benefit would be purchaſed at an expence a thouſand times greater than it is worth. I do not love recurring to, or depending altogether on reaſoning, when facts are at hand, on which we can build our concluſions: the taxes of England are infinitely various; much more ſo than thoſe of France, eſpecially in the articles of exciſes and ſtamps; our taxes are alſo very great; in proportion to the population of the kingdom, much more than double thoſe of France; yet, with this vaſt burthen, they are borne by the people with much more eaſe than the French nation bears leſs than the half. This is to be attributed not to one cauſe only, but to many; but amongſt thoſe cauſes, I believe, will be found this great variety of points on which they bear. The mere circumſtance of taxes being very numerous, in order to raiſe a given ſum, is a conſiderable ſtep towards equality in the burthen falling on the people; if I was to define a good ſyſtem of taxation, it ſhould be that of *bearing lightly on an infinite number of points, heavily on none*. In other words, that ſimplicity in taxation is the greateſt additional weight that can be given to taxes, and ought, in every country, to be moſt ſeduloully avoided.—By a ſyſtem of ſimplicity in taxation, let it be exerted in whatever method, whether on land, on perſons, or on conſumption, there will always be claſſes of the people much lighter taxed than other claſſes; and this inequality will throw an oppreſſive burthen on thoſe who are moſt expoſed to the operation of whatever tax is choſen. No one is a greater enemy than I am to land-taxes; but ſuch is the advantage of an extremely various ſyſtem, that I would not contend for taking them entirely off in any country. A land-tax of 6d. 9d. or perhaps 1s. in the pound, but permanent, would be ſo light a burthen, that it might be borne, without the miſchief of impeding agriculture. Taxes on windows are amongſt the very worſt that can be laid; but, as far as 3d. each, might not be liable to much objection. Unfortunately for France, the favourite idea there is the very contrary one—that of ſimplicity. It would have been wiſe not abſolutely to ſuppreſs any one of their taxes, not even the *gabelle* itſelf: removing the abuſes that flow from farming a revenue, introducing into the receipt the mildneſs of a free government, and changing entirely the mode of collection, would have removed the chief objections to thoſe taxes which have been aboliſhed, and have ſaved the enormous evil, now neceſſary, of loading land. This ſubject is a fruitful one, worthy the attention of able pens expreſſly employed on it, the rapid ſketches which can alone be given by a traveller will allow of mere hints.

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* *Encyclopedie*. Folio. tom. viii. p. 602.

† Page 6.

CHAP. XXII.

On the Revolution of France.

THE groſs infamy which attended *lettres de cachet* and the Baſtile, during the whole reign of Louis XV. made them eſteemed in England, by people not well informed, as the moſt prominent features of the deſpotiſm of France. They were certainly carried to an exceſs hardly credible; to the length of being ſold, with blanks, to be filled up with names at the pleaſure of the purchaſer; who was thus able, in the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from the boſom of his family, and bury him in a dungeon, where he would exiſt forgotten, and die unknown *!—But ſuch exceſſes could not be common in any country;

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* An anecdote, which I have from an authority to be depended on, will explain the profligacy of government, in reſpect to theſe arbitrary impriſonments. Lord Albemarle, when ambaſſador in France, about the year 1753, negotiating the fixing of the limits of the American colonies, which, three years after, produced the war, calling one day on the miniſter for foreign affairs, was introduced, for a few minutes, into his cabinet, while he finiſhed a ſhort converſation in the apartment in which he uſually received thoſe who conferred with him. As his lordſhip walked backwards and forwards, in a a very ſmall room (a French cabinet is never a large one), he could not help ſeeing a paper lying on the table, written in a large legible hand, and containing a liſt of the priſoners in the Baſtile, in which the firſt name was Gordon. When the miniſter entered, lord Albemarle apologized for his involuntarily remarking the paper; the other replied, that it was not of the leaſt conſequence, for they made no ſecret of the names. Lord A. then ſaid, that he had ſeen the name of Gordon firſt in the liſt, and he begged to know, as in all probability the perſon of this name was a Britiſh ſubject, on what account he

try; and they were reduced almoſt to nothing, from the acceſſion of the preſent King. The great maſs of the people, by which I mean the lower and middle ranks, could ſuffer very little from ſuch engines, and as few of them are objects of jealouſy, had there been nothing elſe to complain of, it is not probable they would ever have been brought to take arms. The abuſes attending the levy of taxes were heavy and univerſal. The kingdom was parcelled into generalities, with an intendant at the head of each, into whoſe hands the whole power of the crown was delegated for every thing except the military authority; but particularly for all affairs of finance. The generalities were ſubdivided into elections, at the head of which was a *ſub-delegué*, appointed by the intendant. The rolls of the *taille*, *capitation*, *vingtiemes*, and other taxes, were diſtributed among diſtricts, pariſhes, and individuals, at the pleaſure of the intendant, who could exempt, change, add, or diminiſh, at pleaſure. Such an enormous power, conſtantly acting, and from which no man was free, muſt, in the nature of things, degenerate in many caſes into abſolute tyranny. It muſt be obvious, that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents of the intendant, and of all his *ſub-delegués*, and the friends of theſe friends, to a long chain of dependence, might be favoured in taxation at the expence of their miſerable neighbours; and that noblemen, in favour at court, to whoſe protection the intendant himſelf would naturally look up, could find little difficulty in throwing much of the weight of their taxes on others, without a ſimilar ſupport. Inſtances, and even groſs ones, have been reported to me in many parts of the kingdom, that made me ſhudder at the oppreſſion to which numbers muſt have been condemned, by the undue favours granted to ſuch crooked influence. But, without recurring to ſuch caſes, what muſt have been the ſtate of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from which the nobility and clergy were exempted? A cruel aggravation of their miſery, to ſee thoſe who could beſt afford to pay, exempted becauſe able!—The inrolments for the militia, which the *cahiers* call *an injuſtice without example* *, were another dreadful ſcourge on the peaſantry; and, as married men were exempted from it, occaſioned in ſome degree that miſchievous population, which brought beings into the world, in order for little elſe than to be ſtarved. The *corveés*, or police of the roads, were annually the ruin of many hundreds of farmers; more than 300 were reduced to beggary in filling up one vale in Loraine: all

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he had been put into the Baſtile. The miniſter told him, that he knew nothing of the matter, but would make the proper inquiries. The next time he ſaw lord Albemarle, he informed him, that, on inquiring into the caſe of Gordon, he could find no perſon who could give him the leaſt information; on which he had had Gordon himſelf interrogated, who ſolemnly affirmed, that he had not the ſmalleſt knowledge, or even ſuſpicion, of the cauſe of his impriſonment, but that he had been confined 30 years; however, added the miniſter, I ordered him to be immediately releaſed, and he is now at large. Such a caſe wants no comment.

* *Nob. Briey*, p. 6. &c. &c

theſe oppreſſions fell on the *tiers etat* only; the nobility and clergy having been equally exempted from *tailles*, militia, and *corveés*. The penal code of finance makes one ſhudder at the horrors of puniſhment inadequate to the crime *. A few features will ſufficiently characterize the old government of France:

1. Smugglers of ſalt, armed and aſſembled to the number of five, in Provence, *a fine of* 500 liv. *and nine years gallies*;—in all the reſt of the kingdom, *death*.

2. Smugglers armed, aſſembled, but in number under five, *a fine of* 300 liv. *and three years gallies*. Second offence, *death*.

3. Smugglers, without arms, but with horſes, carts, or boats; *a fine of* 300 liv. *if not paid, three years gallies*. Second offence, 400 liv. *and nine years gallies*.—In Dauphiné, ſecond offence, *gallies for life*. In Provence, *five years gallies*.

4. Smugglers, who carry the ſalt on their backs, and without arms, *a fine of* 200 liv. *and, if not paid, are flogged and branded*. Second offence, *a fine of* 300 liv. *and ſix years gallies*.

5. Women, married and ſingle, ſmugglers, firſt offence, *a fine of* 100 liv. Second, 300 liv. Third, *flogged, and baniſhed the kingdom for life. Huſbands reſponſible both in fine and body*.

6. Children ſmugglers, the ſame as women.—*Fathers and mothers reſponſible; and for defect of payment flogged*.

7. Nobles, if ſmugglers, *deprived of their nobility; and their houſes raſed to the ground*.

8. Any perſons in employments (I ſuppoſe employed in the ſalt-works or the revenue), if ſmugglers, *death*. And ſuch as aſſiſt in the theft of ſalt in the tranſport, *hanged*.

9. Soldiers ſmuggling, with arms, are *hanged*; without arms, *gallies for life*.

10. Buying ſmuggled ſalt to reſel it, *the ſame puniſhments as for ſmuggling*.

11. Perſons in the ſalt employments, *empowered if two, or one with two witneſſes, to enter and examine houſes even of the priviledged orders*.

12. All families, and perſons liable to the *taille*, in the provinces of the *Grandes Gabelles* inrolled, and their conſumption of ſalt for the *pôt and ſalière*

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* It is calculated by a writer (*Recherches et Conſid. par M. le Baron de Cormeré*, tom. ii. p. 187.) very well informed on every ſubject of finance, that, upon an average, there were annually taken up and ſent to priſon or the gallies, Men, 2340. Women, 896. Children, 201. Total, 3437. 300 of theſe to the gallies (tom. i. p. 112.) The ſalt confiſcated from theſe miſerables amounted to 12,633 quintals,

which, at the mean price of 8 liv. are - -	101,064 liv.
2772 lb. of ſalted fleſh, at 10 *ſ*. -	1,386
1086 horſes, at 50 liv. -	54,300
52 carts, at 150 liv. -	7,800
Fines, - - -	53,207
Seized in houſes, - -	105,530
	323,287

(that is the daily conſumption, excluſive of ſalting meat, &c. &c.) eſtimated at 7lb. a head per annum, which quantity they are forced to buy whether they want it or not, under the pain of various fines according to the caſe.

The *Capitaineries* were a dreadful ſcourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term, is to be underſtood the paramountſhip of certain diſtricts, granted by the king, to princes of the blood, by which they were put in poſſeſſion of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and, what is very ſingular, on manors granted long before to individuals; ſo that the erecting of a diſtrict into a *capitainerie*, was an annihilation of all manerial rights to game within it. This was a trifling buſineſs, in compariſon of other circumſtances; for, in ſpeaking of the preſervation of the game in theſe *capitaineries*, it muſt be obſerved, that by game muſt be underſtood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering, at pleaſure, over the whole country, to the deſtruction of crops; and to the peopling of the gallies by the wretched peaſants, who preſumed to kill them, in order to ſave that food which was to ſupport their helpleſs children. The game in the *capitainerie* of Montceau, in four pariſhes only, did miſchief to the amount of 184,263 liv. per annum[*]. No wonder then that we ſhould find the people aſking, "*Nous demandons à grand cris la deſtruction des capitaineries & celle de toute ſorte de gibier*[†]." And what are we to think of demanding, as a favour, the permiſſion—"*De nettoyer ſes grains de faucher les prés artificiels, & d'enlever ſes chaumes ſans égard pour la perdrix on tout autre gibier*[‡]." Now, an Engliſh reader will ſcarcely underſtand it without being told, that there were numerous edicts for preſerving the game which prohibited weeding and hoeing, leſt the young partridges ſhould be diſturbed; ſteeping ſeed, leſt it ſhould injure the game; manuring with night ſoil, leſt the flavour of the partridges ſhould be injured by feeding on the corn ſo produced; mowing hay, &c. before a certain time, ſo late as to ſpoil many crops; and taking away the ſtubble, which would deprive the birds of ſhelter. The tyranny exerciſed in theſe *capitaineries*, which extended over 400 leagues of country, was ſo great, that many *cahiers* demanded the utter ſuppreſſion of them[‖]. Such were the exertions of arbitrary power which the lower orders felt directly from the royal authority; but, heavy as they were, it is a queſtion whether the others, ſuffered circuitouſly through the nobility and the clergy, were not yet more oppreſſive? Nothing can exceed the complaints made in the *cahiers* under this head. They ſpeak of the diſpenſation of juſtice in the manerial courts, as comprizing every ſpecies of deſpotiſm: the diſtricts indeterminate—appeals endleſs—irreconcileable to liberty and proſperity—and irrevocably proſcribed in the opinion of the public[*]—augmenting litigations—favouring every ſpecies of chicane—ruining the parties—not only by enormous expences on the moſt petty objects, but by a dreadful loſs of time. The judges commonly ignorant pretenders, who hold their courts in *cabarets*, and are abſolutely dependent on the ſeigneurs [†]. Nothing can exceed the force of expreſſion uſed in painting the oppreſſions of the ſeigneurs, in conſequence of their feudal powers. They are "*vexations qui ſont le plus grand fléau des peuples* [‡].—*Eſclavage affligeant* [‖].—*Ce reginne deſaſtreuſe* [§].——That the *feodalité* be for ever aboliſhed. The countryman is tyrannically enſlaved by it. Fixed and heavy rents; vexatious proceſſes to ſecure them; appreciated unjuſtly to augment them: rents, *ſolidaires*, and *revenchables*; rents, *chéantes*, and *levantes*; *fumages*. Fines at every change of the property, in the direct as well as collateral line; feudal redemption (*retraite*); fines on ſale, to the 8th and even the 6th penny; redemptions (*rachats*) injurious in their origin, and ſtill more ſo in their extenſion: *banalité* of the mill [¶], of the oven, and of the wine and cyder-preſs; *corveés* by cuſtom; *corveés* by uſage of the fief; *corveés* eſtabliſhed by unjuſt decrees; *corveés* arbitrary, and even phantaſtical; ſervitudes; *preſtations*, extravagant and burthenſome; collections by aſſeſſments incollectible; *aveux*, *minus*, *impuniſſemens*; litigations ruinous and without end: the rod of ſeigneural finance for ever ſhaken over our heads; vexation, ruin, outrage, violence, and deſtructive ſervitude, under which the peaſants, almoſt on a level with Poliſh ſlaves, can never but be miſerable, vile, and oppreſſed [**]. They demand alſo, that the uſe of hand-mills be free; and hope that poſterity if poſſible, may be ignorant that feudal tyranny in Bretagne, armed with the judicial power, has not bluſhed even in theſe times at breaking hand-mills, and at ſelling annually to the miſerable, the faculty of bruiſing between two ſtones a meaſure of buck-wheat or barley [††]. The very terms of theſe complaints are unknown in England, and conſequently untranſlatable: they have probably ariſen long ſince the feudal ſyſtem ceaſed in this kingdom. What are theſe tortures of the peaſantry in Bretagne, which they call *chevanchés*, *quintaines*, *ſoule*, *ſaut de poiſon*, *baiſer de marieés*; *chanſons*; *tranſ-*

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[*] *Cahier du tiers etat de Meaux*, p. 49.

[†] *De Mantes* and *Meulan*, p. 38.

[‡] *Ibid*, p. 40.---Alſo, *Nob. & Tier Etat de Peronne*, p. 42. *De Trois ordres de Montfort*, p. 28.

[‖] *Clergé de Provins & Montereau*, p. 35.---*Clergé de Paris*, p. 25.---*Clergé de Mantes & Meulan*, p. 45, 46.---*Clergé de Laon*, p. 11.---*Nob. de Nemours*, p. 17.---*Nob. de Paris*, p. 22.---*Nob. d'Arras*, p. 29.

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[*] *Rennes*, art. 12.

[†] *Nevernois*, art. 43.

[‡] *Tier Etat de Vannes*, p. 24.

[‖] *T. Etat Clermont Ferrand.* p. 52.

[§] *T. Etat. Auxerre*, art. 6.

[¶] By this horrible law, the people are bound to grind their corn at the mill of the ſeigneur only; to preſs their grapes at his preſs only; and to bake their bread in his oven; by which means the bread is often ſpoiled, and more eſpecially wine, ſince in Champagne thoſe grapes which, preſſed immediately, would make white wine, will, by waiting for the preſs, which often happens, make red wine only.

[**] *Tiers Etat Rennes*, p. 159.

[††] *Rennes*, p. 57.

porte d'œuf ſur un charette; *ſilence des grenouilles* *; *corvée a miſericorde*; *milods*; *leide*; *couponage*; *cartelage*; *barage*; *fouage*; *marechauſſée*; *ban vin*; *ban d'aôut*; *trouſſes*; *gelinage*; *civerage*; *taillabilité*; *vingtain*; *ſterlage*; *bordelage*; *minage*; *ban de vendanges*; *droit d'accapte* †. In paſſing through many of the French provinces, I was ſtruck with the various and heavy complaints of the farmers and little proprietors of the feudal grievances, with the weight of which their induſtry was burthened; but I could not then conceive the multiplicity of the ſhackles which kept them poor and depreſſed. I underſtood it better afterwards, from the converſation and complaints of ſome grand ſeigneurs, as the revolution advanced; and I then learned, that the principal rental of many eſtates conſiſted in ſervices and feudal tenures; by the baneful influence of which, the induſtry of the people was almoſt exterminated. In regard to the oppreſſions of the clergy, as to tythes, I muſt do that body a juſtice, to which a claim cannot be laid in England. Though the eccleſiaſtical tenth was levied in France more ſeverely than uſual in Italy, yet was it never exacted with ſuch horrid greedineſs as is at preſent the diſgrace of England. When taken in kind, no ſuch thing was known in any part of France, where I made inquiries, as a tenth: it was always a twelfth, or a thirteenth, or even a twentieth of the produce. And in no part of the kingdom did a new article of culture pay any thing: thus turnips, cabbages, clover, chicorée, potatoes, &c. &c. paid nothing. In many parts, meadows were exempted. Silk worms nothing. Olives in ſome places paid—in more they did not. Cows nothing. Lambs from the 12th to the 21ſt. Wool nothing.—Such mildneſs, in the levy of this odious tax, is abſolutely unknown in England. But mild as it was, the burthen to people groaning under ſo many other oppreſſions, united to render their ſituation ſo bad that no change could be for the worſe. But theſe were not all the evils with which the people ſtruggled. The adminiſtration of juſtice was partial, venal, infamous. I have, in converſation with many very ſenſible men, in different parts of the kingdom, met with ſomething of content with their government, in all other reſpects than this; but upon the queſtion of expecting juſtice to be really and fairly adminiſtered, every one confeſſed there was no ſuch thing to be looked for. The conduct of the parliaments was profligate and atrocious. Upon almoſt every cauſe that came before them, intereſt was openly made with the judges: and wo betided the man who, with a cauſe to ſupport, had no means of conciliating favour, either by the beauty of a handſome wife, or by other methods. It has been ſaid, by many writers, that property was as ſecure under the old government of France

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[*] This is a curious article: when the lady of the ſeigneur lies in, the people are obliged to *beat the waters* in marſhy diſtricts, to keep the frogs ſilent, that ſhe may not be diſturbed; this duty, a very oppreſſive one, is commuted into a pecuniary fine.

[†] *Reſumé des cahiers*, tom. iii. p. 316, 317.

as it is in England; and the aſſertion might poſſibly be true, as far as any violence from the King, his miniſters, or the great was concerned: but for all that maſs of property, which comes in every country to be litigated in courts of juſtice, there was not even the ſhadow of ſecurity, unleſs the parties were totally and equally unknown, and totally and equally honeſt; in every other caſe, he who had the beſt intereſt with the judges, was ſure to be the winner. To reflecting minds, the cruelty and abominable practice attending ſuch courts are ſufficiently apparent. There was alſo a circumſtance in the conſtitution of theſe parliaments, but little known in England, and which, under ſuch a government as that of France, muſt be conſidered as very ſingular. They had the power, and were in the conſtant practice of iſſuing decrees, without the conſent of the crown, and which had the force of laws through the whole of their juriſdiction; and of all other laws, theſe were ſure to be the beſt obeyed; for as all infringements of them were brought before ſovereign courts, compoſed of the ſame perſons who had enacted theſe laws (a horrible ſyſtem of tyranny!) they were certain of being puniſhed with the laſt ſeverity. It muſt appear ſtrange, in a government ſo deſpotic in ſome reſpects as that of France, to ſee the parliaments in every part of the kingdom making laws without the King's conſent, and even in defiance of his authority. The Engliſh, whom I met in France in 1789, were ſurprized to ſee ſome of theſe bodies iſſuing arrets againſt the export of corn out of the provinces ſubject to their juriſdiction, into the neighbouring provinces, at the ſame time that the King, through the organ of ſo popular a miniſter as Monſ. Necker, was decreeing an abſolutely free tranſport of corn throughout the kingdom, and even at the requiſition of the National Aſſembly itſelf. But this was nothing new; it was their common practice. The parliament of Rouen paſſed an arret againſt killing of calves; it was a prepoſterous one, and oppoſed by adminiſtration; but it had its full force; and had a butcher dared to offend againſt it, he would have found, by the rigour of his puniſhment, who was his maſter. Innoculation was favoured by the court in Louis XV.'s time; but the parliament of Paris paſſed an arret againſt it, much more effective in prohibiting, than the favour of the court in encouraging that practice. Inſtances are innumerable, and I may remark, that the bigotry, ignorance, falſe principles, and tyranny of theſe bodies were generally conſpicuous; and that the court (taxation excepted), never had a diſpute with a parliament, but the parliament was ſure to be wrong. Their conſtitution, in reſpect to the adminiſtration of juſtice, was ſo truly rotten, that the members ſat as judges, even in cauſes of private property, in which they were themſelves the parties, and have, in this capacity, been guilty of oppreſſions and cruelties, which the crown has rarely dared to attempt.

It is impoſſible to juſtify the exceſſes of the people on their taking up arms; they were certainly guilty of cruelties; it is idle to deny the facts, for they have been proved too clearly to admit of a doubt. But is it really the people to whom we are to impute the whole?—Or to their oppreſſors, who had kept them ſo long in a ſtate of bondage? He who chooſes to be ſerved by ſlaves, and by ill-treated ſlaves, muſt know that he holds both his property and life by a tenure far different from thoſe who prefer the ſervice of well treated freemen; and he who dines to the muſic of groaning ſufferers, muſt not, in the moment of inſurrection, complain that his daughters are raviſhed, and then deſtroyed; and that his ſons throats are cut. When ſuch evils happen, they ſurely are more imputable to the tyranny of the maſter, than to the cruelty of the ſervant. The analogy holds with the French peaſants—the murder of a ſeigneur, or a chateau in flames, is recorded in every newſpaper; the rank of the perſon who ſuffers, attracts notice; but where do we find the regiſter of that ſeigneur's oppreſſions of his peaſantry, and his exactions of feudal ſervices, from thoſe whoſe children were dying around them for want of bread? Where do we find the minutes that aſſigned theſe ſtarving wretches to ſome vile petty-fogger, to be fleeced by impoſitions, and a mockery of juſtice, in the ſeigneural courts? Who gives us the awards of the intendant and his *ſub-delegués*, which took off the taxes of a man of faſhion, and laid them with accumulated weight, on the poor, who were ſo unfortunate as to be his neighbours? Who has dwelt ſufficiently upon explaining all the ramifications of deſpotiſm, regal, ariſtocratical, and eccleſiaſtical, pervading the whole maſs of the people; reaching, like a circulating fluid, the moſt diſtant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedneſs? In theſe caſes, the ſufferers are too ignoble to be known; and the maſs too indiſcriminate to be pitied. But ſhould a philoſopher feel and reaſon thus? ſhould he miſtake the cauſe for the effect? and giving all his pity to the few, feel no compaſſion for the many, becauſe they ſuffer in his eyes not individually, but by millions? The exceſſes of the people cannot, I repeat, be juſtified; it would undoubtedly have done them credit, both as men and chriſtians, if they had poſſeſſed their new acquired power with moderation. But let it be remembered, that the populace in no country ever uſe power with moderation; exceſs is inherent in their aggregate conſtitution: and as every government in the world knows, that violence infallibly attends power in ſuch hands, it is doubly bound in common ſenſe, and for common ſafety, ſo to conduct itſelf, that the people may not find an intereſt in public confuſions. They will always ſuffer much and long, before they are effectually rouſed; nothing, therefore, can kindle the flame, but ſuch oppreſſions of ſome claſſes or order in the ſociety, as give able men the opportunity of ſeconding the general maſs; diſcontent will ſoon diffuſe itſelf around; and if the government take not warning in time, it is alone anſwerable for all the burnings, and plunderings, and deveſtation, and blood that follow. The true judgment to be formed of the French revolution, muſt ſurely be gained, from an attentive conſideration of the evils of the old government: when theſe are well underſtood—and when the extent and univerſality of the oppreſſion under which the people groaned—oppreſſion which bore upon them from every quarter, it will ſcarcely be attempted to be urged, that a revolution was not abſolutely neceſſary to the welfare of the kingdom. Not one oppoſing voice * can, with reaſon, be raiſed againſt this aſſertion: abuſes ought certainly to be corrected, and corrected effectually: this could not be done without the eſtabliſhment of a new form of government; whether the form that has been adopted were the beſt, is another queſtion abſolutely diſtinct. But that the above-mentioned detail of enormities practiſed on the people required ſome great change is ſufficiently apparent; and I cannot better conclude ſuch a liſt of deteſtable oppreſſions, than in the words of the *Tiers Etat* of Nivernois, who hailed the approaching day of liberty, with an eloquence worthy of the ſubject.

"Les plaintes du peuple ſe ſont long-temps perdues dans l'eſpace immenſe qui le ſépare du trône: cette claſſe la plus nombreuſe & la plus intéreſſante de la ſocieté; cette claſſe qui mérite les premiers ſoins du gouvernement, puiſqu' elle alimente toutes les autres; cette claſſe à laquelle on doit & les arts néceſſaires a la vie, & ceux qui en embelliſſent le cours; cette claſſe enfin qui en recueillent moins a toujours payé davantage, peut-elle apres tant de ſiècles d'oppreſſion & de miſère compter aujourdhui ſur un ſort plus heureux? Ce ſeroit pour ainſi dire blaſphémer l'autorité tutélaire ſous laquelle nous vivons que d'én douter un ſeul moment. Un reſpect aveugle pour les abus établis ou par la violence ou par la ſuperſtition, une ignorance profonde des conditions du pacte ſocial voila ce qui a perpétué juſq' à nous la ſervitude dans laquelle out gemi nos pères. Un jour plus pure eſt près d'éclorre: le roi a manifeſté le deſir de trouver des ſujets capables de lui dire la vérité; une de ſes loix l'edit de création des aſſemblées provinciales du moi de Juin 1787, annonce que le vœu le plus preſſant de ſon cœur ſera toujours celui qui tendra au ſoulagement & au bonheur de ſes peuples: une autre loi qui a retenti du centre du Royaume à ſes dernières extrémités nous a promis la reſtitution de tous nos droits, dont nous n'avions perdu,

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* Many oppoſing voices have been raiſed; but ſo little to their credit, that I leave the paſſage as it was written long ago. The abuſes that are rooted in all the old governments of Europe, give ſuch numbers of men a direct intereſt in ſupporting, cheriſhing, and defending abuſes, that no wonder advocates for tyranny, of every ſpecies, are found in every country, and almoſt in every company. What a maſs of people, in every part of England, are ſome way or other intereſted in the preſent repreſentation of the people, tythes, charters, corporations, monopolies, and taxation! and not merely to the things themſelves, but to all the abuſes attending them; and how many are there who derive their profit or their conſideration in life, not merely from ſuch inſtitutions, but from the evils they engender! The great maſs of the people, however, is free from ſuch influence, and will be enlightened by degrees; aſſuredly they will find out, in every country of Europe, that by combinations, on the principles of liberty and property, aimed equally againſt regal, ariſtocratical, and mobbiſh tyranny, they will be able to reſiſt ſucceſsfully, that variety of combination, which, on principles of plunder and deſpotiſm, is every where at work to enſlave them.

& dont nous ne pouvions perdre que l'exerciſe puiſque le fond de ces mêmes droits eſt inaliénable & impreſcriptible. Oſons donc ſecouer le joug des anciennes erreurs: oſons dire tout ce qui eſt vrai, tout ce qui eſt utile; oſons réclaimer les droits eſſentiels & primitifs de l'homme: la raiſon, l'equité, l'opinion générale, la bienfaiſance connue de notre auguſte ſouverain tout concour à aſſurer le ſuccès de nous doléances."

Having ſeen the propriety, or rather the neceſſity, of ſome change in the government, let us next briefly inquire into the effects of the revolution on the principal intereſts in the kingdom.

In reſpect to all the honours, power, and profit derived to the nobility from the feudal ſyſtem, which was of an extent in France beyond any thing known in England ſince the revolution, or long parliament of 1640, all is laid in the duſt, without a rag or remnant being ſpared [*]: the importance of theſe, both in influence and revenue, was ſo great, that the reſult is all but ruin to numbers. However, as theſe properties were real tyrannies; as they rendered the poſſeſſion of one ſpot of land ruinous to all around it—and equally ſubverſive of agriculture, and the common rights of mankind, the utter deſtruction brought on all this ſpecies of property, does not ill deſerve the epithet they are ſo fond of in France; it is a real regeneration of the people to the privileges of human nature. No man of common feelings can regret the fall of that abominable ſyſtem, which made a whole pariſh ſlaves to the lord of the manor. But the effects of the revolution have gone much farther; and have been attended with conſequences not equally juſtifiable. The rents of land, which are as legal under the new government as they were under the old, are no longer paid with regularity. I have been lately informed (Auguſt 1791), on authority not to be doubted, that aſſociations among tenantry, to a great amount and extent, have been formed, even within fifty miles of Paris, for the non-payment of rent; ſaying, in direct terms, we are ſtrong enough to detain the rent, and you are not ſtrong enough to enforce the payment. In a country where ſuch things are poſſible, property of every kind, it muſt be allowed, is in a dubious ſituation. Very evil conſequences will reſult from this; arrears will accumulate too great for landlords to loſe, or for the peaſants to pay, who will not eaſily be brought to reliſh that order and legal government, which muſt neceſſarily ſecure theſe arrears to their right owners. In addition to all the reſt, by the new ſyſtem of taxation, there is laid a land-tax of 300 millions, or not to exceed 4s. in the pound; but, under the old government, their *vingtiemes* did not amount to the ſeventh part of ſuch an impoſt. In whatever light, therefore, the caſe of French landlords is viewed, it will appear, that they have ſuffered immenſely by the revolution.—That many of them deſerved it, cannot, however, be doubted, ſince we ſee their *cahiers* demanding ſteadily, that all their feudal rights ſhould be confirmed[*]: that the carrying of arms ſhould be ſtrictly prohibited to every body but noblemen[†]: that the infamous arrangements of the militia ſhould remain on its old footing[‡]: that breaking up waſtes, and incloſing commons, ſhould be prohibited[‖]: that the nobility alone ſhould be eligible to enter into the army, church, &c.[§]: that *lettres de cachet* ſhould continue[**]: that the preſs ſhould not be free[††]: and, in fine, that there ſhould be no free corn trade[‡‡].

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[*] It is to be obſerved, that the orders of knighthood were at firſt preſerved; when the National Aſſembly, with a forbearance that did them honour, refuſed to aboliſh thoſe orders, becauſe perſonal, of merit, and not hereditary, they were guilty of one groſs error. They ought immediately to have addreſſed the King, to inſtitute a new order of knighthood---KNIGHTS OF THE PLOUGH. There are doubtleſs little ſouls that will ſmile at this, and think a thiſtle, a garter, or an eagle more ſignificant, and more honourable; I ſay nothing of orders, that exceed common ſenſe and common chronology, ſuch as St. Eſprit, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, leaving them to ſuch as venerate moſt what they leaſt underſtand. But that prince, who ſhould firſt inſtitute this order of rural merit, will reap no vulgar honour: Leopold, whoſe twenty years of ſteady and well earned Tuſcan fame gives him a good right to do it with propriety, might, as Emperor, inſtitute it with moſt effect. In him, ſuch an action would have in it nothing of affectation. But I had rather that THE PLOUGH had thus been honoured by a free aſſembly. It would have been a trait, that marked the philoſophy of a new age, and a new ſyſtem.

To the clergy; the revolution has been yet more fatal. One word will diſpatch this inquiry. The revolution was a decided benefit to all the lower clergy of the kingdom; but it was deſtructive of all the reſt. It is not eaſy to know what they loſt on the one hand, or what the national account will gain on the other. Monſ. Necker calculates their revenue at 130,000,000 liv. of which only 42,500,000 liv. were in the hands of the *curées* of the kingdom. Their wealth has been much exaggerated: a late writer ſays, they poſſeſſed half the kingdom[‖‖]. Their number was as little known as their revenue; one writer makes them 400,000[§§]; another 81,400[*†]; a third 80,000[*‡].

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[*] *Evreux*, p. 32.---*Bourbonnois*, p. 14.---*Artois*, p. 22.---*Bazas*, p. 8.---*Nivernois*, p. 7.---*Poitou*, p. 13.---*Saintonge*, p. 5.---*Orleans*, p. 19.---*Chaumont*, p. 7.

[†] *Vermaudois*, p. 41.---*Queſnoy*, p. 19.---*Sens*. p. 25.---*Evreux*, p. 36.---*Seſanne*, p. 17.---*Bar ſur Seine*, p. 6.---*Beauvais*, p. 13.---*Bugey*, p. 34.---*Clermont Ferand*, p. 11.

[‡] *Limoges*, p. 36.

[‖] *Cambray*, p. 19.---*Pont a Mouſſon*, p. 38

[§] *Lyon*, p. 13. *Touraine*, p. 31.---*Angoumois*, p. 13.---*Auxerre*, p. 13. The author of the *Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution*, 8vo, 1792, ſays, p. 68, "the worſt enemies of nobility have not yet brought to light any *cahier*, in which the nobles inſiſted on their excluſive right to military preferments."---In the ſame page, this gentleman ſays, it is impoſſible for any Engliſhman to ſtudy four or five hundred *cahiers*. It is evident, however, from this miſtake, how neceſſary it is to examine them before writing on the revolution.

[**] *Vermaudois*, p. 23.---*Chalons-ſur-Marne*, p. 6.---*Gien*, p. 9.

[††] *Crepy*, p. 10.

[‡‡] *St. Quentin*, p. 9.

[‖‖] *De l'Autorité de Monteſquieu dans la revolution preſente.* 8vo. 1789. p. 61.

[§§] *Etats Generaux convoques, par Louis* XVI. par M. Target, prem. ſuite, p. 7.

[*†] *Qu'eſt-ce-que le Tiers Etat*, 3d edit. par M. l'Abbé Siéyés. 8vo. p. 51.

[*‡] *Bibliotheque de l'homme publique*, par M. Condorcet, &c. tom. iii.

The clergy in France have been ſuppoſed, by many perſons in England, to merit their fate from their peculiar profligacy. But the idea is not accurate: that ſo large a body of men, poſſeſſed of very great revenues, ſhould be free from vice, would be improbable, or rather impoſſible; but they preſerved, what is not always preſerved in England, an exterior decency of behaviour.—One did not find among them poachers or fox-hunters, who, having ſpent the morning in ſcampering after hounds, dedicate the evening to the bottle, and reel from inebriety to the pulpit. Such advertiſements were never ſeen in France, as I have heard of in England:—*Wanted a curacy in a good ſporting country, where the duty is light, and the neighbourhood convivial.* The proper exerciſe for a country clergyman, is the employment of agriculture, which demands ſtrength and activity—and which, vigorouſly followed, will fatigue enough to give eaſe its beſt reliſh. A ſportſman parſon may be, as he often is in England, a good ſort of man, and *an honeſt fellow*; but certainly this purſuit, and the reſorting to obſcene comedies, and kicking their heels in the jig of an aſſembly, are not the occupations for which we can ſuppoſe tythes were given [*]. Whoever will give any attention to the demands of the clergy in their *cahiers*, will ſee, that there was, on many topics, an ill ſpirit in that body. They maintain, for inſtance, that the liberty of the preſs ought rather to be reſtrained than extended [†]: that the laws againſt it ſhould be renewed and executed [‡]: that admiſſion into religious orders ſhould be, as formerly, at ſixteen years of age [‖]: that *lettres de cachet* are uſeful, and even neceſſary [§]. They ſolicit to prohibit all diviſion of commons [¶];—to revoke the edict allowing incloſures [**]; that the export of corn be not allowed [††]; and that public granaries be eſtabliſhed [‡‡].

The ill effects of the revolution have been felt more ſeverely by the manufacturers of the kingdom, than by any other claſs of the people. The rivalry of the Engliſh fabrics, in 1787 and 1788, was ſtrong and ſucceſsful; and the confuſions that followed in all parts of the kingdom, had the effect of leſſening the incomes of ſo many landlords, clergy, and men in public employments; and ſuch numbers fled from the kingdom, that the general maſs of the conſumption of national fabrics ſunk perhaps three-fourths. The men, whoſe incomes were untouched, leſſened their conſumption greatly, from an apprehenſion of the unſettled ſtate of things: the proſpects of a civil war, ſuggeſted to every man, that his ſafety, perhaps his future bread, depended on the money which he could hoard. The inevitable conſequence, was turning abſolutely out of employment immenſe numbers of workmen. I have, in the diary of the journey, noticed the infinite miſery to which I was a witneſs at Lyons, Abbeville, Amiens, &c. and by intelligence, I underſtood that it was ſtill worſe at Rouen : the fact could not be otherwiſe. This effect, which was abſolute death, by ſtarving many thouſands of families, was a reſult, that, in my opinion, might have been avoided. It flowed only from carrying things to extremities—from driving the nobility out of the kingdom, and ſeizing, inſtead of regulating, the whole regal authority. Theſe violences were not neceſſary to liberty ; they even deſtroyed true liberty, by giving the government of the kingdom, in too great a degree, to Paris, and to the populace of every town.

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[*] Nothing appears ſo ſcandalous to all the clergy of Europe, as their brethren in England dancing at public aſſemblies; and a biſhop's *wife* engaged in the ſame amuſement, ſeems to them as prepoſterous as a biſhop, in his lawn ſleeves, following the ſame diverſion, would to us. Probably both are wrong.

[†] *Saintonge*, p, 24.---*Limoges*, p. 6, &c.

[‡] *Lyon*, p. 13.---*Dourdon*, p. 5.

[‖] *Saintonge*, p. 26.---*Montargis*, p. 10.

[§] *Limoges*, p. 22.

[¶] *Troyes*, p. 11.

[**] *Metz*, p. 11.

[††] *Rouen*, p. 24.

[‡‡] *Laon*, p. 11.---*Dourdon*, p. 17.

The effect of the revolution, to the ſmall proprietors of the kingdom, muſt, according to the common nature of events, be, *in the end*, remarkably happy ; and had the new government adopted any principles of taxation, except thoſe of the *œconomiſtes*, eſtabliſhing at the ſame time an abſolute freedom in the buſineſs of incloſure, and in the police of corn, the reſult would probably have been advantageous, even at this recent period. The committee of impoſts [*] mention (and I doubt not their accuracy), the proſperity of agriculture, in the ſame page in which they lament the depreſſion of every other branch of the national induſtry. Upon a moderate calculation, there remained, in the hands of the claſſes depending on land, on the account of taxes in the years 1789 and 1790, at leaſt 300,000,000 liv. ; the execution of *corveés* was as lax as the payment of taxes. To this we are to add two years tythe, which I cannot eſtimate at leſs than 300,000,000 liv. more. The abolition of all feudal rents, and payments of every ſort during thoſe two years, could not be leſs than 100,000,000 liv. including ſervices. But all theſe articles, great as they were, amounting to near 800,000,000 liv. were leſs than the immenſe ſums that came into the hands of the farmers by the high price of corn throughout the year 1789 ; a price ariſing almoſt entirely from Monſ. Necker's fine operations in the corn trade, as it has been proved at large ; it is true there is a deduction to be made on account of the unavoidable diminution of conſumption in every article of land produce, not eſſentially neceſſary to life : every object of luxury, or tending to it, is leſſened greatly. But after this diſcount is allowed, the balance, in favour of the little proprietor farmers, muſt be very great. The benefit of ſuch a ſum being added, as it is to the capital of huſbandry, needs no explanation. Their agriculture muſt be invigorated by ſuch wealth—by the freedom enjoyed by its profeſſors ; by the deſtruction of its innumerable ſhackles ; and even by the diſtreſſes of other employments, occaſioning new and great inveſtments of capital in land : and theſe leading facts will appear in a clearer light, when the prodigious diviſion of landed property in France is well conſidered ; probably half, perhaps two-thirds, of the kingdom are in the poſſeſſion of little proprietors, who paid quit-rents, and feudal duties, for the ſpots they farmed. Such men are placed at once in comparative affluence; and as eaſe is thus acquired by at leaſt half the kingdom, it muſt not be ſet down as a point of trifling importance. Should France eſcape a civil war, ſhe will, in the proſperity of theſe men, find a reſource which politicians at a diſtance do not calculate. With renters the caſe is certainly different; for, beyond all doubt, landlords will, ſooner or later, avail themſelves of theſe circumſtances, by advancing their rents; acting in this reſpect, as in every other country, is common; but they will find it impoſſible to deprive the tenantry of a vaſt advantage, neceſſarily flowing from their emancipation.

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[*] *Rapport le* 6 *Decembre* 1790, *ſur les moyens de pourvoir aux depenſes pour* 1791, p. 4.

The confuſion, which has ſince ariſen in the finances, owing almoſt entirely to the mode of taxation adopted by the aſſembly, has had the effect of continuing to the preſent moment (1791), a freedom from all impoſt to the little proprietors, which, however dreadful its general effects on the national affairs, has tended ſtrongly to enrich this claſs.

The effects of the revolution, not on any particular claſs of cultivators, but on agriculture in general, is with me, I muſt confeſs, very queſtionable; I ſee no benefits flowing, *particularly* to agriculture (liberty applies equally to *all* claſſes, and is not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed for the protection of *property*), except the caſe of tythes; but I ſee the riſe of many evils; reſtrictions and prohibitions on the trade of corn—a varying land-tax—and impeded incloſures, are miſchiefs on *principle*, that may have a generative faculty; and will prove infinite drawbacks from the proſperity, which certainly was attainable. It is to be hoped, that the good ſenſe of the aſſembly will reverſe this ſyſtem by degrees; for, if it is not reverſed, AGRICULTURE CANNOT FLOURISH.

The effect of the revolution, on the public revenue, is one great point on which Monſ. de Calonne lays conſiderable ſtreſs; and it has been ſince urged in France, that the ruin of 30,000 families, thrown abſolutely out of employment, and conſequently out of bread, in the collection of the taxes on ſalt and tobacco only, has had a powerful influence in ſpreading univerſal diſtreſs and miſery. The public revenue ſunk, in one year, 175 millions: this was not a *loſs* of that ſum; the people to whom aſſignats were paid on that account loſt no more than the diſcount; the loſs, therefore, to the people to whom that revenue was paid, could amount to no more than from 5 to 10 per cent.[*]. But was it a loſs to the miſerable ſubjects who formerly paid thoſe taxes; and who paid them by the ſweat of their brows, at the expence of the bread out of their children's mouths, aſſeſſed with tyranny, and levied in blood. Do they feel a loſs in having 175 millions in their pockets in 1789, more than they had in 1788? and in poſſeſſing other 175 millions more in 1790, and the inheritance in future? Is not ſuch a change eaſe, wealth, life, and animation to thoſe claſſes, who, while the pens of political ſatiriſts ſlander all innovations, are every moment reviving, by inheriting from that revolution ſomething which the old government aſſuredly did not give? The revenue of the clergy may be called the revenue of the public:—thoſe to whom the difference between the preſent payment of one hundred and forty millions, and the old tythes, are a deduction of all revenue, are, beyond doubt, in great diſtreſs; but what ſay the farmers throughout the kingdom, from whom the deteſtable burthen of thoſe taxes was extorted? Do not they find their culture lightened, their induſtry freed, their products their own? Go to the ariſtocratical politician at Paris, or at London, and you hear only of the ruin of France—go to the cottage of the *metayer*, or the houſe of the farmer, and demand of him what the reſult has been—there will be but one voice from Calais to Bayonne. If tythes were to be at one ſtroke aboliſhed in England [*], no doubt the clergy would ſuffer, but would not the agriculture of the kingdom, with every man dependent on it, riſe with a vigour never before experienced.

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[*] Since this was written, aſſignats fell, in December 1791, and January 1792, to 34 to 38 per cent. paid in ſilver, and 42 to 50 paid in gold, ariſing from great emiſſions; from the quantity of private paper iſſued; from forged ones being common, and from the proſpect of a war.

Future Effects.

It would betray no inconſiderable preſumption to attempt to predict what will be the event of the revolution now paſſing in France; I am not ſo imprudent. But there are conſiderations that may be offered to the attention of thoſe who love to ſpeculate on future events better than I do. There are three apparent benefits in an ariſtocracy forming the part of a conſtitution; firſt, the fixed, conſolidated, and hereditary importance of the great nobility, is, for the moſt part, a bar to the dangerous pretenſions, and illegal views, of a victorious and highly popular king, preſident, or leader. Aſſemblies, ſo elected, as to be ſwayed abſolutely by the opinion of the people, would frequently, under ſuch a prince, be ready to grant him much more than a well conſtituted ariſtocratic ſenate. Secondly, ſuch popular aſſemblies, as I have juſt deſcribed, are ſometimes led to adopt deciſions too haſtily, and too imprudently; and particularly in the caſe of wars with neighbouring nations; in the free countries, we have known the commonalty have been too apt to call lightly for them. An ariſtocracy, not *unduly* influenced by the crown, ſtands like a rock againſt ſuch phrenzies, and hath a direct intereſt in the encouragement and ſupport of peaceable maxims. The remark is applicable to many other ſubjects, in which mature deliberation is wanted to ballaſt the impetuoſity of the people. I always ſuppoſe the ariſtocratic body well conſtituted, upon the baſis of a ſufficient property, and at the ſame time no *unlimited* power in the crown, to throw all the property of the kingdom into the ſame ſcale, which is the caſe in England. Thirdly, whatever benefits may ariſe from the exiſtence of an executive power, diſtinct from the legiſlative, muſt abſolutely depend on ſome intermediate and independent body between the people and the executive power. Every one muſt grant, that if there be no ſuch body, the people are enabled, when they pleaſe, to annihilate the executive authority,—and aſſign it, as in the caſe of the long parliament, to committees of their own repreſentatives; or, which is the ſame thing, they may appear, as they did at Verſailles, armed before the King, and inſiſt on his conſent to any propoſitions they bring him; in theſe caſes, the ſeeming advantages derived from a diſtinct executive power are loſt. And it muſt be obvious, that in ſuch a conſtitution as *the preſent* one of France, the kingly office can be put down as eaſily, and as readily, as a ſecretary can be reprimanded for a falſe entry in the journals. If a conſtitution be good, all great changes in it ſhould be eſteemed a matter of great difficulty and hazard: it is in bad ones only that alterations ſhould not be looked upon in a formidable light.

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[*] It is an error in France to ſuppoſe, that the revenue of the church is ſmall in England. The Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris ſtates that revenue at 210,000l.; it cannot be ſtated at leſs than five millions ſterling. *Mem. preſenté par la S. R. d'Ag. a l'Aſſemblée Nationale*, 1789, p. 52.---One of the greateſt and wiſeſt men we have in England, perſiſts in aſſerting it to be *much leſs* than two millions. From very numerous inquiries, which I am ſtill purſuing, I have reaſon to believe this opinion to be founded on inſufficient data.

That theſe circumſtances may prove advantages in an ariſtocratical portion of a legiſlature, there is reaſon to believe; the inquiry is, whether they be counterbalanced by poſſible or probable evils. May there not come within this deſcription, the danger of an ariſtocracy uniting with the crown againſt the people? that is to ſay, influencing by weight of property and power, a great maſs of the people dependent—againſt the reſt of the people who are independent? Do we not ſee this to be very much the caſe in England at this moment? To what other part of our conſtitution is it imputable that we have been infamouſly involved in perpetual wars, from which none reap any benefit but that tribe of vermin which thrive moſt when a nation moſt declines; contractors, victuallers, paymaſters, ſtock-jobbers, and money-ſcriveners: a ſet by whom miniſters are ſurrounded; and in favour of whom whole claſſes amongſt the people are beggared and ruined. Thoſe who will aſſert a conſtitution can be good * which ſuffers theſe things, ought at leaſt to agree, that ſuch an one as would not ſuffer them would be much better *.

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* It ought not to be allowed even tolerable, for this plain reaſon, ſuch public extravagance engenders taxes to an amount that will ſooner or later force the people into reſiſtance, which is always the deſtruction of a conſtitution; and ſurely that muſt be admitted bad, which carries to the moſt careleſs eye the ſeeds of its own deſtruction. Two hundred and forty millions of public debt in a century, is in a ratio impoſſible to be ſupported; and therefore evidently ruinous.

If an ariſtocracy have thus its advantages and diſadvantages, it is natural to inquire, whether the French nation be likely to eſtabliſh ſomething of a ſenate, that ſhall have the advantages without the evils. If there ſhould be none, no popular repreſentatives will ever be brought, with the conſent of their conſtituents, to give up a power in their own poſſeſſion and enjoyment. It is experience alone, and long experience, that can ſatisfy the doubts which every one muſt entertain on this ſubject. What can we know, experimentally, of a government which has not ſtood the brunt of unſucceſsful and of ſucceſsful wars? The Engliſh conſtitution has ſtood this teſt, and has been found deficient; or rather, as far this teſt can decide any thing, has been proved worthleſs; ſince, in a ſingle century, it has involved the nation in a debt of ſo vaſt † a magnitude, that every bleſſing which might otherwiſe have been perpetuated is put to the ſtake; ſo that if the nation do not make ſome change in its conſtitution, it is much to be dreaded that the conſtitution will ruin the nation. Where practice and experience have ſo utterly failed, it would be vain to reaſon from theory: and eſpecially on a ſubject on which a very able writer has ſeen his own prediction ſo totally erroneous: "In the monarchical ſtates of Europe, it is highly improbable that any form of properly equal government ſhould be eſtabliſhed for many ages; the people, in general, and eſpecially in France, being proud of their monarchs, even when they are oppreſſed by them ‡."

In regard to the future conſequences of this ſingular revolution, as an example to other nations, there can be no doubt but the ſpirit which has produced it, will, ſooner or later, ſpread throughout Europe, according to the different degrees of illumination amongſt the common people; and it will prove either miſchievous or beneficial, in proportion to the previous ſteps taken by governments. It is unqueſtionably

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* "The direct power of the King of England," ſays Mr. Burke, "is conſiderable. His indirect is great indeed. When was it that a King of England wanted wherewithal to make him reſpected, courted, or perhaps even feared in every ſtate in Europe?" It is in ſuch paſſages as theſe, that this elegant writer lays himſelf open to the attacks formidable, becauſe juſt, of men who have not an hundredth part of his talents. Who queſtions, or can queſtion, the power of a prince that in leſs than a century has expended above 1000 millions, and involved his people in a debt of 240! The point in debate is not the *exiſtence* of power, but its *exceſs*. What is the conſtitution that generates or allows of ſuch expences? The very miſchief complained of is here wrought into a merit, and brought in argument to prove that poiſon is ſalutary.

† This debt, and our enormous taxation, are the beſt anſwer the National Aſſembly gives to thoſe who would have had the Engliſh government, with all its faults on its head, adopted in France; nor was it without reaſon ſaid by a popular writer, that a government, formed like the Engliſh, obtains more revenue than it could do, either by direct deſpotiſm, or in a full ſtate of freedom.

‡ Dr. Prieſtley's Lectures on Hiſt. 4to. 1788. p. 317.

queſtionably the ſubject of all others the moſt intereſting to every claſs, and even to every individual of a modern ſtate; the great line of diviſion, into which the people divides, is, 1ſt, thoſe that have property; and, 2d, others that have none. The events that have taken place in France, in many reſpects, have been ſubverſive of property; and have been effected by the lower people, in direct oppoſition to the nominal legiſlature; yet their conſtitution began its eſtabliſhment with a much greater degree of regularity, by a formal election of repreſentatives, than there is any probability of ſeeing in other countries. Revolutions will there be blown up from riotous mobs—from the military called out to quell them, but refuſing obedience, and joining the inſurgents. Such a flame, ſpreading rapidly through a country, muſt prove more hoſtile, and more fatal to property, than any thing that has prevailed in France. The probability of ſuch events, every one muſt allow to be not inconſiderable; the ruin that muſt attend them cannot be doubted; for they would tend to produce not a National Aſſembly, and a free conſtitution, but an univerſal anarchy and confuſion. The firſt attempt towards a democracy in England would be the common people demanding an admiſſion and voice in the veſtries, and voting to themſelves whatever rates they thought proper to appropriate; which, in fact, would be an agrarian law. Can there be ſo much ſupineneſs in the preſent governments of Europe, as to ſuppoſe, that old principles and maxims will avail any longer? Can ſuch ignorance of the human heart, and ſuch blindneſs to the natural courſe of events be found, as the plan of rejecting *all* innovations leſt they ſhould lead to greater? There is no government to be found, that does not depend, in the laſt reſort, on a military power; and if that fail them, is not the conſequence eaſily ſeen? A new policy muſt either be adopted, or all the governments we know will be ſwept from their very foundations. This policy muſt conſiſt, firſt, in making it the intereſt, as much as poſſible, of every claſs in the ſtate, except thoſe abſolutely without property [*], to ſupport the eſtabliſhed government; and alſo to render it as palatable, as the ſecurity of property will allow, even to theſe; farther than this, none can look; for it is ſo directly the intereſt of the people, *without property*, to divide with thoſe *who have it*, that no government can be eſtabliſhed, which ſhall give the poor an equal intereſt in it with the rich [†];—the viſible tangible intereſt of the poor (if I may uſe the expreſſions), and not the ultimate and remote, which they will never voluntarily regard, is a *pure* democracy, and a conſequent diviſion of property, the ſure path to anarchy and deſpotiſm. The means of making a government reſpected and beloved are, in England, obvious; taxes muſt be immenſely reduced; aſſeſſments on malt, leather, candles, ſoap, ſalt, and windows, muſt be aboliſhed or lightened; the funding ſyſtem, the parent of taxation, annihilated for ever, by taxing the intereſt of the public debt—the conſtitution that admits a debt, carries in its vitals the ſeeds of its deſtruction; tythes * and teſts aboliſhed; the repreſentation of parliament reformed, and its duration ſhortened; not to give the people, without property, a predominancy, but to prevent that corruption, in which our debts and taxes have originated; the utter deſtruction of all monopolies, and, among them, of all charters and corporations; game-made property, and belonging to the poſſeſſor of one acre, as much as to him who has a thouſand; and, laſtly, the laws, both criminal and civil, to be thoroughly reformed.—Theſe circumſtances include the great evils of the Britiſh conſtitution; if they be remedied, it may enjoy even a Venetian longevity; but if they be allowed, like cancerous humours to prey on the nobler parts of the political ſyſtem, this boaſted fabric may not exiſt even twenty years. To guard property effectually, and to give permanency to the new ſyſtem, the militia laws ought all to be repealed. When we ſee, as in all the monarchies of Europe, the government only armed, deſpotiſm is eſtabliſhed. When thoſe who have property alone are armed, how ſecure the people from oppreſ-

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[*] The repreſentation of mere population is as groſs a violation of ſenſe, reaſon, and theory, as it is found pernicious in practice; it gives to ignorance to govern knowledge; to uncultivated intellect the lead of intelligence; to ſavage force the guide of law and juſtice; and to folly the governance of wiſdom. Knowledge, intelligence, information, learning, and wiſdom ought to govern nations; and theſe are all found to reſide moſt in the middle claſſes of mankind; weakened by the habits and prejudices of *the great*, and ſtifled by the ignorance of the vulgar.

[†] Thoſe who have not attended much to French affairs, might eaſily miſtake the repreſentation of territory and contribution in the French conſtitution, as ſomething ſimilar to what I contend for but

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---but nothing is more remote: the number choſen is of little conſequence, while perſons without property are the electors. Yet Mr. Chriſtie ſays, vol. i. p. 196. that property is a baſe on which repreſentation ought to be founded; and it is plain he thinks that property is repreſented, though the repreſentatives of the property are elected by men that do not poſſeſs a ſhilling! It is not that the proprietors of property ſhould have voices in the election proportioned to their property, but that men who have a direct intereſt in the plunder or diviſion of property ſhould be kept at a diſtance from power. Here lies the great difficulty of modern legiſlation, to ſecure property, and at the ſame-time to ſecure freedom to thoſe that have no property. In England there is much of this effected for the ſmall portion of every man's income that is left to him after public plunder is ſatiated (the poor, the parſon, and the king take 50 to 60 per cent. of every man's rent)---but the reſt is ſecure. In America the poor, the parſon, and the king take nothing (or next to nothing), and the whole is ſecure. In France ALL ſeems to be at the mercy of the populace.

* The exaction of tythes is ſo abſurd and tyrannical an attack on the property of mankind, that it is almoſt impoſſible for them to continue in any country in the world half a century longer. To pay a man by force 1000l. a year, for doing by deputy what would be much better done for 100l. is too groſs an impoſition to be endured. To levy that 1000l. in the moſt pernicious method that can wound both property and liberty, are circumſtances congenial to the tenth century, but not to the eighteenth. Italy, France, and America have ſet noble examples for the imitation of mankind; and thoſe countries that do not follow them, will ſoon be as inferior in cultivation as they are in policy.

ſion?—When thoſe who have no property are armed, how prevent their ſeizing the property of others?—Perhaps the beſt method of guarding againſt theſe contrary evils, is to embody, in a national militia, all who have property; and, at the ſame time, to allow arms (unembodied) to all citizens indiſcriminately: we ſee, in the caſe of Berne, that the people being armed, keeps an ariſtocracy in ſuch order, that great oppreſſions are unknown. An army was always dangerous; and, in the probable ſtate of Europe, it may be doubly ſo; diſcipline preſerved, it cemented deſpotiſm; undiſciplined, it may unite with the people of no property, and produce anarchy and ruin. There ſeems to be no ſufficient guard upon it, but a national militia, formed of every man that poſſeſſes a certain degree of property, rank and file as well as officers [*]. Such a force, in this iſland, would probably amount to above 100,000 men; and would be amply ſufficient for repreſſing all thoſe riots, whoſe object might be, immediately or ultimately, the democratic miſchief of transferring property [†]. This for a free government:—deſpotic ones, that would wiſh to eſcape deſtruction, muſt emancipate their ſubjects, becauſe no military conformation can long ſecure the obedience of ill treated ſlaves; and while ſuch governments are giving to their people a conſtitution worth preſerving, they ſhould, by an abſolute renunciation of all the views of conqueſt, make a ſmall army as efficient for good purpoſes, as a large force for ambitious ones; this new-modelled military ſhould conſiſt, rank and file, of men intereſted in the preſervation of property and order: were this army to conſiſt merely of nobility, it would form a military ariſtocracy, as dangerous to the prince as to the people; it ſhould be compoſed, indiſcriminately, of individuals, drawn from all claſſes, but poſſeſſing a given property.—A good government, thus ſupported, may be durable; bad ones will be ſhivered to pieces by the new ſpirit that ferments in Europe. The candid reader will, I truſt, ſee, that in whatever I have ventured to advance on ſo critical a ſubject as this great and unexampled revolution, I have aſſigned the merit I think due to it, *which is the deſtruction of the old government*, and not the eſtabliſhment of the new. All that I ſaw, and much that I heard, in France, gave me the cleareſt conviction, that *a change* was neceſſary for the happineſs of the people; a change, that ſhould limit the royal authority; that ſhould reſtrain the feudal tyranny of the nobility; that ſhould reduce the church to the level of good citizens; that ſhould correct the abuſes of finance; that ſhould give purity to the

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[*] The late riots at Birmingham ought to convince every man, who looks to the preſervation of peace, that a *militia of property* is abſolutely neceſſary; had it exiſted at that town, no ſuch infamous tranſactions could have taken place, to the diſgrace of the age and nation. Thoſe riots may convince us how inſecure our property really is in England, and how very imperfect that POLITICAL SYSTEM, which could, twice in ten years, ſee two of the greateſt towns in England at the mercy of a vile mob. The military muſt, in relation to the greater part of the kingdom, be always at a diſtance; but a militia is on the ſpot, and eaſy to be collected, by previous regulations, at a moment's warning.

[†] The claſs of writers who wiſh to ſpread the taſte of revolutions, and make them every where the *order of the day*, affect to confound the governments of France and America, as if eſtabliſhed on the ſame principles; if ſo, it is a remarkable fact that the reſult ſhould, to appearance, turn out ſo differently: but a little examination will convince us, that there is ſcarcely any thing in common between thoſe governments, except the general principle of being free. In France, the populace are electors, and to ſo low a degree that the excluſions are of little account; and the qualifications for a ſeat in the provincial aſſemblies, and in the national one, are ſo low that the whole chain may be completed, from the firſt elector to the legiſlator, without a ſingle link of what merits the name of property. The very reverſe is the caſe in America, there is not a ſingle ſtate in which voters muſt not have a qualification of property: in Maſſachuſſets and New Hampſhire, a freehold of 3l. a year, or other eſtate of 60l. value: Connecticut is a country of ſubſtantial freeholders, and the old government remains: in New York, electors of the ſenate muſt have a property of 100l. free from debts; and thoſe of the aſſembly freeholds of 40s. a year, *rated and paying taxes:* in Pennſylvania, payment of taxes is neceſſary: in Maryland, the poſſeſſon of 50 acres of land, or other eſtate worth 30l.: in Virginia, 25 cultivated acres, with a houſe on it: in North Carolina, for the ſenate 50 acres, and for the aſſembly payment of taxes: and in all the ſtates there are qualifications much more conſiderable, neceſſary for being eligible to be elected. In general it ſhould be remembered, that taxes being ſo very few, the qualification of paying them excludes vaſtly more voters than a ſimilar regulation in Europe. In conſtituting the legiſlatures alſo, the ſtates all have two houſes, except Pennſylvania. And Congreſs itſelf meets in the ſame form. Thus a ready explanation is found of that order and regularity, and ſecurity of property, which ſtrikes every eye in America; a contraſt to the ſpectacle which France

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France has exhibited, where confuſion of every ſort has operated, in which property is very far from ſafe; in which the populace legiſlate and then execute, not laws of their repreſentatives, but of their own ambulatory wills; in which, at this moment (March 1792), they are a ſcene of anarchy, with every ſign of a civil war commencing. Theſe two great experiments, as far as they have gone, ought to pour conviction in every mind, that order and property never can be ſafe if the right of election is perſonal, inſtead of being attached to property: and whenever propoſitions for the reformation of our repreſentation ſhall be ſeriouſly conſidered, which is certainly neceſſary, nothing ought to be in contemplation but taking power from the crown and the ariſtocracy---not to give it to the mob, but to the middle claſſes of moderate fortune. The proprietor of an eſtate of 50l. a year is as much intereſted, in the preſervation of order and of property, as the poſſeſſor of fifty thouſand; but the people without property have a direct and poſitive intereſt in public confuſion, and the conſequent diviſion of that property, of which they are deſtitute. Hence the neceſſity, a preſſing one in the preſent moment, of a militia rank and file, of property; the eſſential counterpoiſe to aſſemblies in ale-houſe kitchens, clubbing their pence to have the *Rights of Man* read to them, by which ſhould be underſtood (in Europe, not in America) the RIGHT TO PLUNDER. Let the ſtate of France at preſent be coolly conſidered, and it will be found to originate abſolutely in population, without property being repreſented; it exhibits ſcenes ſuch as can never take place in America. See the National Aſſembly of a great empire, at the criſis of its fate, liſtening to the harangues of the Paris populace, the female populace of St. Antoine, and the preſident formally anſwering and flattering them! Will ſuch ſpectacles ever be ſeen in the American Congreſs? Can that be a well conſtituted government, in which the moſt precious moments are ſo conſumed? The place of aſſembling (Paris) is alone ſufficient to endanger the conſtitution.

adminiſtration of juſtice; and that ſhould place the people in a ſtate of eaſe, and give them weight enough to ſecure this bleſſing. Thus far I muſt ſuppoſe every friend of mankind agreed. But whether, in order to effect thus much, all France were to be overthrown, ranks annihilated, property attacked, the monarchy aboliſhed, and the king and royal family trampled upon; and, above all the reſt, the whole effect of the revolution, good or bad, put on the iſſue of a conduct which, to ſpeak in the mildeſt language, made a civil war probable:—this is a queſtion abſolutely diſtinct. In my private opinion, theſe extremities were not neceſſary; France might have been free without violence; a neceſſitous court, a weak miniſtry, and a timid prince, could have refuſed nothing to the demands of the ſtates, eſſential to public happineſs. The power of the purſe would have done all that ought to have been done. The weight of the commons would have been predominant; but it would have had checks and a controul, without which *power* is not CONSTITUTION, but *tyranny*.—While, however, I thus venture to think that the revolution might have been accompliſhed upon better principles, becauſe probably more durable ones, I do not therefore aſſign the firſt National Aſſembly in the groſs to that total condemnation, they have received from ſome very intemperate pens, and for this plain reaſon, becauſe it is certain that they have not done much which was not called for by the people.

Before the revolution is condemned in the groſs, it ſhould be conſidered what extent of liberty was demanded by the three orders in their *cahiers*; and this in particular is neceſſary, ſince thoſe very *cahiers* are quoted to ſhew the miſchievous proceedings of the National Aſſembly. Here are a few of the ameliorations demanded; to have the trial by jury, and the *habeas corpus* of England[*]; to deliberate by head, and not by order, demanded *by the nobility themſelves*[†]; to declare all taxes illegal and ſuppreſſed—but to grant them anew for a year[‡]; to aboliſh for ever the capitaineries[‡]; to eſtabliſh a *caiſſe nationale ſeparée inacceſſible à toute influence du pouvoir executif*[‖]: that all the intendants ſhould be ſuppreſſed[§]: that no treaties of commerce ſhould be made but with the conſent of the ſtates[¶]: that the orders of begging monks be ſuppreſſed[**]: that *all* monks be ſuppreſſed, and their goods and eſtates ſold[††]: that tythes be for ever ſuppreſſed[‡‡]: that all feudal rights, duties, payments, and ſervices be aboliſhed[‖‖]: that ſalaries (*traitement pécuniare*), be paid to the deputies[*]: that the permanence of the National Aſſembly is a neceſſary part of its exiſtence[†]: that the Baſtile be demoliſhed[‡]: that the duties of *aides*, on wine, brandy, tobacco, ſalt, leather, paper, iron, oil, and ſoap, be ſuppreſſed[‖]: that the apanages be aboliſhed[§]: that the domaines of the king be alienated[¶]: that the king's ſtuds (*haras*), be ſuppreſſed[**]: that the pay of the ſoldiers be augmented[††]: that the kingdom be divided into diſtricts, and the elections proportioned to population and to contributions[‡‡]: that all citizens paying a determinate quota of taxes vote in the parochial aſſemblies[‖‖]: that it is indiſpenſable in the ſtates-general to conſult the Rights of Man[§§]: that the deputies ſhall accept of no place, penſion, grace, or favour[¶¶].

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[*] *Nob. Auxois*, p. 23. *Artois*, p. 13. *T. Etat de Peronne*, p. 15. *Nob. Dauphiné*, p. 119.

[†] *Nob. Touraine*, p. 4. *Nob. Senlis*, p. 46. *Nob. Pays de Labour*, p. 3. *Nob. Queſnoy*, p. 6. *Nob. Sens*, p. 3. *Nob. Thimerais*, p. 3. *Clergé du Bourbonnois*, p. 6. *Clergé du Bas Limoſin*, p. 10.

[‡] Too numerous to quote, of both Nobility and Tiers.

[‖] Many; Nobility as well as Tiers.

[§] *Nob. Sezanne*, p. 14. *T. Etat Metz*, p. 42. *T. Etat de Auvergne*, p. 9. *T. Etat de Riom*, p. 23.

[¶] *Nob. Nivernois*, p. 25.

[**] *Nob. Bas Limoſin*, p. 12.

[††] *T. Etat du Haut Vivarais*, p. 18. *Nob. Rheims*, p. 16. *Nob. Auxerre*, p. 41.

[‡‡] *Nob. Toulon*, p. 18.

[‖‖] Too many to quote.

From this detail of the inſtructions given by the nation, I will not aſſert that every thing which the National Aſſembly has decreed is juſtifiable; but it may be very fairly concluded, that much the greater part of their arrets, and many that have been the moſt violently arraigned, are here expreſſly demanded. To reply that theſe demands are not thoſe of the nation at large, but of particular bodies only, is very wide from the argument; eſpecially as the moſt virulent enemies of the revolution, and particularly Meſſ. Burke and De Calonne, have, from theſe *cahiers*, deduced ſuch concluſions as ſuited their purpoſe; and if they are made authority for condemning the tranſactions in that kingdom, they certainly are equal authority for ſupporting thoſe tranſactions. I ſhall make but one obſervation on theſe demands. The aſſemblies that drew them up, moſt certainly never demanded, in expreſs terms, the abolition of the monarchy, or the transfer of all the regal authority to the deputies; but let it be coolly conſidered, what ſort of a monarchy muſt neceſſarily remain, while an aſſembly is permanent, with power to aboliſh tythes; to ſuppreſs the intendants; not only to vote, but to keep the public money: to alienate the king's domains; and to ſuppreſs his ſtuds: to aboliſh the *capitaineries*, and deſtroy the Baſtile:—the aſſembly that is called upon to do all this, is plainly meant to be a body *ſolely* poſſeſſing the legiſlative authority: it is evidently not meant to *petition the king* to do it; becauſe they would have uſed, in this caſe, the form of expreſſion ſo common in other parts of the *cahiers*, *that his majeſty will have the goodneſs*, &c.

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[*] *Nob. Nomery en Loraine*, p. 10.

[†] *Nob. Mantes & Meulan*, p. 16. *Provins & Montereaux*, art. 1. *Rennes*, art. 19.

[‡] *Nob. Paris*, p. 14.

[‖] *Nob. Vitry le Francois*, MS. *Nob. Lyon*, p. 16. *Nob. Bugey*, p. 28. *Nob. Paris*, p. 22.

[§] *Nob. Ponthieu*, p. 32. *Nob. Chartres*, p. 19. *Nob. Auxerre*, art. 74.

[¶] *Nob. Bugey*, p. 11. *Nob. Montargis*, p. 18. *Nob. Paris*, p. 16. *Nob. Bourbonnois*, p. 12. *Nob. Nancy*, p. 23. *Nob. Angoumois*, p. 20. *Nob. Pays de Labour*, fol. 9.

[**] *Nob. Beauvois*, p. 18. *Nob. Troyes*, p. 25.

[††] *Nob. Limoges*, p. 31.

[‡‡] *T. Etat de Lyon*, p. 7. *Niſmes*, p. 13. *Cotentin*, art. 7.

[‖‖] *T. Etat Rennes*, art. 15.

[§§] *T. Etat Niſmes*, p. 11.

[¶¶] *T. Etat Pont a Mouſſon*, p. 17. Mr. Burke ſays, "When the ſeveral orders, in their ſeveral bailliages, had met in the year 1789, to chuſe and inſtruct their repreſentatives, they were the *people* of France; whilſt they were in that ſtate, in no one of their inſtructions did they charge, or even hint at any of thoſe things which have drawn upon the uſurping aſſembly the deteſtation of the rational part of mankind."

The reſult of the whole inquiry, cannot but induce temperate men to conclude, that the abolition of tythe, of feudal ſervices and payments, of the *gabelle*, or ſalt-tax, of that on tobacco, of the *entreés*, of all exciſes on manufactures, and of all duties on tranſit, of the infamous proceedings in the old courts of juſtice, of the deſpotic practices of the old monarchy, of the militia regulations, of the monaſteries and nunneries, and of numberleſs other abuſes; I ſay, that temperate men muſt conclude, that the advantages derived to the nation are of the very firſt importance, and ſuch as muſt inevitably ſecure to it, as long as they continue, an uncommon degree of proſperity. The men who deny the benefit of ſuch events, muſt have ſomething ſiniſter in their views, or *muddy in their underſtandings*. On the other hand, the extenſive and unneceſſary ruin brought on ſo many thouſands of families, of all deſcriptions, by violence, plunder, terror, and injuſtice, to an amount that is ſhewn in the utter want of the precious metals, the ſtagnation of induſtry, and the poverty and miſery found amongſt many, is an evil of too great a magnitude to be palliated. The nouriſhment of the moſt pernicious cancer in the ſtate, public credit; the deluge of paper money; the violent and frivolous extinction of rank *; the new ſyſtem of taxation, apparently ſo hurtful to landed property; and a reſtricted corn trade; all theſe are great deductions from public felicity, and weigh the heavier in the ſcale, becauſe unneceſſary to effect the revolution. Of the nature and durableneſs of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed, prudent men will not be eager to propheſy: it is a new experiment †, and cannot be tried or examined on old ideas; but the EFFECTS, good and bad, here arrranged, in oppoſition to each other, are viſible to every eye; the advantages are recognized; the evils are felt. On theſe circumſtances we are competent to reaſon *.

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* It is ſo becauſe the inequality remains as great as if titles had remained, but built on its worſt baſis, wealth. The nobility were bad, but not ſo bad as Mr. Chriſtie makes them; they did *not* wait till the *Etats Generaux* before they agreed to renounce their pecuniary privileges, *Letters on the Rev. of France*, vol. i. p. 74. The firſt meeting of the ſtates was May 5, 1789; but the nobility aſſembled at the Louvre, Dec. 20, 1788, addreſſed the king, declaring that intention.

† After all that has been ſaid of late years, on the ſubject of conſtitutions and governments by various writers in England, but more eſpecially in France, one circumſtance muſt ſtrike any attentive reader; it is, that none of the writers who have puſhed the moſt forward in favour of new ſyſtems, have ſaid any thing to convince the unprejudiced part of mankind, that experiment is not as neceſſary a means of knowledge in relation to government, as in agriculture, or any other branch of natural philoſophy. Much has been ſaid in favour of the American government, and I believe with perfect juſtice, *reaſoning as far as the experiment extends*; but it is fair to conſider it as an imperfect experiment, extending no further than the energy of perſonal virtue, ſeconded by the moderation attendant on a circulation not remarkably active. We learn, by Mr. Payne, that General Waſhington accepted no ſalary as commander of their troops, nor any as preſident of their legiſlature——an inſtance that does honour to their government, their country, and to human nature; but it may be doubted, whether any ſuch inſtances will occur two hundred years hence? The exports of the United States now amount to 20 millions of dollars; when they amount to 500 millions, when great

1792.

IT may afford the reader ſome ſatisfaction to note a few circumſtances of the ſtate of France at the opening of 1792, which I draw from the correſpondence of ſome friends, on whoſe accuracy I can rely.

Agriculture.—Small proprietors, who farm their own lands, are in a very improved and eaſy ſituation: renters are proportionally ſo, to the degree in which their landlords have not been able to acquire in new rents, the payments from which the land has been freed. Owners of meadows, woods, and a variety of articles for which no tythe was paid before, gain much leſs than others whoſe property uſed to be ſubject to that burthen. In regard to the payment of rent, there is a diſtinction between the north and ſouth of the Loire; in the former, rents continue to be paid; but to the ſouth, many landlords have been unable to receive a penny; and here a difference is obſervable; abſentees, who were not beloved, or whoſe agents are diſliked, are in an ill ſituation; but others, who reſide, or who, though abſent, are beloved, are paid proportionally to the ability of the *metayer*, which ſpecies of tenant is chiefly found ſouth of the Loire. The laſt crop (of 1791), is ſaid to have been ſhort; in a good year, in Picardy, 40 ſheaves gave a *ſeptier* of wheat, of 240 lb.; but now it takes 50 to 60. This circumſtance, however, cannot be general, as the price plainly proves; for January 7th 1792, price at Paris of wheat was 22 to 28 liv. with aſſignats at 36 per cent. diſcount, a remarkable proof, that the moſt depreciated paper cur-

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wealth, vaſt cities, a rapid circulation, and, by conſequence, immenſe private fortunes are formed, will ſuch ſpectacles be found? Will their government then be as faultleſs as it appears at preſent? It may. Probably it will ſtill be found excellent; but we have no conviction, no proof; it is in the womb of time---THE EXPERIMENT IS NOT MADE. Such remarks, however, ought always to be accompanied with the admiſſion, that the Britiſh government has been experimented.---With what reſult?---Let a debt of 240 milllions---let ſeven wars---let Bengal and Gibraltar---let 30 millions ſterling of national burthens, taxes, rates, tythes, and monopolies----let theſe anſwer----

* The groſs abuſe which has been thrown on the French nation, and particularly on their aſſemblies, in certain pamphlets, and without interruption, in ſeveral of our newſpapers, ought to be deprecated by every man who feels for the future intereſts of this country. It is in ſome inſtances carried to ſo ſcandalous an exceſs, that we muſt neceſſarily give extreme diſguſt to thouſands of people, who may hereafter have an ample opportunity to *vote* and *act* under the influence of impreſſions unfavourable towards a country, that, unprovoked, has loaded them with ſo much contumely; for a nation groaning under a debt of 240 millions, that deadens the very idea of future energy, this ſeems, to uſe the mildeſt language, to be at leaſt very imprudent.

rency will anſwer every purpoſe for objects of phyſical neceſſity, and daily conſumption. The diſcount on this paper, is greater than ever was foretold by thoſe who predicted an enormous riſe of all the neceſſaries of life; a proof how new the ſcience of politics is, and how little able the moſt ingenious men are to foretel the effects of any ſpecified event. The ſale of the national eſtates has been of late very ſlow, which is a ſtrange circumſtance, ſince the rapidity of their transfer ought to have been proportioned to the diſcount upon aſſignats, for an obvious reaſon; for, while land is to be acquired with money, the more depreciated paper is, the greater the benefit to the purchaſer. While the ſale of the eſtates laſted with any degree of briſkneſs, the common price, of ſuch as have come to my knowledge, was 20 to 30, and even more years purchaſe; at which rate the advantages attending inveſtments may be great.

Commerce and Manufactures.—The reſult of the vaſt diſcount upon aſſignats has, in relation to the national induſtry, been almoſt contrary to what many perſons, not ill informed, expected. Early in the confuſion of the revolution, nothing ſuffered ſo ſeverely as manufactures; but I am now (1792) informed, that there is much more motion and employment in them than ſome time paſt, when the general aſpect of affairs was leſs alarming. The very circumſtance which, according to common ideas, ſhould have continued their depreſſion, has moſt unaccountably revived them in ſome meaſure; I mean the depreciation of the aſſignats. Paper currency has been at ſo low a pitch, that every ſpecies of goods has been preferred in payments; maſter manufacturers paying their workmen, &c. in aſſignats, by which bread is purchaſed at a price proportioned to the crop, can ſell the product of that labour to ſuch an advantage, as to create demand enough to animate their buſineſs: a moſt curious political combination, which ſeems to ſhew, that in circumſtances where evils are of the moſt alarming tendency, there is a re-action, an under-current, that works againſt the apparent tide, and brings relief, even from the very nature of the misfortune. Combine this with the point of depreſſion of England, in all her wars, as explained with ſuch talents by the ingenious Mr. Chalmers, and ſomething of a ſimilarity will ſtrike the reflecting reader. The loſs by the depreſſion of aſſignats has not been by any interior tranſactions, but by thoſe with foreign powers. In conſequence of it, the courſe of exchange roſe at laſt ſo high, that the loſs to the kingdom has been great, but by no means ſo great as ſome have imagined, who ſuppoſed the intercourſe to be moving in the ſame ratio as in preceding periods. But this is no light error: the evil of exchange, like all other political evils, corrects itſelf; when it is very much againſt a people, they neceſſarily leſſen their conſumption of foreign commodities; and on the contrary, foreign nations conſume *theirs* very freely, becauſe ſo eaſily paid for. Through the month of January 1792, the courſe of exchange between us and Paris, has been about 18 on an average; reckoning the par at 30 (which, however, is not exact), here is 40 per cent. againſt France; deduct 36 for the diſcount on aſſignats, and this apparent enormity of evil is reduced to 4 per cent. Through the month of January 1791, the courſe was 25½; this was 15 per cent. diſadvantage, and deducting 5 for the diſcount on aſſignats, the real diſadvantage was 10. Thus the exchange in January 1792 is 6 per cent. more favorable to France than in 1791; a remark, however, which muſt not be extended to any other caſe, and touches not on the internal miſchiefs of a depreciated currency. It ſeems to ſhew, that the evils of their ſituation, ſo little underſtood by the generality of people here, are correcting themſelves, relative to foreigners, through the operation of the cauſes I have mentioned. It is at the ſame time to be remarked, that while the price of corn, and other things, in which there is no competition by foreigners, riſes merely on account of a ſcarcity, real or apprehenſive; at the ſame time, every thing bought by foreigners, or which can be bought by them, has riſen greatly; for inſtance, the cloth of Abbeville, a French commodity, has riſen from 30 liv. to 42 liv. the aulne; and copper, a foreign commodity, has increaſed, it is aſſerted, in the petition of the Norman manufactures to the National Aſſembly, 70 per cent. Such a fabric may ſuffer; but if their pins ſell proportionably with other things, the evil, it muſt be admitted, tends to correct itſelf.

Finances.—The prominent feature is the immenſity of the debt, which increaſes every hour. That which bears intereſt, may be about 5,000,000,000 liv.; and aſſignats, or the debt not bearing intereſt, may be groſſly eſtimated at 1,500,000,000 liv.; in all 6,500,000,000 liv. or 284,375,000l. ſterling: a debt of ſuch enormity, that nothing but the moſt regular, and well paid revenue, could enable the kingdom to ſupport it. The annual *deficit* may be reckoned about 250,000,000 liv. *at preſent*, but improveable by a better collection of the revenue. The following is the account for the month of February 1792.

Recette, - - - -	20,000,000
Depenſes extraordinaire de 1792, - -	12,000,000
Id. pour 1791, - - - -	2,000,000
Avances au de part de Paris, - -	1,000,000
Deficit, - - - -	43,000,000
	58,000,000

I am afraid that any attempt to ſupport ſuch infinite burthens, muſt continue to deluge the kingdom with paper, till, like Congreſs dollars in America, circulation ceaſes altogether. There ſeems to be no remedy but a bankruptcy, which is the beſt, eaſieſt, and moſt beneficial meaſure to the nation, that can be embraced; it is alſo the moſt juſt and the moſt honourable; all ſhifting expedients are, in fact, more miſchievous to the people, and yet leave government as deeply involved, as if no recourſe had been made to them. If the *milice bourgeoiſe* of Paris is ſo intereſted in the funds, as to render this too dangerous, there does not appear to be any other rule of conduct, than one great and laſt appeal to the nation, declaring, that they muſt either DESTROY PUBLIC CREDIT, OR BE DESTROYED BY IT. If the National Aſſembly have not virtue and courage enough thus to extricate France, ſhe muſt at all events, remain, however free, in a ſtate of political debility.

The impoſſibility of levying the *œconomiſtes*, land-tax, is found in France to be as great in practice as the principles of it were abſurd in theory. I am informed (February 1792), that the confuſion ariſing from this cauſe, in almoſt every part of the kingdom, is great. The tax of 300 millions, laid on the *rental* of France, would not be more than 2s. 6d. in the pound; too great a burthen on juſt political principles, but not a very oppreſſive one, had it been once fairly aſſeſſed, and never afterwards varied. But, by purſuing the jargon of the *produit net*, and making it variable, inſtead of fixed, every ſpecies of inconvenience and uncertainty has ariſen. The aſſembly divided the total among the departments; the departments the *quotas* among the diſtricts; the diſtricts among the municipalities; and the municipalities aſſemblied for the aſſeſſment of individuals: the ſame decree that fixed the tax at 300 millions, limited it alſo not to exceed one-fifth of the *produit net*; every man had therefore a power to reject any aſſeſſment that exceeded that proportion; the conſequence was, the total aſſigned to the municipalities, was ſcarcely any where to be found, but upon large farms, let at a money-rent in the north of France; among the ſmall proprietors of a few acres, which ſpread over ſo large a part of the kingdom, they all ſcreened themſelves under definitions, of what the *produit net* meant; and the reſult was, that the month of December, which ought to have produced 40 millions, really produced but 14. So practicable has this viſionary nonſenſe of the *produit net* proved, under the diſpenſations of a mere democracy, though acting *nominally* * by repreſentatives. The fact has been, that this ill conceived and ill laid land-tax, which, under a different management, and under the orderly government of the *ſettled* part of America, might have been effectively productive, has been ſo contrived, that it never will, and never can produce what it was eſtimated at in France. The people, without property, have a direct intereſt in ſeconding the refuſals of others to pay, that are in the loweſt claſſes of property, and who can really ill afford it; one great objection to all land-taxes, where poſſeſſions are much divided. With power in ſuch hands, the refuſal is effective, and the national treaſury is empty. But ſuppoſing ſuch enormous difficulties overcome, and theſe little properties valued and taxed on ſome practicable plan, from that moment there muſt be a new valuation every year; for, if one has wealth enough to improve beyond the capacity of the reſt, they immediately ſhift a proportion of their tax on him; and this has accordingly happened, early as it is in the day, and indeed is inherent in the nature of the tax, as promulgated by the aſſembly *. Thus annual aſſeſſments, annual confuſion, annual quarrels, and heart-burnings, and annual oppreſſion, muſt be the conſequence; and all this, becauſe a plain, ſimple, and practicable mode of aſſeſſment was not laid down by the legiſlature itſelf, inſtead of leaving it to be debated and fought through 500 legiſlatures, on the plan, purely ideal and theoretical, of the *œconomiſtes!*

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* Whether nominally, or really, is not of conſequence, if *effective* qualifications of property be not, at every ſtep, the guard, as in the American conſtitutions.

Police of Corn.—The National Aſſembly has been of late repeatedly employed in receiving complaints from various departments, relative to the ſcarcity and high price of corn, and debates on it ariſe, and votes paſs, which are printed, to ſatisfy the people that all precautions are taken to prevent exportation. Such a conduct ſhews, that they tread in the ſteps of Monſ. Necker, and that they conſequently may expect, with a crop but ſlightly deficient, to ſee a famine. In the *Gazette Nationale*, of March 6, 1792, I read, in the journal of the Aſſembly, *Inquietudes—prècautions priſes—commiſſaires envoyés—veiller à la ſubſiſtance du peuple—fonds pour acheter des grains chez l'etranger—dix millions*—&c. Now this is preciſely the blind and infatuated conduct of Monſ. Necker. If theſe ſteps are neceſſary to be taken (which is impoſſible), why talk of and print them? Why alarm the people, by ſhewing yourſelves alarmed? Forty-five millions loſs, in the hands of M. Necker, purchaſed not three days corn for France; ten millions will not purchaſe one day's conſumption!! but the report and parade of it will do more miſchief than the loſs of five times the quantity: without being in France, I am clear, and can rely enough upon principles to know, that theſe meaſures will RAISE, not ſink the price. One of the many inſtances in legiſlation, that proves the immenſe difference (regarding the caſes of France and the United States) between a repreſentation of mere population, and one of property! *M—— pour prévenir les inquietudes qui pourraient arriver l'année prochaine et les ſuivantes, l'aſſemblée doit s'occuper dès ce moment d'un plan général ſur les ſubſiſtances*——There is but one plan, ABSOLUTE FREEDOM; and you will ſhew, by accepting or rejecting it, what claſs of the people it is that you repreſent. Proclaim a free trade, and from that moment ordain that an inkſtand be crammed inſtantly into the throat of the firſt member that pronounces the word corn.

Prohibition of the Export of the raw Materials of Manufactures.—The laſt information I have had from France is a confirmation of the intelligence our newſpapers gave, that the National Aſſembly had ordered a decree to be prepared for this prohibition. It ſeems that the maſter manufacturers of various towns, taking advantage of the great decline of the national fabrics, made heavy complaints to the National Aſſembly; and, among other means of redreſs, demanded a prohibition of the export of cotton, ſilk, wool, leather, and, in general, of all raw materials. It was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by a few men, better acquainted than the common maſs with political principles, but in vain; and orders were given to prepare the decree, which I am aſſured will paſs. As I have, in various papers in the *Annals of Agriculture*, entered much at large into this queſtion, I ſhall only mention a few circumſtances here, to convince France, if poſſible, of the miſchievous and moſt pernicious tendency of ſuch a ſyſtem, which will be attended with events little thought of at preſent in that kingdom. As it is idle to have recourſe to reaſoning, when facts are at hand, it is only neceſſary to deſcribe the effect of a ſimilar prohibition in the caſe of wool in England:—1ſt, The price is ſunk by it 50 per cent. below that of all the countries around us, which, as is proved by documents unqueſtionable, amounts to a land-tax of between three and four millions ſterling; being ſo much taken from land and given to manufactures. 2d, Not to make them flouriſh; for a ſecond curious fact is, that of all the great fabrics of England that of wool is *leaſt* proſperous, and has been regularly *moſt* complaining, of which the proofs are before the public; the policy therefore has failed; and becauſe it fails in England, it is going to be adopted in France. The home monopoly of wool gives to the manufacturers ſo great a profit, that they are not ſolicitous about any extenſion of their trade beyond the home product; and to this it is owing that no foreign wool, Spaniſh alone excepted (which is not produced here), is imported into England. The ſame thing will happen in France; the home-price will fall; the landed-intereſt will be *robbed*; and the manufacturer, taſting the ſweets of monopoly, will no longer import as before: the fabric at large will receive no increaſe; and all the effect will be, to give the maſter manufacturer a great profit on a ſmall trade: he will gain, but the nation will loſe. 3d, The moſt flouriſhing manufacture of England is that of cotton, of which the manufacturer is ſo far from having a monopoly, that $\frac{18}{20}$ths of the material are imported under a duty, and our own exportable duty free. The next (poſſibly the firſt) is that of hardware; Engliſh iron is exported duty free, and the import of foreign pays 2l. 16s. 2d. a ton; Engliſh coals exported in vaſt quantities. Glaſs exhibits the ſame ſpectacle; Engliſh kelp exportable duty free, and 16s. 6d. a ton on foreign; raw ſilk pays 3s. a lb. on import; export of Britiſh hemp and flax undreſſed is free, foreign pays a duty on import; Britiſh rags, for making paper, exportable duty free; unwrought tin, lead, and copper all exportable either free or under a ſlight duty. The immenſe progreſs made by theſe manufactures, particularly hardware, cotton, glaſs, flax, and earthen-ware, another in which no monopoly of material can exiſt, is known to all Europe; they are among the greateſt fabrics in the world, and have riſen rapidly; but note (for it merits the attention of France), that wool has experienced no ſuch riſe*. Our policy in wool ſtands on fact, therefore convicted of rottenneſs; and this is preciſely the policy which the new government of France copies, and extends to every raw material! 4th, The free trade in raw materials is neceſſary, like the free trade in corn, not to ſend thoſe materials abroad, but to ſecure their production at home; and lowering the price, by giving a monopoly to the buyer, is not the way to encourage farmers to produce. 5th, France imports ſilk and wool to the amount of 50 or 60 millions a year, and exports none, or next to none; why prohibit an export, which in ſettled times does not take place? At the preſent moment, the export either takes place, or it does *not* take place; if the latter, why prohibit a trade which has no exiſtence? If it does take place, it proves that the manufacturers cannot buy it as heretofore: is that a reaſon why the farmers ſhould not produce it? Your manufacturers cannot buy, and you will not let foreigners; what is that but telling your huſbandmen that they ſhall not produce? Why then do the manufacturers aſk this favour? They are cunning: they very well know why: they have the ſame view as their brethren in England—ſolely that of SINKING THE PRICE, and thereby putting money in their own pockets, at the expence of the landed intereſt! 6th, All the towns of France contain but ſix millions of people; the manufacturing towns not two millions: why are twenty millions in the country to be cheated out of their property, in order to favour one-tenth of that number in towns? 7th, In various paſſages of theſe travels, I have ſhewn the wretched ſtate of French agriculture, for want of more ſheep; the new ſyſtem is a curious way to effect an increaſe—*by lowering the profit of keeping them.* 8th, The French manufacturers, under the *old* ſyſtem of *freedom*, bought raw materials from other nations, to the amount of ſeveral millions, beſides working up all the produce of France; if ſinking the price be not their object, what is? Can they deſire to do more than this? If under the new government their fabrics do not flouriſh as under the old one, is that a reaſon for prohibition and reſtriction, for robbery and plunder of the landed intereſt, to make good their own loſſes? And if ſuch a demand is good logic in a manufacturer's counting-houſe, is that a reaſon for its being received in a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY!!

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* "Auſſitot que les opérations preliminaires ſeront terminées les officiers municipaux et les commiſſaires adjoints feront, en leur ame et conſcience l'evaluation du revenue net des differentes proprietes foncières de la communanté ſection par ſection. *Journal des Etats Gen.* tom. xvi. p. 510.

One of the moſt curious inquiries that can be made by a traveller, is to endeavour to aſcertain how much per cent. a capital inveſted in land, and in farming-ſtock, will return for cultivation in different countries; no perſon, according to my knowledge, has attempted to explain this very important but difficult problem.

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* Exports 1757, 4,758,095l. In 1767, 4,277,462l. In 1777, 3,743,537l. In 1787, 3,687,795l. See this ſubject fully examined, *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. x. p. 235.

The price of land, the intereſt of money, the wages of labour, the rates of all ſorts of products, and the amount of taxes, muſt be calculated with ſome degree of preciſion, in order to annalyze this combination. I have for many years attempted to gain information on this curious point, concerning various countries. If a man in England buys land rented at 12s. an acre, at thirty years purchaſe, and cultivates it himſelf, making five rents, he will make not more than from 4½ to 5 per cent. and at moſt 6, ſpeaking of general culture, and not eſtimating ſingular ſpots or circumſtances, and including the capital inveſted in both land and ſtock. I learn, from the correſpondence of the beſt farmer, and the greateſt character the new world has produced, certain circumſtances, which enable me to aſſert, with confidence, that money inveſted on the ſame principles, in the middle ſtates of North America, will yield conſiderably more than double the return in England, and in many inſtances the treble of it. To compare France with theſe two caſes, is very difficult:—had the National Aſſembly done for the agriculture of the kingdom what France had a right to expect from FREEDOM, the account would have been advantageous. For buying at 30 years purchaſe, ſtocking the the ſame as in England, and reckoning products 6 per cent. lower in price (about the fact), the total capital would have paid from 5½ to 6½ per cent.; land-tax reckoned at 3s. in the pound, which is the proportion of the total tax to the rental of the kingdom *. It is true, that the courſe of exchange would make an enormous difference, for when exchange is at 15, this ratio per cent. inſtead of 5½ becomes 11, if the capital is remitted from Britain: but as that immenſe loſs (50 per cent.) on the exchange of France, ariſes from the political ſtate of the kingdom, the ſame circumſtances which cauſe it, would be eſtimated at ſo much hazard and danger. But bring to account the operations of the National Aſſembly, relating to the non-incloſure of commons; the land-tax, variable with improvements, (an article ſufficient to ſtifle the thoughts of ſuch a thing); the export of corn at an end; the tranſport every where impeded; and your granaries burnt and plundered at the pleaſure of the populace, if they do not like the price; and, above all, the prohibition of the export of all materials of manufactures, as wool, &c. and it is ſufficiently clear, that America offers a vaſtly more

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* But this land-tax is variable, and therefore impoſſible to eſtimate accurately; if you remain no better farmer than your French neighbours, *it is ſo much*; but if you improve, *you are raiſed, and they are ſunk*; all that has, and can be ſaid againſt tythes, bears with equal force againſt ſuch a tax. And though this impoſition cannot go by the preſent law beyond 4s. in the pound, it would be very eaſy to ſhew, by a plain calculation, that 4s. in the pound, *riſing with improvement*, is a tax impoſſible to be borne *by one who improves*; and conſequently, that it is a direct tax on improvement; and it is a tax in the very worſt form, ſince the power to lay and inforce it, is not in the government of the kingdom, but in the municipal government of the pariſh. Your neighbour, with whom you may be on ill terms, has the power to tax you; no ſuch private heart-burnings and tyranny are found in exciſes.

eligible field for the inveſtment of capital in land than France does; a proof that the meaſures of the National Aſſembly have been ill-judged, ill-adviſed, and unpolitical: I had ſerious thoughts of ſettling in that kingdom, in order to farm there; but the two meaſures adopted, of a variable land-tax, and a prohibition of the export of wool, damped my hopes, ardent as they were, that I might have breathed that fine climate, free from the extortions of a government, ſtupid in this reſpect as that of England. It is, however, plain enough, that America is the only country that affords an adequate profit, and in which a man, who calculates with intelligence and preciſion, can think of inveſting his capital. How different would this have been, had the National Aſſembly conducted themſelves on principles directly contrary; had they avoided all land taxes[*]; had they preſerved the free corn-trade, a trade of import more than of export; had they been ſilent upon incloſures; and done nothing in relation to raw materials, the profit of inveſtments would have been higher in France than in America, or any country in the world, and immenſe capitals would have flowed into the kingdom from every part of Europe: ſcarcity and famine would not have been heard of, and the national wealth would have been equal to all the exigencies of the period.

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[*] To have avoided land-taxes, might very eaſily have been made a moſt popular meaſure, in a kingdom ſo divided into little properties as France is. No tax is ſo heavy upon a ſmall proprietor; and the *œconomiſtes* might have foreſeen what has happened, that ſuch little democratic owners would not pay the tax; but taxes on conſumption, laid *as in England*, and not in the infamous methods of the old government of France, would have been paid by them in a light proportion, without knowing it; but the *œconomiſtes*, to be conſiſtent with their old pernicious doctrines, took every ſtep to make all, except land-taxes, unpopular; and the people were ignorant enough to be deceived into the opinion, that it was better to pay a tax on the bread put into their children's mouths---and, what is worſe, on the land which ought, but does not produce that bread, than to pay an exciſe on tobacco and ſalt; better to pay a tax which is demanded equally, whether they have or have not the money to pay it, than a duty which, mingled with the price of a luxury, is paid in the eaſieſt mode, and at the moſt convenient moment. In the writings of the *œconomiſtes*, you hear of a free corn trade, and free export of every thing, being the recompence for a land-tax; but ſee their actions in power---they impoſe the burthen, and forget the recompenſe!

* * * * * * * *

April 26, 1792.

IN the laſt moment which the preparation for publication allows me to uſe, the intelligence is arrived of a declaration of war on the part of France againſt the Houſe of Auſtria;—the gentlemen in whoſe company I hear it, all announce deſtruction to France;—*they will be beat*;—*they want diſcipline*;—*they have no ſubordination*;—and this idea I find general. So cautiouſly as I have avoided *prophetic* preſumption through the preceding pages, I ſhall ſcarcely aſſume it ſo late in my labours;—but thus much I may venture,—that the expectation of deſtruction to France has many difficulties to encounter. Give all you pleaſe to power of field evolution, depending on the utmoſt ſtrictneſs of diſcipline—you muſt admit that it bears only on the queſtion of battles. But guarded as France is, by the moſt important frontier fortreſſes the world knows, why hazard battles? Undiſciplined troops behind walls and within *works*, are known on experience to be effective: and where are the reſources to be found that ſhall attack thoſe ſtrong holds 700 miles from home? I was at Liſle, Metz, and Straſbourg; and if the military intelligence I had was accurate, it would demand 100,000 men, completely provided with every thing for a ſiege, three months to take either of thoſe towns, ſuppoſing them well provided and well defended. We know, on poſitive experience, what the Auſtrians and Pruſſians led by ſome of the greateſt men that have exiſted, were able to do in ſieges, when undertaken at their own doors;—what will they effect againſt places ten times as ſtrong and 700 miles from home? It is a matter of calculation—of pounds and ſhillings;—not of diſcipline and obedience.

But many depend on the deranged ſtate of the French finances; that derangement flows abſolutely from a vain attempt at preſerving public credit:—the National Aſſembly will ſee its futility; miſery; ruin; the NATION muſt be preſerved——what on compariſon is *public credit*?

The diviſions, factions, and internal diſturbances, offer to others the hope of a civil war. It ought to be a vain hope. During peace, ſuch difficulties fill the papers, and are dwelt upon, till men are apt to think them terrible; in war they are TREASON, and the gallows ſweeps from the world, and the columns of a gazette the actors and the recital.

Oil and vinegar—fire and water—Pruſſians and Auſtrians are united to carry war amongſt 26 millions of men, arranged behind 100 of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the world.—If we are deceived, and Frenchmen are not fond of freedom, but will fight for deſpotiſm—ſomething may be done; for then France falls by the power of France: but if united but tolerably, the attack will be full of difficulties in a country where every man, woman, and child is an enemy, that fights for freedom.

But, ſuppoſe this idea erroneous—ſuppoſe an impreſſion made—and that the German banners were flying at Paris.—Where is the ſecurity of the reſt of Europe? Is the diviſion of Poland forgotten? Is an unforeſeen union of two or three great powers to protrude through Europe a predominancy dangerous to all? Gentlemen, who indulge their wiſhes for a counter-revolution in France, do not, perhaps, wiſh to ſee the Pruſſian colours at the Tower, nor the Auſtrian at Amſterdam. Yet ſucceſs to the cauſe might plant them there. Should real danger ariſe to France, which I hold to be problematical, it is the buſineſs, and direct intereſt of her neighbours, to ſupport her.

The revolution, and anti-revolution parties of England, have exhauſted themſelves on the French queſtion; but there can be none, if that people ſhould be in danger:—WE hold at preſent the balance of the world; and have but to ſpeak, and it is ſecure.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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THE END.

ERRATA.

P. 24. l. 33, &c. a tranſpoſition; for *thing that is in ſupper one and a deſert: the whole very well ſerved, with every deſert, and at ſeaſon*, read *deſert for dinner*; *for ſupper one, and a deſert*; *the whole very well ſerved, with every thing in ſeaſon*.—P. 37. l. 30. for *Fondrins*, r. *Londrins*.—P. 38. l. 33. for *ſtriking*, r. *ſtinking*.—P. 43. l. 12. for *Lundes*, r. *landes*.—P. 44. l. 30. for *La Tour*, r. *Leitour*.—P. 101. l. 27. for *power*, r. *powers*.—P. 105. l. 17. for *Toy*, r. *Foy*.—P. 106. l. 11. for *ſetton*, r. *jetton*.—P. 127. l. 20. for *aciné*, r. *acmé*.—P. 129. l. 19. for *Frudraine*, r. *Trudaine*.—P. 130. for *Monteſquieu*, r. *Monteſquiou*—P. 153. l. 36. for *in flame*, r. *enſlame*.—P. 158. for *Barnt*, r. *Barut*.—P. 159. l. 5. for 800 liv. r. 8000 liv. P. 207. l. 29. for *Poute*, r. *Ponte*.—P. 429. l. 8. for *Aux*, r. *Auge*.—P. 440. l. 19. for *diſtinction*, r. *deſtruction*.—P. 460. l. 14. for 1,700,000, r. 3,700,000, and alter the ſums dependent on that.—P. 484. for *ſurplus*, r. *ſupply*.—P. 512. l. 39. for 2,430,980, r. 7,505,980, and alter the ſums dependent.—P. 521. l. 32. for 2500, r. 1500.—P. 530. l. 15. for *inveſted*, r. *infeſted*.——Several of theſe errors affect the ſenſe ſo much, that I have noted them; but there are others in the French paſſages, which the candid reader will ſee at once are errors of the preſs, and it is hoped will pardon accordingly.